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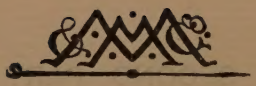
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

SECOND PART

VOL. II.



THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

PART II.

S. IGNATIVS.
S. POLYCARP.

REVISED TEXTS

WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, DISSERTATIONS,
AND TRANSLATIONS.

BY

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THE GENUINE EPISTLES.

I.

THE REASONS for accepting as genuine the Seven Epistles in the form in which they were current in the age of Eusebius have been stated already. Only a few additional words will be necessary to explain the principles which have been followed in the arrangement of the epistles and in the construction of the text.

These seven epistles were written in the early years of the second century, when the writer was on his way from Antioch to Rome, having been condemned to death and expecting to be thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre on his arrival. They fall into two groups, written at two different halting-places on his way. The letters to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, and Romans, were sent from *Smyrna*, while Ignatius was staying there and was in personal communication with Polycarp the bishop. The three remaining letters, to the Philadelphians, to the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp, were written at a subsequent stage in his journey, at *Alexandria Troas*, where again he halted for a time, before crossing the sea for Europe. The place of writing in every case is determined from notices in the epistles themselves.

The order in which they are printed here is the order given by Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 36). Whether he found them in this order in his manuscript, or whether he determined the places of writing (as we might determine them) from internal evidence and arranged the epistles accordingly, may be questioned. So arranged, they fall into two groups, according to the place of writing. The letters themselves however contain no indication of their chronological order in their respective groups; and, unless Eusebius simply followed his manuscript, he must have exercised his judgment in the sequence adopted in each group, e. g. Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, and Romans.

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The two groups, besides having been written at different places, are separated from each other by another distinctive feature. All the epistles written from Smyrna are addressed to churches which he had not visited in person but knew only through their delegates. On the other hand all the epistles written from Troas are addressed to those, whether churches (as in the case of the Philadelphians and Smyrnæans) or individuals (as in the case of Polycarp), with whom he had already held personal communication at some previous stage in his journey.

It has been seen that at some point in his journey (probably Laodicea on the Lycus), where there was a choice of roads, his guards selected the northern road through Philadelphia and Sardis to Smyrna. If they had taken the southern route instead, they would have passed in succession through Tralles, Magnesia, and Ephesus, before they reached their goal. It is probable that, at the point where the roads diverged, the Christian brethren sent messengers to the churches lying on the southern road, apprising them of the martyr's destination; so that these churches would despatch their respective delegates without delay, and thus they would arrive at Smyrna as soon as, or even before, Ignatius himself.

The first group then consists of letters to these three churches, whose delegates had thus met him at Smyrna, together with a fourth to the Roman Christians apprising them of his speedy arrival among them—this last probably having been called forth by some opportunity (such as was likely to occur at Smyrna) of communicating with the metropolis. The three are arranged in a topographical order (Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles) according to the distances of these cities from Smyrna, which is taken as the starting-point.

The second group consists of a letter to the Philadelphians whom he had visited on his way to Smyrna, and another to the Smyrnæans with whom he had stayed before going to Troas, together with a third to his friend Polycarp closing the series.

The order however in the Greek MS and in the versions (so far as it can be traced) is quite different, and disregards the places of writing. In these documents they stand in the following order:

1. Smyrnæans
2. Polycarp
3. Ephesians
4. Magnesians
5. Philadelphians
6. Trallians[1]
7. Romans.

[1] The Armenian Version however transposes Trallians and Philadelphians.

This sequence is consistent with the supposition that we have here the collection of the martyr's letters made at the time by Polycarp, who writing to the Philippians says 'The Epistles of Ignatius which were sent to us by him, and others as many as we had with us, we send to you, even as ye directed: they are subjoined to this letter' (§ 13). But though this order, which is given in the documents, has high claims for consideration as representing the earliest form of the collected epistles, I have substituted the chronological arrangement of Eusebius as more instructive for purposes of continuous reading.

2.

Of the data for the text an account has been given already. Our documents are as follows.

1. The *Manuscript of the Greek Original* (G). If this MS had been, as Turrianus described it, 'emendatissimus', we should have had no further trouble about the text. But since this is far from being the case, the secondary authorities are of the highest moment in settling the readings.

2. Among these the *Latin Version* (L) holds the first place, as being an extremely literal rendering of the original. It exhibits a much purer form of the text, being free from several corruptions and a few interpolations and omissions which disfigure the Greek. At the same time however it is clear, both from the contents of the collection and from other indications (as described previously), that this version was translated from a Greek MS of the same type as the extant Greek MS; and therefore its value, as a check upon the readings of this MS, is limited. Whenever GL coincide, they must be regarded as one witness, not as two.

3. The *Syriac Version* (S) would therefore have been invaluable as an independent check, if we had possessed it entire, since it cannot have been made later than the fourth or fifth century, and would have exhibited the text much nearer to the fountain-head than either the Greek or the Latin. Unfortunately however only a few fragments (S_1, S_2, S_3) belonging to this version are preserved. But this defect is made up to a considerable extent in two ways. *First.* We have a rough *Abridgment* or *Collection of Excerpts* (Σ) from this Syriac Version for three epistles (Ephesians, Romans, Polycarp) together with a fragment of a fourth (Trallians), preserving whole sentences and even

paragraphs in their original form or with only slight changes. *Secondly.* There is extant also an *Armenian Version* (A) of the whole, made from the Syriac (S). This last however has passed through so many vicissitudes, that it is often difficult to discern the original Greek reading underlying its tertiary text. It will thus be seen that AΣ have no independent authority, where S is otherwise known, and that SAΣ must be regarded as one witness, not as three.

4. There is likewise extant a fragment of a *Coptic Version* (C), in the Sahidic (Thebaic) dialect of the Egyptian language, comprising the first six chapters of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, besides the end of the spurious Epistle to Hero. The date of this version is uncertain, though probably early; but the text appears to be quite independent of our other authorities, and it is therefore much to be regretted that so little is preserved.

5. Another and quite independent witness is the *Greek Text of the Long Recension* (g) of the Ignatian Epistles. The *Latin Version* (l) of this Long Recension has no independent value, and is only important as assisting in determining the original form of this recension. The practice of treating it as an independent authority is altogether confusing. The text of the Long Recension, once launched into the world, had its own history, which should be kept quite distinct from that of the genuine Epistles of Ignatius. For the purpose of determining the text of the latter, we are only concerned with its original form.

The Long Recension was constructed, as we have seen, by some unknown author, probably in the latter half of the fourth century, from the genuine Ignatian Epistles by interpolation, alteration, and omission. If therefore we can ascertain in any given passage the Greek text of the genuine epistles which this author had before him, we have traced the reading back to an earlier point in the stream than the direct Greek and Latin authorities, probably even than the Syriac Version. This however it is not always easy to do, by reason of the freedom and capriciousness of the changes. No rule of universal application can be laid down. But the interpolator is obviously much more given to change at some times than at others; and, where the fit is upon him, no stress can be laid on minor variations. On the other hand, where he adheres pretty closely to the text of the genuine Ignatius, as for instance through great parts of the Epistles to Polycarp and to the Romans, the readings of this recension deserve every consideration.

Thus it will be seen that though this witness is highly important, because it cannot be suspected of collusion with other witnesses, yet it

must be subject to careful cross-examination, before the truth underlying its statements can be ascertained.

6. Besides manuscripts and versions, we have a fair number of *Quotations*, of which the value will vary according to their age and independence. A full account of these has been given already.

From the above statement it will be seen that, though each authority separately may be regarded as more or less unsatisfactory, yet, as they are very various in kind, they act as checks one upon another, the one frequently supplying just that element of certainty which is lacking to the other, so that the result is fairly adequate. Thus A will often give what g withholds, and conversely. Moreover it will appear from what has been said that a combination of the secondary and capricious authorities must often decide a reading against the direct and primary. For instance, the combination Ag is, as a rule, decisive in favour of a reading, as against the more direct witnesses GL, notwithstanding that A singly, or g singly, is liable to any amount of aberration, though in different directions.

The foregoing account applies to six out of the seven letters. The text of the *Epistle to the Romans* has had a distinct history and is represented by separate authorities of its own. This epistle was at an early date incorporated into the Antiochene Acts of Martyrdom, and thus disconnected from the other six. In its new connexion, it was disseminated and translated separately. It so happens that the only extant Greek MS which contains this epistle (the Colbertine) is even less satisfactory than the sole Greek MS of the other six (the Medicean); but on the other hand we have more than compensation for this inferiority in the fact that the Acts of Martyrdom (with the incorporated epistle) were translated independently both into Syriac (S_m) and into Armenian (A_m); and these two versions, which are extant, furnish two additional authorities for the text. Moreover the Metaphrast, who compiled his Acts of Ignatius from this and another Martyrology, has retained the Epistle to the Romans in his text, though in an abridged and altered form.

From this account it will be seen that the authorities for the Epistle to the Romans fall into three classes.

(1) Those authorities, which contain the epistle as part of the Martyrology. These are the Greek (G), the Latin (L), the Syriac (S_m), and the Armenian (A_m), besides the Metaphrast (M). These authorities however are of different values. When the epistle was first

incorporated in the Acts of Martyrdom, it still preserved a comparatively pure form. When it has arrived at the stage in which it appears in the extant Greek MS (G), it is very corrupt. In this last form, among other corruptions, it exhibits interpolations and alterations which have been introduced from the Long Recension (g). The MS used by the Metaphrast exhibited a text essentially the same as that of G.

(2) The independent *Syriac Version* (S) of which only a few fragments remain, but which is represented, as before, by the *Syriac Abridgment* (Σ) and the *Armenian Version* (A).

(3) The *Long Recension* (g), which in great parts of this epistle keeps close to the text of the original Ignatius.

Though the principles on which a text of the Seven Epistles should be constructed are sufficiently obvious, they have been strangely overlooked.

The first period in the history of the text of the genuine Ignatius commences with the publication of the Latin Version by Ussher (1644), and of the Greek original by Isaac Voss (1646). The Greek of the Epistle to the Romans was first published by Ruinart (1689). The text of Voss was a very incorrect transcript of the Medicean MS, and in this respect subsequent collations have greatly improved on his *editio princeps*. But beyond this next to nothing was done to emend the Greek text. Though some very obvious corrections are suggested by the Latin Version, these were either neglected altogether by succeeding editors or were merely indicated by them in their notes without being introduced into the text. There was the same neglect also of the aid which might have been derived from the Long Recension. Moreover the practice of treating the several MSS and the Latin Version of the Long Recension independently of one another and recording them co-ordinately with the Greek and Latin of the genuine Ignatius (instead of using them apart to ascertain the original form of the Long Recension, and then employing the text of this Recension, when thus ascertained, as a single authority) threw the criticism of the text into great confusion. Nor was any attention paid to the quotations, which in several instances have the highest value. Hence it happened that during this period which extended over two centuries from Voss to Hefele (ed. 1, 1839; ed. 3, 1847) and Jacobson (ed. 1, 1838; ed. 3, 1847) inclusive, nothing or next to nothing (beyond the more accurate collation of the Medicean MS) was done for the Greek text.

The second period dates from the publication of the Oriental

versions—the Syriac Abridgment with the Syriac Fragments by Cureton (1845, 1849), and the Armenian Version by Petermann (1849)[1]. New materials of the highest value were thus placed in the hands of critics; but, notwithstanding the interest which the Ignatian question excited, nearly thirty years elapsed before any proper use was made of them. In some cases the failure was due, at least in part, to a false solution of the Ignatian question. The text of Bunsen (1847), Cureton (1849), and Lipsius (1859), which started from the assumption that the Syriac Abridgment represented the genuine Ignatius, must necessarily have foundered on this rock, even if the principles adopted had been sound in other respects. Petermann and Dressel (1857) however maintained the priority of the Seven Epistles of the Vossian text to the Three of the Curetonian; and so far they built upon the true basis. But Petermann contented himself with a casual emendation of the text here and there from the versions; while Dressel neglected them altogether. Jacobson (ed. 4, 1863) and Hefele (ed. 4, 1855) also, in their more recent editions which have appeared since the Oriental versions were rendered accessible, have been satisfied with recording some of the phenomena of these versions in their notes without applying them to the correction of the text, though they also were unhampered by the false theory which maintained the priority of the Curetonian Abridgment. It was reserved for the most recent editors, Zahn (1876), and Funk (1878), to make use of all the available materials and to reconstruct the text for the first time on sound and intelligible principles.

The text which I have given was constructed independently of both these editions, and before I had seen them, but the main principles are the same. Indeed these principles must be sufficiently obvious to those who have investigated the materials with any care. In the details however my views frequently differ from theirs, as must necessarily be the case with independent editors; and in some respects I have had the advantage of more complete or more accurate materials than were accessible to them.

In the *apparatus criticus*, which is appended to the text, I have been anxious not to overload my notes with matter which would be irrelevant to the main issue. Thus for instance, those divergences in

[1] The editio princeps of the Armenian was published at Constantinople in 1783; but this version was practically unknown to scholars until Petermann's edition appeared.

the several versions which, however interesting and instructive in themselves, cannot be supposed to represent various readings in the Greek text, are carefully excluded. On the other hand it has been my aim to omit nothing which could reasonably be thought to contribute to the formation of a correct text.

In carrying out this principle, the following rules have been observed.

1. The various readings of the *Greek Manuscripts* of the genuine Ignatius (G), i.e. of the Medicean MS in the Six Epistles, and of the Colbertine in the Epistle to the Romans, are given *in full.* This is also the case with the fragment of the Epistle to the Ephesians (G′) which is found in another Paris MS. I have not however thought it worth while to record differences of accent, or such variations as ὅτ' ἄν for ὅταν, οὐδὲ μία for οὐδεμία, etc., except where they had some real interest. All these MSS I have myself collated anew for this edition.

2. The readings of the *Latin Version* (L) are generally given from the ultimate revised text, as it is printed in the Appendix. This text is founded on a comparison of the two MSS of the version, modified by other critical considerations which will be explained in their proper place. It did not seem necessary to give here the various readings of these two MSS (L_1, L_2), except in very rare cases. Where such variations occur, I have held it sufficient to call attention to the fact, referring the reader to the Appendix itself. As the Latin Version is strictly literal, every variation which remains in the *ultimate* Latin text (i.e. the text as restored to the condition in which presumably it left the hands of the translator) is recorded, because every such variation represents, or may have represented, a corresponding variation in the Greek MS which the translator used.

3. In like manner the various readings of the different MSS (Σ_1, Σ_2, Σ_3) of the *Syriac Abridgment* (Σ) are not generally given. They will be found in the Appendix, where this version is printed at length with an apparatus criticus of its own and a translation. In admitting or rejecting divergences which this abridgment exhibits, I have been guided by the considerations already alleged. The few fragments which survive of the original unabridged *Syriac Version* (S) are also printed in the Appendix. In the case of this and all the other Oriental versions Latin renderings are given in the critical notes for the sake of convenience and uniformity.

4. The *Armenian Version* (A) has been described in the proper place. From the description it will have appeared that only a small

proportion of its many divergences deserves to be recorded as bearing on the Greek text. In giving its various readings I have found Petermann's Latin translation of the greatest service; but I have myself consulted the Armenian original as printed by him, in order that, so far as my slender knowledge of the language served me, I might not be misled by the necessary distortion produced in passing through the medium of another language.

5. The fragment of the *Copto-Thebaic Version* (C) will be found in the Appendix, where it is published for the first time. It is ancient and literal enough to be an important authority as far as it goes, and I have therefore given all its variations.

6. The *Armenian* and *Syriac Versions* of the Epistle to the Romans in the *Acts of Martyrdom* (A_m, S_m), having been translated separately and directly from the Greek, are independent of each other and of the above-mentioned versions (A, S) in these languages. I have freely used Petermann's translation of the one and Moesinger's of the other, but not without satisfying myself by consulting the originals.

7. The text of the *Metaphrast* (M) for this same epistle is never quoted, unless supported by some other authority. In other cases his mode of compilation deprives his text of any weight. The MSS of the Metaphrast are very numerous; the readings of some of these are given by Cotelier, Dressel, Zahn, and others.

8. The *Greek* of the *Long Recension* (g) will be found with its own apparatus criticus in the Appendix. The limits within which it is necessary for my purpose to quote its text as an authority have been already indicated (p. 4). In citing this recension I have given the critical text at which I have myself arrived, without (as a rule) referring to the variations of the several MSS or of the Latin Version (l). These will be found in their proper place.

For convenience of reference I give the following recapitulation of the symbols:

G. Greek Original (Medicean and Colbertine MSS).
G′. Paris fragment of the Epistle to the Ephesians.
L. Latin Version.
L_1, L_2, the MSS of this Version.
A. Armenian Version.
S. Syriac Version.
S_1, S_2, S_3, being the several collections of fragments belonging to this version.

C. Coptic Version.
Σ. Abridgment of the Syriac Version.
g. Greek Original of the Long Recension.
l. Latin Version of the Long Recension.

For the Epistle to the Romans alone:

A_m. Armenian Version in the Martyrology.
S_m. Syriac Version in the Martyrology.
M. Acts of the Metaphrast.

The Greek and Latin quotations from the fathers are given by the volumes and pages of the standard editions; the Syriac quotations by the pages of Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum.*

The following marks and abbreviations are also used.

add. } Where a word or words are added or prefixed in the
præf. } authority subjoined.

al. Where the divergence is so great in a version or recension, that no inference can be drawn as to the reading which the author of the version or recension had before him. This will also include passages which are so corrupt as to be worthless for determining a reading.

app. Apparently.

def. When the context, in which the word or words should occur, is wanting either from designed or accidental omission or from the imperfection of the MS or MSS.

om. When the context is there, but does not contain the word or words in question.

dub. Where a word or expression is so translated or paraphrased, that the reading which it represents is uncertain.

marg. When the reading is found in the margin of the authority in question.

s. Attached to an authority signifies that the reading of such authority is not given on express testimony, but may be inferred from the *silence* of collators.

txt. When the authority quoted supports the reading adopted in the text.

edd. When an authority is given as generally quoted, or as it stands in the common editions, though some MSS may be known or suspected to have it otherwise.

[ ] An authority is included in square brackets thus [g], in all cases where it is discredited by some special circumstances: e.g. (1) where the grammatical forms are so close as to be easily confused, as in the case of the singular and plural in the Syriac; or (2) where the context in a version or recension is so altered as to impugn the fidelity of the author or the scribe at this particular point; or (3) where a passage may have been modified in the process of quotation by the influences of the context.

( ) The words included in brackets of this form have reference to the authority which has immediately preceded and which they explain or qualify in some way.

* An asterisk after an authority (e.g. L*) refers the reader to the Appendix for particulars as to the reading of the authority which is so distinguished.

I.

TO THE EPHESIANS.

I.

TO THE EPHESIANS.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS belongs to the group of four letters written by the saint from Smyrna (§ 21). He had not himself visited Ephesus on his way; but the Ephesians had been apprised of his journey and had sent delegates to meet him at Smyrna (§§ 1, 2, 21). The probable manner in which this information was conveyed to the Ephesians has been suggested above (p. 2).

Ephesus was the nearest to Smyrna of those cities which are recorded to have sent their delegates thither, the distance between the two places being about 40 miles (Strabo xiv. p. 632 τριακόσιοι εἴκοσι στάδιοι). We are therefore prepared to find that the Ephesian delegacy was more numerous than that of any other church. The bishop Onesimus was there in person; and he was accompanied by four others who are mentioned by name, Burrhus, Crocus, Euplus, and Fronto (§§ 1, 2). Of the two last the names only are given. On the other hand Crocus is singled out in this letter for special praise as having greatly 'refreshed' the saint and is mentioned also in affectionate terms in the Epistle to the Romans (§ 10); while Burrhus the deacon is valued so highly by him that he requests the Ephesians to allow him to remain in his company. This request was granted; and we find Burrhus with him at Troas, where he acts as his amanuensis (see the note on § 2).

Altogether Ignatius appears to have had much satisfaction in the presence of these Ephesian delegates, whom he mentions in all his other letters written from Smyrna (*Magn.* 15, *Trall.* 13, *Rom.* 10). Of his intercourse with Onesimus their bishop more especially he speaks in terms of grateful acknowledgment. He describes him as 'unspeakable

in love' (§ 1). He says that in a very brief space of time they had held much spiritual communion (§ 5).

But not only was he moved by gratitude to write this letter. He was also deeply impressed with the previous history of the Ephesian Church. He speaks of it as 'renowned unto all ages'. He himself is the devoted slave of such a church (§ 8). He does not venture to set himself up as their teacher: he is content to be their fellow-disciple. Nay, he will even look upon them as his trainers in the athletic contest for the martyr's crown which awaits him (§ 3). Above all, he remembers their companionship with Apostles; and remembering this, he is constrained to dwell on his own weakness as contrasted with their strength. They had escorted the blessed Paul on the way to martyrdom—Paul who never tires of commemorating them in his letters; and he himself would fain tread in the same path (§ 12).

Of the character of this church he speaks most favourably. Onesimus himself had commended them in the highest terms (ὑπερεπαινεῖ). No heresy had found a lodgment among them. They were steadfast in maintaining doctrinal purity and good order (§ 6). They were spiritually minded in all things (§ 8). They owned no other rule of life but God (§ 9). Thus the Ephesian Church appears to have sustained the character and profited by the warning which it received on the last occasion when it is directly mentioned in the Apostolic writings; 'I know thy works and thy labour and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil, and didst try them that call themselves Apostles, though they are not, and didst find them liars, and thou hast patience and didst bear for My Name's sake and hast not fainted. Nevertheless I have this against thee, that thou didst leave thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou hast fallen and repent and do the first works (Rev. ii. 2—5).'

But, though heresy had not found a home among them, it was hovering in their outskirts. Certain persons who came from a distance had attempted to sow the seeds of error among them, but had been repulsed (§ 7). These were doubtless the docetic teachers, who are denounced in his other epistles. Hence the emphasis with which he dwells on the 'reality' of the Passion in the opening salutation (ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ). Hence also the prominence which he gives to the true humanity of our Lord, where he has occasion to mention His two natures (§§ 7, 18, 19, 20). False teachers are described as 'violators of the temple' in the worst sense, and as such condemned to the severest vengeance (§ 16).

As a safeguard against the inroads of this heresy, the saint gives the Ephesians some practical advice. They must assemble themselves together more frequently than hitherto for congregational worship (§§ 5, 13). No man can eat the bread of God, if he keeps aloof from the altar (§ 5). More especially they must adhere to their bishop, as the personal centre of union (§§ 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). The silent modesty of Onesimus renders this warning the more necessary (§ 6). Unity will thus be secured, and unity is the overthrow of Satan (§ 13).

While enforcing these duties, Ignatius indulges in several metaphors, always vigorous, but sometimes extravagant, after his wont. One such metaphor more especially demands attention, as containing a vivid appeal to the local experiences of an Ephesian audience. In the reign of Trajan a munificent Roman of high rank, Gaius Vibius Salutaris, a citizen of Ephesus, gave to the temple of Artemis a large number of gold and silver-gilt images. Among them are mentioned several statues of Artemis herself, one representing her as the Huntress, others as the Torchbearer; images of the Roman Senate, of the Ephesian Council, of the Roman People, of the Equestrian Order, of the Ephebeia, etc. One of the ordinances relating to his benefactions bears the date February in the year of the Consuls Sextus Attius Suburanus II and Marcus Asinius Marcellus (A.D. 104)—the same year in which, according to one Martyrology, Ignatius was put to death. Salutaris provided by an endowment for the care and cleaning of these images; and he ordered that they should be carried in solemn procession from the temple to the theatre and back again on the birthday of the goddess (6th Thargelion), on the days of public assembly, and at such other times as the Council and People might determine. They were to be escorted by the curators of the temple, the victors in the sacred contests, and other officers who are named. The procession was to enter the city by the Magnesian gate and leave by the Coressian, so as to pass through its whole length. On entering the city it was to be joined by the Ephebi who should accompany it from gate to gate. The decrees, recording the acceptance of these benefactions on the conditions named, were set up on tablets in the Great Theatre, where they have been recently discovered (Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 1 sq.). The practice of carrying the images and sacred vessels belonging to the temple in solemn procession on the festival of the goddess and on other occasions doubtless existed long before; but these benefactions of Salutaris would give a new impulse and add a new splendour to the ceremonial. At such a time the

metaphor of the saint would speak with more than common directness to the imagination of his Ephesian readers, when, alluding to these pagan festivals, he tells them that as Christians they all alike are priests and victors, for they carry, not in their hands, as the votaries of Artemis carry their images and treasures, but in their hearts, each his God, his Christ, his shrine; that they too are duly arrayed for their festivities, not indeed in ornaments and cloth of gold, but in the commandments of Jesus Christ which are their holiday garments (see the notes on § 9).

The Epistle to the Ephesians is the longest and most elaborate of the extant letters of Ignatius. This fact may be explained by his close relations with the Ephesian delegates, as well as by his respect for the past history and present condition of the Ephesian Church, as already mentioned. Towards the close he enters upon what looks like a systematic discussion of the doctrine of the Incarnation (§ 19). But he breaks off abruptly, promising, if it be God's will, to send them a second tract (*βιβλίδιον*) wherein he will continue the subject upon which he has entered, 'the economy relating to the new Man Christ Jesus' (§ 20). This promise he seems never to have fulfilled. At least no such second letter or treatise has ever been heard of. The hurry of his subsequent movements (*Polyc.* 8), perhaps also the direct interference of his guards (*Rom.* 5), may have prevented his carrying out his intention.

The following is an *analysis* of the epistle:

'Ignatius to the Church of Ephesus, which was blessed by God and predestined to glory through a true Passion, hearty greeting in Christ.'

'You have acted in a manner congenial to your nature, in sending your delegates to comfort me on my way to martyrdom. In welcoming Onesimus I welcomed you all. You are indeed happy in your bishop, and should love him as he deserves (§ 1). I thank you for sending Burrhus also, and I trust you will let him remain with me. Your other delegates too, Crocus more especially, have greatly refreshed me. Glorify Jesus Christ by unity and submission to your bishops and presbyters (§ 2). I do not say this, as if I had a right to command. Indeed it were much more fit for me to learn of you. But love will not let me be silent. The bishops represent the will of Jesus Christ (§ 3). Your presbyters are to your bishop as the strings to the lyre.

Let one harmonious chant rise up to heaven, as from one chorus singing in accord. Union is fellowship with God (§ 4). If my brief intercourse with your bishop has been so blessed, what blessing will not attend your unbroken communion with him! The united prayer of the bishop and the congregation is all powerful. He that stands aloof brings God's condemnation upon himself (§ 5). If your bishop is silent, he only claims from you the more respect. The delegate of the Master must be received as the Master Himself. I rejoice to hear so good an account of you from Onesimus. He tells me that heresy has found no home among you (§ 6). Still certain persons are going about teaching false doctrine. Shun them, as you would wild beasts. There is only one Physician who can heal their wounds; and He is flesh, as well as spirit, Man as well as God (§ 7). Be not deceived, but put away all evil desires. I am devoted to the renowned Church of Ephesus. The things of the flesh and things of the Spirit are exclusive the one of the other. With you even the things done in the flesh are the promptings of the Spirit (§ 8). I have learned that certain persons coming from a distance attempted to sow the seeds of false doctrine among you: but you stopped your ears and would not listen. You are stones raised aloft to be fitted into the temple of God. You are holiday-makers, bearing your sacred things in festive procession; and I rejoice that I am permitted to take part in your festivities (§ 9). Pray for the heathen, since repentance is still possible for them. Teach them by your conduct; by your gentleness, your humility, your prayers, your steadfastness in the faith. Requite them not in like kind, but imitate the Lord in your forbearance. In this way show that you are their brothers. Be chaste and modest (§ 10).'

'The world is drawing to a close. If we value not the present grace, let us at least dread the coming wrath. One way or another let us be found in Christ Jesus, in whom I also hope to rise from the dead and to have my portion with the Christians of Ephesus, the scholars of Apostles (§ 11). I cannot compare myself with you—you who were associates in the mysteries with Paul, who are mentioned by him in every letter (§ 12). Meet together more frequently for eucharistic service. These harmonious gatherings will be the overthrow of Satan. There is nothing better than peace (§ 13). This ye yourselves know. Cherish faith and love—the beginning and the end of life. Where these exist, all else will follow. The tree is known by its fruits. Christianity is not a thing of profession but of power (§ 14). Doing with silence is better than not doing with speech. The silence and

the speech alike of the great Teacher were operative. Whosoever understands His word will understand His silence also. Nothing is hidden from the Lord. In all our doings let us remember that we are His temples (§ 15). No violators of the temple shall inherit God's kingdom. To those that violate the faith by corrupt doctrine the warning is especially addressed. They and their hearers shall go into unquenchable fire (§ 16). The Lord was anointed with ointment that He might breathe incorruption upon His Church. Shun the foul odour of false doctrine. Why should we perish in our folly, by refusing the grace of God (§ 17)? I am the devoted slave of the Cross, which is a scandal to the unbeliever. Away with the wisdom of this world! Our God Jesus Christ was born a Man (§ 18). This economy was hidden from the Prince of this world, until it was accomplished—this threefold mystery, the virginity of Mary, her child-bearing, and the death of Christ. It was revealed by a star of unwonted brightness. All the powers of heaven were dismayed at its appearing; for the Incarnation of God was the overthrow of the reign of evil. This was the beginning of the end. The dissolution of Death was at hand (§ 19). If it please God, I will write again and say more of this economy. Only be steadfast in the faith; preserve the unity of the body; render obedience to the bishop and presbyters (§ 20).'

'My affectionate devotion to you and your delegates. I write this from Smyrna. Remember me and pray for the Church in Syria, of which I am a most unworthy member. Farewell in God and Christ (§ 21).'

ΠΡΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέ-

ΠΡΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥΣ] *πρὸς ἐφεσίους ἰγνάτιος* G (with γ in the marg.); *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἐφεσίους* g* (with ια in the marg.); *ignatius ephesiis* L; [*ejus*] *secunda quae ad ephesios* Σ; *ad ephesios* A.

1 ὁ καὶ] GLg; *qui est* Σ (דהו, and so *Rom.*, *Polyc.*) A (and so always, except *Hero*, where it is *qui et*). *μεγέθει*] *μεγέθη* G.

'IGNATIUS, called also Theophorus, to the CHURCH OF EPHESUS, which is greatly blessed of God and was foreordained from the beginning to eternal glory, united and elected in the power of a real Passion through the will of the Father and of Christ; hearty greeting in Christ.'

1. ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος] This word would be equally appropriate to the true Christian, whether taken in its active sense (*θεοφόρος, bearing God, clad with God*) or in its passive sense (*θεόφορος, borne along by God, inspired by God*); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 13 (p. 882) *θεῖος ἄρα ὁ γνωστικὸς καὶ ἤδη ἅγιος, θεοφορῶν καὶ θεοφορούμενος;* comp. *Strom.* vi. 12 (p. 792). There can however be little doubt that it should here be taken actively and accentuated Θεοφόρος; for (1) We have the authority of Ignatius himself below, § 9, where the connexion of *θεοφόροι* with *ναοφόροι, χριστοφόροι, ἁγιοφόροι*, fixes its meaning; see also the analogous words *σαρκοφόρος, νεκροφόρος, Smyrn.* 5. (2) It is so interpreted universally till a very late date, e.g. by the Syriac translator who renders it 'clad with God.' See also the altercation in *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 2, where in answer to the question of Trajan *καὶ τίς ἐστιν θεοφόρος;* Ignatius answers Ὁ Χριστὸν ἔχων ἐν στέρνοις. (3) The metaphor of 'bearing God,' 'bearing Christ,' is frequent in early Christian writers; e.g. Iren. iii. 16. 3 '*portante* homine et capiente et complectente *filium Dei*,' v. 8. 1 'assuescentes capere et *portare Deum*' (quoted by Pearson on *Smyrn.* inscr.). See also the Latin reading in 1 Cor. vi. 20 'glorificate et *portate* (*tollite*) *Deum* in corpore vestro'; comp. Tert. *de Resurr.* 10, 16, *de Pudic.* 16, Cypr. *Test.* iii. 11, *Dom. Orat.* 11. Hence Tertullian elsewhere, *adv. Marc.* v. 7, 'Quomodo *tollemus Deum* in corpore perituro?' Compare also Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 27 (p. 976) *τὸ θεοφόρον γίνεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον προσεχῶς ἐνεργούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ καθάπερ σῶμα αὐτοῦ γινόμενον.* (4) Even in later writers and in other connexions this active sense prevails: e.g. Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 102 (II. p. 96, Caillau) *τὸ δεῖν προσκυνεῖν μὴ ἄνθρωπον θεοφόρον ἀλλὰ Θεὸν σαρκοφόρον*, and below *μὴ σάρκα θεοφόρον ἀλλὰ Θεὸν ἀνθρωποφόρον.* See other examples in Pearson *V. I.* p. 521 sq, Suicer *Thes.* s.v. Similarly *χριστοφόρος* seems to be always active (see Phileas in Euseb. *H. E.*

θει Θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, τῇ προωρισμένῃ πρὸ

1 πληρώματι] Gg* (with a v.l.); *perfectione* A; *et plenitudine* L; *et perfectae* Σ: see the lower note. τῇ] txt GLΣ[A]; add. καὶ g.

viii. 10 οἱ χριστοφόροι μάρτυρες); while on the other hand πνευματόφορος is commonly used in such a sense as to suggest a passive meaning, 'inspired, borne along by the Spirit,' e.g. Hos. ix. 7 (LXX), Presbyt. in Iren. v. 5. 1, Herm. *Mand.* 11, Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 9, ii. 22, Dionys. Rom. in Athanas. *Op.* 1. p. 182, and frequently. But even here we are perhaps deceived, and the idea of inspiration may be derived equally well from the active πνευματοφόρος 'a vehicle of the Spirit'; e.g. in Herm. *Mand.* 11 (a reference already cited) the word may be explained by an expression which occurs in the neighbourhood, ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν πνεύματος θείου. Comp. Iren. iv. 20. 6 'videbitur Deus ab hominibus qui *portant Spiritum* ejus.' The passive word θεοφόρητος, which is also classical, is found occasionally in early Christian writers, e.g. Hippol. *Fragm.* 123 (p. 193 Lagarde), and several times in Philo, e.g. *de Somn.* i. 43, ii. 1 (1. pp. 658, 659). The idea involved in the word θεοφόρος is found also in contemporary Stoic writers; e.g. Epictet. *Diss.* ii. 8. 12, 13 Θεὸν περιφέρεις...ἐν σαυτῷ φέρεις αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ. (comp. ii. 16. 33), Lucan *Phars.* ix. 563 'Ille Deo plenus, tacita quem mente *gerebat*.' The active sense therefore must be adopted, but the alternative of 'bearing God' and 'wearing God' still remains. All the passages quoted however seem to show that the former is the sense of θεοφόρος here, though the Syriac renders it 'God-clad,' and S. Paul's metaphor of 'putting on Christ' might suggest this meaning. The former sense indeed is imperatively demanded below, § 9.

It is more probable that this surname was adopted by Ignatius himself, as a token of his Christian obligations, than that it was conferred upon him by others, as a title of honour. For supposed references to it in the body of his epistles, see the notes on *Magn.* 1, *Trall.* 4, *Smyrn.* 5. It occurs in the opening of all his genuine epistles; and in this he is imitated by the Pseudo-Ignatius. The epithet however is not confined to him, but is applied freely to later fathers, especially to those assembled at any of the great councils, as Nicæa; see Pearson *V. I.* l. c. In his case however it has the character of a second name or surname, as the mode of introduction, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, shows; comp. Acts xiii. 9 Σαῦλος, ὁ καὶ Παῦλος. This form of expression is extremely common in inscriptions; e.g. Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2836 Ἀριστοκλῆς ὁ καὶ Ζήνων, 2949 Μ. Αὐρ. Πετρώνιος Κέλσος ὁ καὶ Μένιππος, 3282 Καστρίκιος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ καὶ [Ἀμ]μιανός, 3309 Ἑρμείας ὁ καὶ Λίτορις, 3387 Φλαουῖα Τρύφαινα ἡ καὶ Ῥοδόπη, 3550 Μενέστρατον τὸν καὶ Τρύφωνα, 3675 Γάϊος Γαΐου ὁ καὶ Πίστος, 3737 Μαξίμα ἡ καὶ Ἡδονή, 4207 Ἑλένη ἡ καὶ Ἄφφιον, and so frequently. From this epithet arose the tradition that Ignatius was the very child whom our Lord took up in His arms (Mark ix. 36; comp. Matt. xviii. 2, Luke ix. 47), the passive θεόφορος being substituted for the active θεοφόρος and a literal sense being attached to the word.

The groundless suspicion of Dusterdieck (p. 89), Bunsen (*B.* p. 33, *I. v. A.* p. 38), Renan (*Les Evangiles* p. xxvii), and others, that θεοφόρος is a later insertion, has been refuted

by Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 69 sq). It goes directly in the teeth of all the evidence. Daillé founded an objection to the genuineness of the epistles on the use of this surname, urging that it arose out of the legend. He is refuted by Pearson (*V. I.* p. 520 sq), who shows that the converse was the case.

τῇ εὐλογημένῃ κ.τ.λ.] This opening address contains several obvious reminiscences of Ephes. i. 3 sq. *ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατήρ...ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ...καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ... πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, εἶναι ἡμᾶς...ἀμώμους...προορίσας ἡμᾶς...κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος...διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ... προορισθέντες...κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ...εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης αὐτοῦ.* See also the notes on *πληρώματι* below, and on *μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ* § 1, and for *πρὸ αἰώνων* comp. Ephes. iii. 11 *κατὰ πρόθεσιν τῶν αἰώνων.* Though S. Paul's so-called Epistle to the Ephesians was probably a circular letter, yet even on this hypothesis Ephesus was the principal Church addressed, and there was therefore a special propriety in the adoption of its language. This is analogous to the references in the Roman Clement (§ 47) to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and in Polycarp (§ 3, comp. 9, 11) to the Epistle to the Philippians, where these fathers are writing to the same two Churches respectively. The direct mention of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which is supposed to occur at a later point in this letter (§ 12 *Παύλου...ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν*), is extremely doubtful (see the note there); but the acquaintance of Ignatius with that epistle appears from other passages besides this exordium, e.g. *Polyc.* 5.

ἐν μεγέθει] '*in greatness.*' The *μέγεθος* describes the moral and spiritual stature of the Ephesian Church itself; comp. *Smyrn.* 11 *ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος*, *Rom.* 3 *μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμός.* These are the only other passages in Ignatius where *μέγεθος* occurs, and in both it refers not to God, but to the Church. We might be tempted by the parallel, *Rom.* inscr. *ἐν μεγαλειότητι πατρὸς ὑψίστου*, to connect *ἐν μεγέθει* with *Θεοῦ πατρός*, but this would oblige us to interpret *πληρώματι* 'fully,' 'richly' (as Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 415, while *ad loc.* he compares Rom. xv. 29 *ἐν πληρώματι εὐλογίας*); an interpretation which cannot, I think, stand.

Θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι] '*through the plenitude of God the Father*,' where *pleroma* is used, as by S. Paul and S. John, in its theological sense, to denote the *totality* of the Divine attributes and powers: see the excursus on *Colossians* p. 257 sq. The dative case is instrumental. To participation in the *pleroma* of God, or of Christ, we are indebted for all the gifts and graces which we possess; John i. 16 *ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν κ.τ.λ.* The expression before us should be compared especially with Ephes. iii. 19 *ἵνα πληρωθῆτε εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, a passage which Ignatius probably had in his mind, as this same epistle of S. Paul is present to his thoughts throughout his opening salutation. See also Ephes. i. 23, where the *πλήρωμα* is regarded as transfused wholly into the Church. Ignatius again uses this term in its technical sense, *Trall.* inscr. *ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι.* For the prominence of the *pleroma* in the Valentinian theology see *Colossians* p. 265 sq. For similar instances of phraseology, which was afterwards characteristic of Valentinianism or of other developments of Gnosticism, in these epistles, see the

αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον, ἄτρεπ-

2 *ἡνωμένη καὶ ἐκλελεγμένη*] *ἡνωμένην καὶ ἐκλελεγμένην* GLg; but ΣA refer the words to the Church, and seem therefore to have read the datives: see the lower note. Their renderings are *et* (i.e. *quae ecclesia*) *perfecta et electa* Σ; *quae perfecta est* (om. *καὶ ἐκλελεγμένη*) A. In Σ the word ומשמליא *et perfecta* is the same which

notes on § 1 *φύσει*, *Rom.* 6, *Magn.* 8, *Trall.* 1.

The sentence would be simplified, if we could venture on the reading *καὶ πληρώματι*. In this case *μέγεθος*, like *πλήρωμα*, would be attributed to God; and here again a Valentinian tinge would be given to the language of Ignatius, for *μέγεθος* appears to have had a technical sense with this school: comp. Iren. i. 2. 2 *διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ βάθους καὶ τὸ ἀνεξιχνίαστον τοῦ πατρός*, and esp. Anon. in Epiphan. *Hær.* xxxi. 5 (see Stieren's Irenæus, p. 916 sq) *ἣν τινες Ἔννοιαν ἔφασαν, ἕτεροι Χάριν οἰκείως, διὰ τὸ ἐπικεχορηγηκέναι αὐτὴν θησαυρίσματα τοῦ μεγέθους τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μεγέθους, οἱ δὲ ἀληθεύσαντες Σιγὴν προσηγόρευσαν, ὅτι δι' ἐνθυμήσεως χωρὶς λόγου τὰ πάντα τὸ μέγεθος ἐτελείωσεν· ὡς οὖν προεῖπον, ἡ ἄφθαρτος* [*αἰωνία*] *βουληθεῖσα δεσμὰ ῥῆξαι ἐθήλυνε τὸ μέγεθος ἐπ' ὀρέξει ἀναπαύσεως αὐτοῦ*; comp. the Valentinian use of *μεγέθη* for 'powers' in Iren. i. 13. 6, i. 14. 4, and see also i. 13. 3. I find moreover that in Syriac 'the greatness' (רבותא) was used absolutely to signify the Divine Majesty. To the passage from Ephraem Syrus (*Op. Syr.* i. p. 68), quoted by Michaelis (Castell. *Lex. Syr.* s. v. p. 843) for this use, add two examples from the Syriac of *Clem. Recogn.* p. 21 l. 28, p. 26 l. 7 (ed. Lagarde), both which passages are altered in the Latin of Ruffinus, perhaps because he did not understand this sense of *μέγεθος*. It is possible therefore that this reading *καὶ πληρώματι* is correct; but in the extant authorities which have it the *καὶ* must be regarded as a later (and very obvious) insertion, and if it existed in the original copy, it must have dropped out at a date anterior to any existing texts. The original form of the Syriac was not ומשמליא '*and perfected* (*fulfilled*),' as it stands in the Curetonian MSS, but בשומליא '*in* (or *by*) *the perfection* (*fulness*),' or some similar expression, as the Armenian rendering shows (see Petermann *ad loc.*). The word שומליא is the rendering of *πλήρωμα* in Rom. xi. 12, Ephes. i. 23, iv. 13. The substitution would be the more easy, because the former word occurs in the immediate context as the rendering (or loose paraphrase) of *ἡνωμένῃ*.

1. *εἰς*] For the construction *εἶναι εἰς* 'to be destined for, reserved for' comp. Ephes. i. 12 *εἰς τὸ εἶναι εἰς ἔπαινον* κ.τ.λ., Acts viii. 23 *εἰς χολὴν πικρίας...ὁρῶ σε ὄντα*, 1 Cor. xiv. 22 *αἱ γλῶσσαι εἰς σημεῖόν εἰσιν*.

παράμονον ἄτρεπτον] '*abiding and unchangeable*.' Both adjectives must be connected with *δόξαν*, even though we should read *ἡνωμένην* κ.τ.λ. afterwards; comp. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 10 (p. 866) *ἐσόμενος, ὡς εἰπεῖν, φῶς ἑστὼς καὶ μένον ἰδίως, πάντη πάντως ἄτρεπτον*. For *παράμονος* comp. *Philad.* inscr. *χαρὰ αἰώνιος καὶ παράμονος*; for *ἄτρεπτος*, which is used especially of the unchangeable things of eternity, see e.g. *Clem. Hom.* xx. 5 *ἄτρεπτον γὰρ* [*ὁ Θεὸς*] *καὶ ἀεὶ ὤν*, Philo *Leg. All.* i. 15 (i. p. 53) *ἄποιον αὐτὸν* [*τὸν Θεὸν*] *εἶναι καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἄτρεπτον*.

2. *ἡνωμένη* κ.τ.λ.] I have ventur-

τον, ἡνωμένη καὶ ἐκλελεγμένη ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ ἐν

has occurred just before as the rendering of πληρώματι, and there is probably therefore some corruption, as it does not represent ἡνωμένῃ. Cureton (1845) suggested that Σ read ἡνυσμένην. ἐν πάθει] GLAg; *in signo* Σ: see the lower note.

ed to substitute datives for accusatives, as the change is slight. But if the accusatives be retained, they must still be referred to the Church, and not connected with δόξαν. As coming after the infinitive, εἶναι [αὐτὴν]...ἡνωμένην κ.τ.λ., they are justifiable: comp. Winer *Gramm.* § xliv. p. 402, lxvi. p. 782, Kühner II. p. 590 sq. But in the present instance they are especially awkward, as being interposed between datives before and after, and also as being liable to confusion with the accusatives immediately preceding. For the frequency of ἑνοῦν etc. in Ignatius see the note on § 4.

ἐν πάθει] This should probably be connected with both the preceding words. The 'passion' is at once the bond of their union and the ground of their election. For the former idea comp. *Philad.* 3 εἴ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ περιπατεῖ, οὗτος τῷ πάθει οὐ συγκατατίθεται; for the latter, *Trall.* 11 ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ προσκαλεῖται ὑμᾶς. This latter relation it has, because in foreordaining the Sacrifice of the Cross God foreordained the call of the faithful. Thus their election was involved in Christ's passion.

This word has a special prominence in the Epistles of Ignatius. In Christ's passion is involved the peace of one Church (*Trall.* inscr.) and the joy of another (*Philad.* inscr.). Unto His passion the penitent sinner must return (*Smyrn.* 5); from His passion the false heretic dissents (*Philad.* 3); into His passion all men must die (*Magn.* 5); His passion the saint himself strives to imitate (*Rom.* 6); the blood of His passion purifies the water of baptism (*Ephes.* 18); the tree of the passion is the stock from which the Church has sprung (*Smyrn.* 1); the passion is a special feature which distinguishes the Gospel (*Philad.* 9, *Smyrn.* 7). In several passages indeed it is coordinated with the birth or the resurrection (*Ephes.* 20, *Magn.* 11, *Smyrn.* 12, etc.); but frequently, as here, it stands in isolated grandeur, as the one central doctrine of the faith.

Hence the importance that the Passion should have been real (ἀληθινόν), and not, as the Docetic teachers held, a mere phantom suffering and death. On the opposition of Ignatius to these Docetic views, see the note on *Trall.* 9. As this is the only passage referring to Docetism in the Curetonian letters, and as the Syriac MSS here read ܒܣܝܡܐ 'in *signo*,' the fact has been pressed as arguing the priority of these letters to the Vossian. Cureton at first supposed that it was a corrupt reading for ܒܚܫܐ 'in *passione*,' but afterwards was persuaded that it was genuine and represented the Greek ἐν προθέσει, which (as he supposed) had been changed into ἐν πάθει by the Vossian interpolator to controvert the Docetæ, whose errors are combated elsewhere in the Vossian letters, 'or perhaps indeed the Phantasiastæ of a later period' (*C. I. G.* p. 276 sq). An argument in favour of Cureton's reading is, that it produces another coincidence with S. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, i.

θελήματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν

1 τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰ. Χ. τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν] GL; θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ.Χ. τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν g; *patris iesu christi dei nostri* Σ; *dei et domini nostri iesu christi* [A] (omitting ἐν θελήματι): see the lower note. 3 τῆς Ἀσίας] GL[A] (which transposes the whole clause) g; om. Σ. καὶ] GLg; om. ΣA. 4 χαρᾷ] gΣA; χάριτι GL: see the lower note. 5 Ἀποδεξάμενος] Gg*; *acceptans* L;

11 προορισθέντες κατὰ πρόθεσιν κ.τ.λ. This view accordingly has been adopted by several later writers, e.g. Bunsen (*Hippolytus* I. p. 94, ed. 2), Lipsius (*Aecht.* p. 24, *S. T.* p. 153), and others. Nevertheless Cureton's former view was unquestionably correct. The telling facts are these. (1) The word ܣܡܐ is not in itself a suitable rendering of πρόθεσις, and as a matter of fact is never so employed in the Peshito. As denoting a 'sign,' 'mark,' it denotes an aim or purpose (σκοπός), but this is somewhat different from πρόθεσις. (2) On the other hand the Greek text has ἐν πάθει, which is exactly represented by ܒܬܝܢ. (3) The two words are not unfrequently confused in the Syriac texts. Even in these Ignatian Epistles, the Armenian translator found this error twice in the Syriac text which he had before him, in *Smyrn.* 1 ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους rendered *a signo* (see Petermann p. xix), and in *Trall.* 11 ἐν τῷ πάθει rendered *signo*. The Syriac of this latter passage is preserved (*C. I.* p. 200), ܒܣܡܐ. I may add a third instance from the Syriac Version of the Clementines p. 74, l. 25 (ed. Lagarde), where one MS (the older of the two and the earliest known Syriac MS, dated A.D. 411) has ܒܣܡܐ and the other ܒܣܡܐ, the latter being correct, as appears from the Latin of Ruffinus (*Clem. Recogn.* ii. 58); and a fourth from Sexti *Sententiae* pp. 26, 27 (ed. Gildemeister), where there is the same interchange between the two words ܣܡܐ, ܒܣܡܐ, in the MSS. As a very slight knowledge of Syriac literature has enabled me to collect these instances, it may be presumed that the confusion is common. Indeed the traces of the letters so closely resemble each other that it naturally would be so. (4) The Armenian Version actually has *in passione* here, so that ܒܬܝܢ must have stood in the Syriac text from which it was translated.

1. τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν] Where the Divine Name is assigned to Christ in these epistles, it is generally with the addition of the pronoun, '*our* God,' '*my* God,' as below § 18 ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκυοφορήθη κ.τ.λ., *Rom.* inscr., 3 ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ., *Polyc.* 8 ἐν Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. εὔχομαι, *Rom.* 6 μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου; or it has some defining words as in *Smyrn.* 1 Δοξάζω Ἰ. Χ. τὸν Θεὸν τὸν οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα, *Ephes.* 7 ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός. The expression just below § 1 ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ can hardly be regarded as an exception (see the note there). In the really exceptional passages there is more or less doubt about the reading or the connexion; *Trall.* 7, *Smyrn.* 6, 10. The authority for the omission of καὶ here is quite inadequate; but, even if καὶ were genuine, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν must be taken with Ἰ. Χ., and not (as Bunsen *Br.* p. 85) with τοῦ πατρός.

Ἐφέσῳ [τῆς Ἀσίας], πλεῖστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ χαίρειν.

I. Ἀποδεξάμενος [ὑμῶν] ἐν Θεῷ τὸ πολυαγάπη-

quoniam acceptum mihi (*supra me*) Σ ; *quoniam acceptabilis est apud me* A. There is no authority (except a worthless v.l. in g) for ἀπεδεξάμην. ὑμῶν] g ; σου (after πολυαγάπητον) GL ; *vestrum* ΣA, but there is nothing to show in what position ὑμῶν stood in their text, or whether it stood there at all: see the lower note. πολυαγάπητον] G ; πολυπόθητον g ; *multum dilectum* LΣ[A].

2. ἀξιομακαρίστῳ] '*worthy of felicitation.*' Comp. § 5 πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς μακαρίζω. The compound occurs again § 12, *Rom.* inscr., 10. It is hardly classical, and its occurrence in Xenophon *Apol.* 34 has been alleged as an argument against the genuineness of that treatise. On the fondness of Ignatius for compounds of ἄξιος see the notes on ἀξιονόμαστον § 4 below.

3. τῆς Ἀσίας] i.e. the Roman province. With very much hesitation I have put the words in brackets, as a possible though not a probable interpolation, since they are wanting in the Syriac. With a place so well known as Ephesus the specification is a little startling. It occurs however in Iren. iii. 1. 1 Ἰωάννης...ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων; and is added also in the addresses of the letters to Smyrna, Tralles, and Philadelphia, cities only less famous than Ephesus, while in the letter to the Magnesians it is only suppressed to give place to another geographical definition τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ. The case of Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Συρίας (*Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11, *Pol.* 7) is different, for several important cities bore that name. The other places called Ephesus were quite too obscure to come into competition (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ἔστι καὶ Ἔφεσος νῆσος ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ, on the authority of Hecatæus); and the addition here must be explained by the formal character of the address. See also Xen. *Anab.* ii. 2. 6 ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας.

4. ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ] Comp. *Magn.* 7 ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἀμώμῳ. If the reading had been left doubtful by the external authorities, this parallel would have decided it. For ἄμωμος, ἀμώμως, in the openings of these epistles, see *Rom.* inscr., *Smyrn.* inscr., *Trall.* 1, *Polyc.* 1: comp. also § 4 (below), *Trall.* 13.

πλεῖστα...χαίρειν] This form of salutation runs through six of the seven Ignatian letters, sometimes with words interposed as here and *Rom.*, sometimes in juxtaposition as *Polyc.*, *Magn.*, *Trall.*, *Smyrn.* The exception is *Philad.*, where the opening salutation runs on continuously into the main subject of the letter, so that there is no place for such words or any equivalent. The commonest form of salutation in the opening of a Greek letter is χαίρειν; and it is occasionally strengthened, as here, by πλεῖστα. Of the Apostolic Epistles however S. James alone (i. 1, comp. Acts xv. 23) has χαίρειν in the opening salutation.

I. 'I heartily welcomed you in God. Your name is very dear to me; for your character for love and faith with right judgment is not accidental, but natural to you; and inflamed by Christ's blood you did but fulfil the dictates of your nature, in imitating the loving-kindness of God. For when you heard that I was on my

τον ὄνομα, ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει [ἐν γνώμῃ ὀρθῇ καὶ] δικαίᾳ κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτῆρι

1 *φύσει...δικαίᾳ*] *natura* (*in*) *voluntate recta et justa* Σ; *revera immaculata voluntate* A; *φύσει δικαίᾳ* (omitting the other words) GLg. 2 *κατὰ*] txt. GLAΣ$_{3}$g; praef. *atque etiam* Σ$_{2}$. *ἐν* X. Ἰ. *τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν*] gL; *ἐν* Ἰ. X. *τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν* G; *iesu christi salvatoris nostri* ΣA: see the lower note. 3 *μιμηταί*] Gg;

way from Syria, a prisoner for the Name of Christ our common hope, expecting to fight with wild beasts in Rome and so to claim a place as a disciple, you were eager to visit me. Gladly then have I received you all in the person of Onesimus your loving bishop and delegate. And I pray that you may love and imitate him; for God has indeed been good to you in giving you such a man for your bishop.'

Ἀποδεξάμενος] '*Having welcomed*'; comp. *Polyc.* 1, *Trall.* 1. He had welcomed them in the person of Onesimus: see *Trall.* 1. The sentence thus begun is never finished, being lost in a succession of subordinate and parenthetical clauses. The subject is at length resumed in a different form, *ἐπεὶ οὖν...ἀπείληφα κ.τ.λ.* The opening of the letter to the Romans fares in the same way. See also similar phenomena in *Philad.* 1, *Smyrn.* 1; comp. *Magn.* 1, 5.

1. *ὄνομα*] '*name*,' here equivalent to 'personality,' 'character,' 'worth'; comp. Clem. Rom. 1 *ἀξιαγάπητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν*. A marginal gloss to the Latin translation (L$_{2}$) supposes that there is a play on the word *ἔφεσις* 'appetite, desire,' '*Ephesis* Græce, *desiderium* Latine. Ephesii desiderabiles dicuntur'; and this explanation has been adopted by some editors. Such a reference however, besides being too obscure in itself, is rendered improbable by such parallel passages as *Rom.* 10 Κρόκος *τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα* (see also the note on Ἄλκην, *Smyrn.* 13). The various readings suggest the omission of the pronoun with *ὄνομα*. At all events *σου* can hardly stand. The Latin translation here again has a gloss (L$_{2}$), 'Dicit autem singulariter *tuum* nomen, et continuo pluraliter *possedistis*, insinuans multitudinis in fide et charitate unitatem'; but this is too ingenious. I am disposed to think that a transcriber, finding no pronoun, carelessly inserted *σου*, which appears in *Polyc.* 1. Otherwise I should adopt the reading of the Long Recension *ὑμῶν ἐν Θεῷ τὸ κ.τ.λ.*, as this pronoun occupies the same early place elsewhere in the opening addresses of Ignatius, *Magn.* 1, *Rom.* 1, *Polyc.* 1.

φύσει] '*by nature*,' and not by accident or use or education. Here again the expression has a Gnostic tinge: see the note on *Trall.* 1 Ἄμωμον διάνοιαν...ἔγνων ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας, οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν ἀλλὰ *κατὰ φύσιν*.

ἐν γνώμῃ ὀρθῇ καί] I have inserted these words from the Syriac, which is loosely followed by the Armenian. They must have fallen out at an age prior to any of our Greek authorities. The epithet *δικαίᾳ* is altogether unsuited to *φύσει*; and, if the Greek text could be regarded as entire, I should suggest *οἰκείᾳ*; comp. Euseb. *de Laud. Const.* 15, p. 652 *τὸ θνητὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἠλευθέρου φύσεως*, ib. p. 653 *εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως*, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 3 (p. 433) *ἐνταῦθα φυσικὴν ἡγοῦνται τὴν πίστιν οἱ ἀμφὶ*

ἡμῶν· μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι

quia imitatores L; the anacoluthon is obviated in ΣA by conversion into a finite verb with a connecting particle *et estis imitatores.* ἀναζωπυρήσαντες] Gg* [Sev-Syr 172, 174]; *et reaccendentes* L; *et incalescentes estis...et* Σ; def. A (see the next note).

Βασιλείδην...ἔτι φασὶν οἱ ἀμφὶ Βασιλείδην πίστιν ἅμα καὶ ἐκλογὴν οἰκείαν εἶναι.

2. πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην] A very frequent combination in this writer; e.g. § 14, 20, *Magn.* 1, 13, *Rom.* inscr. (v. l.), *Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* inscr., 1, 13. He explains himself on this point, § 14 ἀρχὴ ζωῆς καὶ τέλος, ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη, *Smyrn.* 6 τὸ γὰρ ὅλον ἐστὶν πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη. See the simile in § 9. In *Trall.* 8 faith and love are said to be the flesh and blood of Christ respectively.

ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κ.τ.λ.] The reading of the Syriac and Armenian may be explained by the interchange of a single letter in the Syriac, ך for ב; see Clem. Rom. 60 (p. 292). Otherwise the following reasons are in its favour. (1) It has an exact parallel in *Rom.* inscr. κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; comp. below § 20 ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πίστει καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγάπῃ. (2) It is more difficult than the other reading, and would therefore lend itself more easily to correction.

3. μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ] i. e. 'in benevolence and love.' So also *Trall.* 1; and see below § 10, where the point of μιμηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου is ἐπιείκεια. The expression is borrowed from S. Paul, Ephes. v. 1, thus exhibiting another coincidence with this same epistle: see the note on inscr. τῇ εὐλογημένῃ. Comp. *Clem. Hom.* xii. 26 χρὴ τὸν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀσκοῦντα μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, εὐεργετοῦντα δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς πᾶσιν ἐν τῷ νῦν κόσμῳ τόν τε ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς ὑετοὺς αὐτοῦ παρέχων. The same is the point here. The interpolator brings it out by writing μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας.

This sentence, μιμηταὶ...ἀπηρτίσατε, was apparently intended to be parenthetical, stating merely by the way that the Ephesians had been true to their nature and had exhibited their character in action: but it leads incidentally by a series of subordinate clauses to the main topic, the visit of Onesimus, and so breaks up the grammar of the sentence. This very disjointed and ungrammatical preface is explained by the unfavourable circumstances under which the letter was dictated: *Rom.* 5. The grammar would be partially relieved, if there were authority enough for the insertion of καὶ before κατὰ πίστιν, for the parenthetical sentence would then begin less abruptly with καὶ κατὰ πίστιν; but the Syriac without the Armenian is valueless. Otherwise the καὶ might easily have dropped out in our main authorities owing to the repetition of the same letters—ΚΑΙΔΚΑΙΚΑΤΑ.

ἀναζωπυρήσαντες] '*kindled into living fire*,' in an intransitive sense, i.e. 'stimulated to activity.' The intransitive use is not uncommon; e. g. Gen. xlv. 27, 1 Macc. xiii. 7, the only passages where it occurs in the LXX. So also Clem. Rom. 27, Plut. *Mor.* p. 695 A, p. 888 F ἀναζωπυρεῖν νύκτωρ, καθάπερ τοὺς ἄνθρακας, etc.

ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ] Tertull. *ad Uxor.* ii. 3 'sanguine Dei.' See also Acts xx. 28 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου, where Θεοῦ is most probably the correct reading; and comp. *Rom.* 6.

Θεοῦ, τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε· ἀκούσαντες γὰρ δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ἐλπίδος, ἐλπίζοντα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν

1 Θεοῦ] GL*Σ Sev-Syr 2, 3; def. A (but this defect witnesses to *θεοῦ*, the whole clause having dropped out owing to the homœoteleuton); *χριστοῦ* g. *τελείως*] GLg Sev-Syr 2, 3; *celeriter* (as if *ταχέως*) Σ; *cum amore* A. *ἀπηρτίσατε*] g*LΣA Sev-Syr 2, 3; *ἀπαρτίσατε* G. 2 *γὰρ*] GLg*; om. Σ*A. *δεδεμένον*] GL; *με δεδεμένον* g; dub. ΣA. *ἀπὸ Συρίας*] GLg; *in syria* A; *ab operibus* Σ*. 4 *ἐπιτυχεῖν*] GLg; om. ΣA: see the lower note. *διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν*] *per potiri* L*; *per id quo dignor* Σ; *quando hoc dignor et perfero* A; *διὰ τοῦ μαρτυρίου* g; *διὰ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐπιτυχεῖν* G: see the lower note.

For similar modes of expression in early Christian writers, see the notes on Clem. Rom. 2 *τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ* (with the *Appendix*, p. 402). It does not follow because a writer uses 'the blood of God' and 'the blood of Christ' as convertible expressions, that he would therefore speak of Christ as 'God' absolutely. This passage is therefore no exception to the rule as to the Ignatian usage laid down above on inscr. *τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*. The 'blood of God' is the incentive which fans the natural benevolence of their character into a flame. On the energizing action of the blood of Christ, see the note on *Philad.* inscr.

1. *συγγενικόν*] '*natural*,' literally '*connate*,' '*congenital*'; comp. Plut. *Mor.* p. 561 F *κακίας ὁμοιότητα συγγενικὴν ἐν νέῳ βλαστάνουσαν ἤθει*. So *συγγενικὸν νόσημα*, Plut. *Vit. Pericl.* 22. Here it refers back to *ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει*. The Ephesians had perfected in action the disposition which they possessed by nature. Zahn translates it *fraternum*, adding 'quod decebat vos præstare erga eum qui eidem genti a Christo redempti [redemptæ?] vobiscum adscriptus est.' But this, though a possible sense, does not suit either the context or the general usage of the word so well as the other.

2. *ἀπὸ Συρίας*] A condensed expression in place of 'hearing that I was come in bonds from Syria'; see Winer *Gramm.* § lxvi. p. 776 (Moulton), Kühner II. p. 469 sq. For other similar constructions of prepositions comp. e. g. below, § 12 *τῶν εἰς Θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων*, § 14 *εἰς καλοκαγαθίαν ἀκόλουθά ἐστιν*, § 17 *αἰχμαλωτίσῃ...ἐκ τοῦ...ζῆν*, and not unfrequently in Ignatius. For the particular expression here see *Smyrn.* 11 *ὅθεν δεδεμένος* (comp. below, § 21).

τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος] i.e. 'the Name of Christ which we all bear in common.' For this application of *τὸ ὄνομα* see the note on § 3 below.

3. *ἐλπίδος*] So § 21 *ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν*, *Philad.* 11: comp. *Philad.* 5. For *ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν*, applied to Christ, see the note *Magn.* 11.

4. *ἐπιτυχεῖν*] A very common and characteristic expression in Ignatius. It occurs most frequently in the connexion *ἐπιτυγχάνειν Θεοῦ*; see the note on *Magn.* 1. His martyrdom was *the* success, *the* triumph, to which he looked forward; see esp. *Rom.* 8 *αἰτήσασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα ἐπιτύχω*: comp. also *Polyc.* 7, *Trall.* 12, 13. So *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 5 *τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς ἀθλήσεως ἐπιτύχῃ*.

διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν] The genesis of

ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχῆσαι, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητὴς εἶναι, ἱστορῆσαι ἐσπουδάσατε. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπεί-

5 μαθητὴς εἶναι] L ; add. *dei* ΣA ; add. τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκόντος (-νέγκαντος v. l. in g) θεῷ προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν Gg (from *Eph.* v. 2 ; l completes the quotation by adding *in odorem bonae suavitatis*) : see the lower note. ἱστορῆσαι ἐσπουδάσατε] *videre* (leg. *visere ?*) *festinastis* L ; *studuistis ut veniretis et videretis me* Σ; *vos studuistis recreare me* A (as if it had read תניחונני for תחזונני); om. Gg. Cureton supplies the missing words, με ἰδεῖν ἐσπουδάζετε; Pearson, Petermann, Lipsius, Zahn, and Funk, ἰδεῖν ἐσπουδάσατε : see the lower note. 6 ἐπεὶ οὖν] Gg* ; *quia autem* (δὲ) Σ ; *enim* (as if τὴν γὰρ πολυπλήθειαν) L ; *ergo* A. πολυπλήθειαν] g*;

the corruptions in the text is as follows. (1) The interpolator of the Long Recension has substituted διὰ τοῦ μαρτυρίου for διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν to save a needless repetition ; and he has also helped out the μαθητής, which appeared to him bare and unmeaning, with the addition of τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκόντος Θεῷ προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν, borrowed from S. Paul, Ephes. v. 2. Both these changes are after his usual manner. But in doing so he has carelessly thrust out the end of the sentence, ἱστορῆσαι ἐσπουδάσατε, and thus left ἀκούσαντες without any finite verb. (2) The genuine Ignatius has been corrupted from the text of the interpolator ; but the work has not been done thoroughly, and the word ἐπιτυχεῖν has been allowed to stand. For a similar instance of interpolation in the Greek MS from the Long Recension see § 2 after κατηρτισμένοι. In both cases however we have the alternative of supposing conversely that the interpolation was made first in a MS of the genuine Ignatius and so passed into the Long Recension, but this is not probable. The Latin, Syriac, and Armenian Versions, when correctly read and interpreted, suggest the true restoration of the text, which however has been overlooked by the editors generally.

5. μαθητής] '*a learner.*' This also is an idea which has taken possession of Ignatius, and is repeated again and again by him. He does not set himself up as a teacher of others ; at present he himself is only beginning to be a learner : see esp. § 3 νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι; comp. *Trall.* 5, *Rom.* 5 (quoted below), and see *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 1 μήπω...ἐφαψάμενος...τῆς τελείας τοῦ μαθητοῦ τάξεως. His discipleship will then only be complete, when he is crowned with martyrdom, *Rom.* 4 ; comp. *Magn.* 9, *Polyc.* 7. Hence he uses μαθητὴς elsewhere, as here, absolutely : *Trall.* 5 οὐ...παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητὴς εἰμί, *Rom.* 5 νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς εἶναι. The Greek interpolator and the Syriac translator, not understanding this absolute use, have supplied genitive cases in different ways. This εἰρωνεία of Ignatius has a parallel in Socrates, who always professed himself merely a learner : see Grote's *Plato* I. p. 239.

ἱστορῆσαι] Comp. Gal. i. 18 (with the note). In restoring the Greek from the Versions, I have chosen this word, because the Syriac rendering seems to point to something more expressive than ἰδεῖν, which is generally supplied.

6. ἐπεὶ οὖν κ.τ.λ.] A resumption of the original sentence Ἀποδεξάμενος

ληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ, τῷ ἐπ' ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγήτῳ, ὑμῶν δὲ [ἐν σαρκὶ] ἐπισκόπῳ· ὃν εὔχομαι κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ ἐν ὁμοιότητι εἶναι·

πολυπληθιαν G (so it reads certainly, though the word is written in a slovenly way; there is no authority for πολυπληριαν which has got into the common texts): see the lower note. ἀπειληφα] GLAg; *suscepimus* Σ. 1 ἐπ'] g; ἐν (probably altered to conform to the following ἐν σαρκὶ) G; *in* L*; dub. ΣA. δὲ] GLg; om. ΣA (so that they take ἀδιηγήτῳ with ἀγάπῃ). 2 ἐν σαρκὶ] GL; om. ΣAg: see the lower note. Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν] GLΣA; χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν g. Add. *dominum nostrum* Σ; om. GLAg. 3 αὐτῷ ἐν ὁμοιότητι εἶναι] G; *ipsi in similitudine esse* L; ἐν ὁμοιώματι αὐτοῦ εἶναι g; *sitis in similitudine ejus* Σ;

κ.τ.λ.; see the note there. This new sentence itself is never finished, but is lost in a crowd of subordinate clauses. In this respect it is an exact parallel to *Magn.* 2, which begins in the same way ἐπεὶ οὖν ἠξιώθην κ.τ.λ.

πολυπλήθειαν] '*your numerous body*,' '*your large numbers*'; comp. 2 Macc. viii. 16 τὴν ἐθνῶν πολυπλήθειαν, Valentinus in Epiph. *Hær.* xxxi. 6 ὧν τὴν πολυπλήθειαν πρὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐξειπεῖν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. The expression is an incidental testimony to the flourishing condition of the Ephesian Church in the beginning of the second century. The word occurs occasionally in Classical writers, being found as early as Sophocles *Fragm.* 583; comp. Arist. *Hist. An.* v. 4 (p. 562) τὴν πολυπλήθειαν αὐτῶν. It is written both πολυπλήθεια and πολυπληθία. The former is more largely supported by analogy; but for the latter comp. Soph. *Fragm.* 342 κυκλεῖ δὲ πᾶσαν οἰκετῶν παμπληθίαν, which however, as a poetical passage, does not go far to establish a prose usage.

ἀπείληφα] The martyr received the whole Church, when he received Onesimus, their *representative*; see *Magn.* 6 ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώποις τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐθεώρησα ἐν πίστει κ.τ.λ. Comp. also below, § 2 δι' ὧν πάντας ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀγάπην εἶδον, *Magn.* 2 ἠξιώθην ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ Δαμᾶ κ.τ.λ., *Trall.* 1 ὥστε μὲ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρῆσαι.

1. ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ] This Onesimus seems to be a distinct person alike from S. Paul's convert the slave of Philemon, who, if still living, would be too old at this time, and from his later namesake the friend of Melito (Euseb. *H. E.* iv 26), who belonged to another generation and was obviously a layman. Chronologically this notice stands about mid-way between the two, being separated from each by about half a century. On the name Onesimus and the persons bearing it, see the introduction to the Epistle to Philemon in *Colossians etc.* p. 310 sq. The name occurs in an Ephesian inscription Boeckh *C. I. G.* no. 2983.

2. ἐν σαρκί] See the note on *Rom.* 9 τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα. But the words ἐν σαρκὶ here are highly suspicious, both as being absent from some authorities and as being unmeaning in themselves. They may have been added to relieve the apparent awkwardness of the connexion ὑμῶν δὲ. There is no reason to suppose that the Syriac translator had not the δὲ in his text, because he

εὐλογητὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν ἀξίοις οὖσιν τοιοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον κεκτῆσθαι.

II. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ συνδούλου μου Βούρρου τοῦ κατὰ

similes-estote ei A. 4 ἀξίοις] GLΣA; τοιούτοις g. οὖσιν] οὖσι Gs. 5 κεκτῆσθαι] GL; κεκτῆσθαι ἐν χριστῷ g; om. ΣA. Similar omissions in Σ occur *Rom.* 1 εἶναι, *Polyc.* 6 σχεῖν (ἔχειν). The translator probably had κεκτῆσθαι in his text here but declined to translate it as a pleonasm. Σ stops here and resumes again § 3 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ. 6 μου] GLA; ἡμῶν g. A read συμβούλου for συνδούλου. Βούρρου] G; *burdo* A (a confusion of the Syriac letters ܪ and ܕ, *d* and *r*). For the variations in the first vowel in Lg see Appx. All the authorities, except A, agree in the consonants here. See also the notes on *Smyrn.* 12, *Philad.* 11.

has not translated it. This free handling of connecting particles is habitual with him. If ἐν σαρκὶ be genuine, it would seem to imply a contrast to the great ἐπίσκοπος in heaven (*Magn.* 3). But such a contrast is out of place here, and Ignatius was not likely to speak of a bishop as a *carnal* officer. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 254) explains it otherwise; Onesimus belongs to all alike by virtue of love (ἐν ἀγάπῃ), though externally (ἐν σαρκί) he was connected with the Ephesians alone. But this antithesis is not suggested by the first clause. For ὑμῶν δὲ see Phil. ii. 25 ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον; comp. Herod. vii. 8 Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ. Onesimus had two recommendations in the eyes of Ignatius; he was beyond praise for his love, and he was *their* chief pastor.

κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν] '*after the standard of Christ*,' i. e. 'with a Christian love'; comp. Rom. xv. 5 τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

3. αὐτῷ] i. e. Ὀνησίμῳ. For the dative after ὁμοιότης, comp. Plat. *Phæd.* 109 A τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτῷ, *Phædr.* 253 C εἰς ὁμοιότητα αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ Θεῷ...ἄγειν: and for this case with substantives generally see Kühner *Gramm.* II. p. 372 sq. The interpolator has substituted a simpler construction and order, ἐν ὁμοιώματι αὐτοῦ.

4. ἀξίοις οὖσιν] A favourite expression in Ignatius; § 2, *Magn.* 12, 14, *Trall.* 4, 13, *Rom.* 9, *Smyrn.* 9, 11, *Polyc.* 8. So also ἄξιος Θεοῦ §§ 2, 4, *Rom.* 10; comp. *Ephes.* 15.

II. 'As touching Burrhus the deacon, I entreat that he may be allowed to remain with me. Crocus too has refreshed me much, and I pray that God may refresh him. These, together with Euplus and Fronto, have been very welcome to me as your representatives. May I have joy of you always, if I deserve it. Ye ought therefore to glorify Jesus Christ, who glorified you, by submission to your bishop and presbyters, that ye may be perfectly sanctified.'

6. συνδούλου] This expression is with great propriety confined in Ignatius to *deacons*, since the function which the bishop had in common with them was *ministration*; *Magn.* 2, *Philad.* 4, *Smyrn.* 12. Similarly it was customary for bishops to address presbyters as 'compresbyteri'; see *Philippians* p. 228. So too Constantine was accustomed to speak of himself as a συνθεράπων of

Θεὸν διακόνου ὑμῶν [καὶ] ἐν πᾶσιν εὐλογημένου, εὔχομαι παραμεῖναι αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. καὶ Κρόκος δὲ ὁ Θεοῦ ἄξιος καὶ ὑμῶν, ὃν ἐξεμ-

1 καὶ] Ag; om. GL. 3 καὶ Κρόκος δὲ] GL; κρόκος δὲ g; *et marcum* (ב for ם, *m* for *k*) A. ἐξεμπλάριον] GL; ὡς ἐξεμπλάριον g; *secundum similitudinem* A (omitting however ὃν, and adding *eum* at the end of the sentence). 4 ἀπέλαβον] GLA; ἀπελάβομεν g. 6 ἀναψύξαι]

bishops, Euseb. *V. C.* ii. 69, iii. 12, 17, Socr. *H. E.* i. 9. For the relation of the Ignatian usage of σύνδουλος to S. Paul's see the note on Col. iv. 7. The limitation observed by Ignatius is not regarded in other early writers; e.g. *Clem. Hom.* Contest. 5, Ep. ad Iac. 2, 17, where presbyters and others are so addressed by a bishop.

Βούρρου] This person is mentioned again *Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 12. He was the amanuensis of both those letters, which were written from Troas; and is there represented as bearing a joint commission from the Churches of Ephesus and Smyrna to attend the saint. The request therefore which Ignatius prefers just below (εὔχομαι παραμεῖναι) was granted; and he accompanied him when he left Smyrna, whence the present letter was despatched. In the Syriac *Decease of Saint John* (Wright's *Apocryphal Acts* II. p. 64) the Apostle is represented as giving his latest commands to one Birrus (Byrrhus). As the scene takes place at Ephesus, it is not improbable that the person intended was the same who is mentioned by Ignatius. The Greek copy however substitutes the name Εὐτυχῆ τὸν καὶ Οὐῆρον (Tischendorf *Act. Apost. Apocr.* p. 274). In the corresponding passage of pseudo-Abdias (*Ap. Hist.* v. 23) the name is Byrrhus, as in the Syriac.

2. εἰς τιμήν] A common Ignatian phrase, more especially with Θεοῖ etc. (see examples in the note on § 21 below); comp. also *Polyc.* 5 εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου.

3. Κρόκος] mentioned likewise in the letter to the Romans § 10, which also was written from Smyrna, as τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα. It is a rare name.

Θεοῦ ἄξιος καὶ ὑμῶν] The same expression occurs also *Rom.* 10. For Θεοῦ ἄξιος see the note on § 1 ἀξίοις οὖσιν.

ἐξεμπλάριον] '*a pattern*,' not merely '*a sample*.' The Latin 'exemplar,' 'exemplarium,' is properly a copy, not in the sense of a thing copied from another, but a thing to be copied by others; Hor. *Ep.* i. 19. 17 'Decipit *exemplar* vitiis *imitabile*.' As a law term, it denoted one of the authoritative originals where a document was written in duplicate; see Heumann-Hesse *Hand-lexicon des Römischen Rechts* s.v. Hence Arnob. *adv. Nat.* vi. 13 'Phryna...exemplarium fuisse perhibetur cunctarum quæ in opinione sunt Venerum,' i. e. the original of all the statues of Venus held in repute. The older form is 'exemplar' ('exemplare,' Lucr. ii. 124); but even this would become ἐξεμπλάριον in Greek, just as Apollinaris becomes Ἀπολλινάριος. The word occurs again *Trall.* 3 τὸ ἐξεμπλάριον τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν, *Smyrn.* 12 ἐξεμπλάριον Θεοῦ διακονίας. It was natural that

πλάριον τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης ἀπέλαβον, κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναψύξαι, ἅμα Ὀνησίμῳ καὶ Βούρρῳ καὶ Εὔπλῳ καὶ Φρόντωνι, δι' ὧν πάντας ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀγάπην εἶδον· ὀναί-

GL; ἀναψύξει g (but *refrigeret* l); dub. A. Βούρρῳ] G; *cendaro* A (to be explained by the confusion of similar letters in the Syriac). L*g* have variations in the first vowel as before. Εὔπλῳ] G; εὔπλοϊ g*; *euplo* L; *euphathe* A. 7 Φρόντωνι] *φρόντονι* G. ὀναίμην] ὠναίμην G.

a provincial, like Ignatius, should adopt from the Latin a word which was a law-term, just as he elsewhere adopts others which are military terms (*Polyc.* 6; see the note).

4. *κατὰ πάντα κ.τ.λ.*] The phrase *κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαύειν* occurs several times in Ignatius; *Magn.* 15, *Trall.* 12, *Rom.* 10, *Smyrn.* 9, 12 (comp. *Smyrn.* 10). The word *ἀναπαύειν* is similarly used by S. Paul of the 'refreshment' arising from the kindly offices of another: 1 Cor. xvi. 18, Philem. 7, 20.

5. *ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν...ἀναψύξαι*] A reminiscence of 2 Tim. i. 16 *πολλάκις με ἀνέψυξεν* [*ὁ Ὀνησίφορος*] *καὶ τὴν ἅλυσιν οὐκ ἐπῃσχύνθη...ἀλλὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ σπουδαιοτέρως ζητήσας εὗρεν· δῴη αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος εὑρεῖν κ.τ.λ.* The Latin translator of the interpolated letters has been so possessed with this parallel, that he has added the words 'et catenam meam non erubuit' here, and substituted 'Onesiphoro' for 'Onesimo' just below. Ignatius exhibits another reminiscence of this context of S. Paul in *Smyrn.* 10 *τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ οὐχ ... ἐπῃσχύνθητε· οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται ἡ τελεία πίστις, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, a passage which in thought closely resembles the one before us. For *ἀναψύχειν* comp. also *Trall.* 12.

6. *Εὔπλῳ*] The name *Εὔπλους* is found occasionally in the inscriptions, as is also the feminine *Εὐπλοία*. In Boeckh *C. I.* 1211 we have the coincidence of names, *Εὔπλους Ὀνασίμου*. The other form of the dative *Εὔπλοϊ*, which appears in the MSS of the interpolated epistles, is also legitimate, as *πλοῦς* is frequently declined *τοῦ πλοός, τῷ πλοΐ*, in later writers; see Lobeck *Paral.* p. 173 sq, *Phryn.* p. 453. In Alciphr. *Ep.* i. 18 I find it written *Εὐπλόῳ*. This Euplus and Fronto are not mentioned again by name, though they are probably included among the 'many others' who are mentioned together with Crocus, as being in the saint's company at Smyrna, in *Rom.* 10. All these Ephesians, with the exception of Burrhus, appear to have parted from Ignatius at Smyrna, as they are not mentioned in the epistles written from Troas.

7. *δι' ὧν*] i. e. 'as your representatives.' For the general sense see the note on *ἀπείληφα* § 1, and for *διὰ* comp. *Magn.* 2 *ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ Δαμᾶ*.

ὀναίμην] Again a Pauline phrase, Philem. 20 (see the note there). In Ignatius it occurs several times in this same phrase or in similar connexions, *Magn.* 2, 12, *Polyc.* 1, 6; comp. *Rom.* 5. The clause occurs again almost word for word in *Magn.* 12. The spurious Ignatius has caught up this expression and repeats it, *Mar.* 2, *Tars.* 8, 10, *Ant.* 14, *Hero* 6, 8, *Philipp.* 15. There may possibly be a play on the name

μην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός, ἐάνπερ ἄξιος ὦ. πρέπον οὖν ἐστιν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δοξάζειν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δοξάσαντα ὑμᾶς· ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ κατηρτισμένοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, κατὰ πάντα ἦτε ἡγιασμένοι.

1 πρέπον οὖν] txt GL; add. ὑμᾶς g; add. *vobis* A. 3 κατηρτισμένοι] L; ἦτε κατηρτισμένοι τῷ αὐτῷ νοΐ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἵνα Gg (from 1 Cor. i. 10). This addition is wanting not only in L, but also in A, where however the syntax is rearranged; *perfectos fieri in omni submissione; ergo submissi estote episcopo* etc. 4 ὑποτασσόμενοι]

Ὀνήσιμος here, as there seems certainly to be in S. Paul; but this is not probable.

1. ἐάνπερ ἄξιος ὦ] This doubt about his 'worthiness' is common in Ignatius; *Magn.* 12, 14, *Trall.* 4, 13, *Rom.* 9, *Smyrn.* 11. See also the note on ἠξιώθην, *Magn.* 2.

πρέπον...ἐστιν] This phrase appears again, *Magn.* 3, 4, *Rom.* 10, *Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 7; while πρέπει occurs in § 4 below, *Magn.* 3, *Trall.* 12, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 5, 7.

2. δοξάζειν...τὸν δοξάσαντα] See *Philad.* 10 δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα...καὶ ὑμεῖς δοξασθήσεσθε. For similar turns of expression see the note on *Smyrn.* 5 μᾶλλον δὲ κ.τ.λ.

3. κατηρτισμένοι] '*joined together*,' '*settled*'; comp. *Philad.* 8 εἰς ἕνωσιν κατηρτισμένος, *Smyrn.* 1 κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει. The Latin translator has rendered it here, as elsewhere, by 'perfecti,' which would be ἀπηρτισμένοι. The prominent idea in this word is 'fitting together'; and its force is seen more especially in two technical uses. (1) It signifies 'to reconcile factions,' so that a political umpire who adjusts differences between contending parties is called καταρτιστήρ; e. g. Herod. v. 28 ἡ Μίλητος...νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στάσι μέχρι οὗ μιν Πάριοι κατήρτισαν· τούτους γὰρ καταρτιστῆρας ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἵλοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι. (2) It is a surgical term for 'setting bones': e. g. Galen *Op.* XIX. p. 461 (ed. Kühn) καταρτισμός ἐστι μεταγωγὴ ὀστοῦ ἢ ὀστῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ φύσιν τόπου εἰς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν. The use of the word here recalls its occurrence in 1 Cor. i. 10 ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες, καὶ μὴ ᾖ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα, ἦτε δὲ κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοΐ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ. From this passage of S. Paul the Ignatian interpolator has introduced the words which I have here spaced into our text (see the upper note); and from the interpolated epistles they have passed into the Greek MS of the genuine epistles. The versions are our authorities for ejecting them. For a similar instance see the note on § 1 διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν.

4. πρεσβυτερίῳ] This is a common word in Ignatius; see below, §§ 4, 20, *Magn.* 2, 13, *Trall.* 2, 7, 13, *Philad.* 4, 5, 7, *Smyrn.* 8, 12. In the Apostolic writings it occurs only once of a Christian presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

III. 'I do not venture to use the tone of authority. I am only a learner with you. I need to be trained by you for the contest. Nevertheless love would not allow me to be silent. I could not refrain from urging obedience to your bishop.

III. *Οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν, ὡς ὤν τι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, οὔπω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· νῦν [γὰρ] ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει*

gLA; *ἐπιτασσόμενοι* G. 6 *τι*] gA; *τις* GL. 7 *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*] G; *in nomine (iesu) christi* L*; *διὰ τὸ ὄνομα* g* (add. *αὐτοῦ* vulg.); *propter veritatis nomen* A. It may be a question whether we should read *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* or *διὰ τὸ ὄνομα*, but without doubt the words *Christi*, *veritatis*, are glosses: see the lower note. 8 *γὰρ*] Gg; *autem* L; om. A.

The bishops abide in the mind of Christ, just as Christ is the Mind of the Father.'

6. *Οὐ διατάσσομαι κ.τ.λ.*] *Trall.* 3 *ἵνα ὦν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι*, *Rom.* 4 *οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν.* For the general sentiment comp. Barnab. 1 *ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος ἀλλ' ὡς εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑποδείξω ὀλίγα κ.τ.λ.*, *ib.* 4 *ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς ὡς εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὤν*, and again *οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος ἀλλ' ὡς πρέπει ἀγαπῶντι...γράφειν ἐσπούδασα, περίψημα ὑμῶν*, Polyc. *Phil.* 12 'nihil vos latet; mihi autem non est concessum modo.' For the reading *τι*, rather than *τις*, comp. 1 Cor. iii. 5, 7, *τί οὖν ἐστιν Ἀπολλώς; τί δέ ἐστιν Παῦλος;...οὔτε ὁ φυτεύων ἐστίν τι κ.τ.λ.*, where similarly, *τίς...τίς* is substituted for *τί...τί* in some copies; see also Gal. ii. 6, vi. 3, *εἶναί τι*, and 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 2 Cor. xii. 11, *οὐδέν εἰμι.*

καὶ δέδεμαι] 'Even my bonds do not perfect me; even my bonds do not make me a full disciple, much less a teacher'; comp. *Magn.* 12 *εἰ γὰρ καὶ δεδέμαι, πρὸς ἕνα τῶν λελυμένων ὑμῶν οὐκ εἰμί*, *Trall.* 5 *καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ οὐ καθότι δεδέμαι...παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητής εἰμι, πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει κ.τ.λ.* For the additional dignity and authority which are conferred by his bonds, see the notes on § 11 below, *Magn.* 1.

7. *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*] '*the Name*,' i.e. of Christ. The Name is again used absolutely below § 7 *τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν*, *Philad.* 10 *δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα*; comp. Acts v. 41 *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀτιμασθῆναι*, 3 Joh. 7 *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐξῆλθαν.* So too [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 13 *τὸ ὄνομα δι' ὑμᾶς μὴ βλασφημῆται...βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομα*, Hermas *Sim.* viii. 10 *τὸ ὄνομα ἡδέως ἐβάστασαν*, ix. 13 *ἐὰν τὸ ὄνομα μόνον λάβῃς*, *ib. ἐὰν τὸ ὄνομα φορῇς*, *ib. τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἐφόρεσαν*, ix. 28 *οἱ πάσχοντες ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος*, Apollon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18 *κέκριται...οὐ διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ δι' ἃς ἐτόλμησε λῃστείας*, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 6 (p. 532). There is a tendency in later transcribers, who did not understand this absolute usage, to supply a genitive: e.g. *αὐτοῦ* in Acts v. 41; *Christi*, *bonorum*, in § 7 below; *Domini*, etc., in *Philad.* 10; *τοῦ Κυρίου, τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, in [Clem. Rom.] ii. 13. Similarly the versions interpolate here.

8. *μαθητεύεσθαι*] '*of becoming a learner.*' For the idea see the note on § 1 *μαθητὴς εἶναι*; for the verb, the note on § 10 *μαθητευθῆναι.*

9. *συνδιδασκαλίταις μου*] '*my schoolfellows.*' I cannot find either *διδασκαλίτης* or *συνδιδασκαλίτης* elsewhere; but there is a close analogy in *compedagogita* or *conpedagogita* which appears in some Latin inscriptions (Fabretti *Inscr. Ant.* p. 361 sq, Orelli

ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι πίστει, νουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἐᾷ με σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν, διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅπως

1 ὑφ' ὑμῶν] G; παρ' ὑμῶν [g]. ὑπαλειφθῆναι] G; *suscipi* (ὑποληφθῆναι) L; *accipere a vobis fidem* etc. A; ὑπομνησθῆναι g. 2 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.] Σ has

Inscr. Lat. 2818, 2819), and which points to the meaning. These *compedagogitæ* are the slaves trained under the same *pedagogus* or in the same *pedagogium*, and are called elsewhere *pueri compedagogii* (see Fabretti l.c.). The word is a mongrel (con-παιδαγωγίτης), like *sullibertus* (συν-libertus) which also is found in some inscriptions. Similarly συνδιδασκαλῖται are those who have had the same διδάσκαλος or διδασκαλία or διδασκαλεῖον. Their common διδάσκαλος, contemplated here, is not S. Paul or any Apostle, but Christ; see § 15 εἷς οὖν διδάσκαλος κ.τ.λ. Some would explain the word '*joint-teachers*' (comp. August. *Conf.* i. 9 'condoctore suo'), and this meaning certainly suits the following ὑπαλειφθῆναι well (comp. Plut. *Vit. Pericl.* 4 τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ συνῆν, καθάπερ ἀθλητῇ, τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλείπτης καὶ διδάσκαλος); but it seems to be inadmissible on several grounds. (1) There is no reason why Ignatius should not have used συνδιδάσκαλος, which occurs in Cyril Alex. *Ep.* lxvii (X. p. 336, ed. Migne). (2) Analogy shows that the termination -ίτης signifies 'one who has to do with' anything, e.g. Ἀρεοπαγίτης, ἐγκρατίτης, ὁπλίτης, πολίτης, σωρίτης, τεχνίτης, παλαιστρίτης (Maca. Magn. iii. 26), πρωτοκαθεδρίτης (Hermas *Vis.* iii. 9), etc. So συμφυλακίτης, not 'a fellow-jailor,' but 'a fellow-prisoner'; συζυγίτης 'a yoke-fellow, husband' (συζυγία); συνορίτης 'a neighbour' (συνορία); συνοδίτης 'a fellow-traveller' (συνοδία); etc. (3) The συν- would be pointless otherwise; since there is no reason for representing the Ephesians as a *board* or *council* of teachers.

ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει] This sentence must be connected with οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ., not with the words immediately preceding, if συνδιδασκαλίταις is rightly interpreted 'school-fellows'; and to such a connexion the imperfect ἔδει 'it *were* meet' (not δεῖ) points. See the language of Ignatius to the Romans § 3.

1. ὑπαλειφθῆναι] '*to have been anointed*,' as an athlete preparing for the contest. Compare the metaphor in *Polyc.* 2, 3, νῆφε, ὡς Θεοῦ ἀθλητής ...τὸ θέμα ἀφθαρσία...μεγάλου ἐστὶν ἀθλητοῦ τὸ δέρεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν. For the meaning of ὑπαλείφειν see Com. in Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 53 ὡς ἄτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ὑπαλείφεται τῷ χεῖρε θ' ὑποκονίεται. This duty of oiling the athlete fell to the trainer, hence called ἀλείπτης (see e.g. Epict. *Diss.* iii. 10. 8, iii. 20. 10, iii. 26. 22); and Ignatius here says that the Ephesians were the proper persons to perform this office for him. The metaphor is variously applied: e.g. ἐπαλείφειν ἐπί τινα 'to incite against a person,' Polyb. ii. 51. 2 (see Wesseling on Diod. Sic. II. p. 138); ἀλείφειν πρός τι, ἀλείφειν ἐπί τι, 'to educate to a thing' Philo *Leg. ad Cai.* 24 (II. p. 569), *Quis rer. div. her.* 24 (I. p. 490), Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 15 (p. 436). For its application to a moral and godly life generally, see Philo *Omn. prob. lib.* 12 sq (II. p. 458 sq) τὸ ἠθικὸν εὖ μάλα διαπονοῦσιν, ἀλείπταις χρώμενοι τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις...τοιού-

συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν, τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ γνώμη,

this one sentence, but nothing afterwards till § 8 ὅταν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. ἐπεί] G; ἐπειδὴ g. περὶ ὑμῶν] Gg; *pro vobis* L; *de vobis* A; *a vobis* Σ (a Syriac idiom). 5 ἡμῶν] LA; ὑμῶν G; al. g.

τους ἢ δίχα περιεργείας ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων ἀθλητὰς ἀρετῆς ἀπεργάζεται φιλοσοφία, γυμνάσματα προτιθεῖσα τὰς ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις (speaking of the Mosaic law), Epict. *Diss.* i. 24. 1 ὁ Θεός σε, ὡς ἀλείπτης, κ.τ.λ., Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 3 (p. 839) οὗτος ὁ ἀθλητὴς ἀληθῶς ὁ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ σταδίῳ τῷ καλῷ κόσμῳ τὴν ἀληθινὴν νίκην κατὰ πάντων στεφανούμενος τῶν παθῶν...περιγίνεται ὁ πειθήνιος τῷ ἀλείπτῃ γενόμενος; comp. *ib.* vii. 11 (p. 872) ἡ ἀγάπη ἀλείφουσα καὶ γυμνάσασα κατασκευάζει τὸν ἴδιον ἀθλητήν. But it came to be applied more especially, as here, to the struggle for the martyr's crown. Hence the vision of Perpetua on the eve of her martyrdom, *Act. SS. Perp. et Fel.* 10 (Ruinart p. 84) 'et cœperunt me fautores mei *oleo defrigere* quomodo solent *in agonem*,' Tertull. *ad Mart.* 3 'Christus Jesus...vos spiritu *unxit* et ad hoc scamma produxit.' So too Basil. *Ep.* clxiv (II. p. 255, Garnier) ὅτε μέντοι εἴδομεν τὸν ἀθλητήν, ἐμακαρίσαμεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀλείπτην ὃς παρὰ τῷ δικαίῳ κριτῇ κ.τ.λ. And in later writers this application becomes common. S. Chrysostom, in his homily on Ignatius, repeats the saint's own metaphor; *Op.* II. p. 598 B (ed. Bened.) αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πόλεις συντρέχουσαι πάντοθεν ἤλειφον τὸν ἀθλητὴν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐξέπεμπον τῶν ἐφοδίων.

3. προέλαβον] i.e. 'I did not wait for you,' 'I took the initiative,' 'I lost no time.' For the infinitive after προλαμβάνειν comp. Mark xiv. 8.

4. συντρέχητε] '*concur, combine, agree*,' and below § 4; as e.g. *Clem. Hom.* xx. 22 συνέδραμον αὐτοῦ τῷ βουλήματι (comp. i. 10). The sense is not uncommon in later writers.

τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ] This expression is characteristic of Ignatius: *Rom.* 8, *Smyrn.* 6, *Polyc.* 8. So too γνώμη Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ here and *Philad.* inscr.

5. ἀδιάκριτον] '*inseparable*'; comp. *Magn.* 1 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἡμῶν ζῆν. The word has various meanings. In the active sense it signifies; (1) '*Unhesitating, unwavering, single-minded, steadfast*'; e.g. James iii. 17 ἡ ἄνωθεν σοφία... ἀδιάκριτος, ἀνυπόκριτος, where it is best explained by a previous expression, i. 6 μηδὲν διακρινόμενος. So elsewhere in these epistles, *Magn.* 15 κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον πνεῦμα, *Trall.* 1 ἄμωμον διάνοιαν καὶ ἀδιάκριτον; comp. Heracleon in Orig. *in Ioann.* xiii. § 10 (IV. p. 220) τὴν ἀδιάκριτον καὶ κατάλληλον τῇ φύσει ἑαυτῆς πίστιν, Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* ii. 3 (p. 190) ἀδιακρίτῳ πίστει: see the note on ἀδιακρίτως *Rom.* inscr. (2) '*Undiscriminating, indiscriminate, indiscreet, reckless*'; e.g. *Clem. Hom.* iii. 5 τοῖς διὰ τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἀλόγοις ζώοις παρεικασθεῖσι. (3) '*Impartial*,' e.g. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 18 (p. 474) ἀγάπη... ἀμέριστός ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσιν, ἀδιάκριτος, κοινωνική. So the adverb, *Test. Duod. Patr.* Zab. 7 ἀδιακρίτως πᾶσι σπλαγχνιζόμενοι ἐλεᾶτε. Its passive senses are; (4) '*Inseparable, inseparate*,' as here; comp. Aristot. *de Somn.* 3 (p. 458) διὰ δὲ τὸ γίνεσθαι ἀδιακριτώτερον τὸ αἷμα μετὰ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς προσφορὰν ὁ ὕπνος γίνεται, ἕως ἂν διακριθῇ τοῦ αἵματος τὸ μὲν καθα-

ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὁρισθέντες ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώμῃ εἰσίν.

IV. Ὅθεν πρέπει ὑμῖν συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ· ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε. τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον ὑμῶν πρεσβυτέριον, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄξιον, οὕτως συνήρμοσται 5

1 ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώμῃ] G; *in iesu christi voluntate* A; *iesu christi sententia* L, where the omission of ī (= *in*) was easy between *determinati* and *iesu*; al. g. 3 πρέπει ὑμῖν] G; *decet vos* L; καὶ ὑμῖν πρέπει [g]; *et vos decet* A. 5 ὑμῶν]

ρώτερον εἰς τὰ ἄνω τὸ δὲ θολερώτερον εἰς τὰ κάτω. (5) '*Indistinguishable*,' as Athenag. *Resurr.* 2 κἂν πάνυ παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἀδιάκριτον εἶναι δοκῇ τὸ τῷ παντὶ πάλιν προσφυῶς ἡνωμένον: and so '*confused, unintelligible*,' Polyb. xv. 12. 9 ἀδιάκριτον φωνήν. (6) '*Miscellaneous*,' Prov. xxv. 1 (LXX) αἱ παροιμίαι (παιδεῖαι) Σολομῶντος αἱ ἀδιάκριτοι. (7) '*Undecided*' (of a contest), Lucian *Iup. Trag.* 25 (II. p. 671) ὡς ἀποθάνῃ ἀήττητος, ἀμφήριστον ἔτι καὶ ἀδιάκριτον καταλιπὼν τὸν λόγον.

ζῆν] For this substantival use of the word, see the note on § 11.

ἡ γνώμη] This term here takes the place of the more usual λόγος or σοφία, as describing the relation of Christ to the Father. On this account γνώμη is employed in the one clause, and ἐν γνώμῃ in the other; though some authorities obliterate the distinction.

1. τὰ πέρατα] '*the farthest parts*,' i.e. of the earth: comp. *Rom.* 6 οὐδέν μοι ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου, *ib.* βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς. The expression [τὰ] πέρατα used absolutely as here occurs, Ps. lxv (lxiv). 9 οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰ πέρατα: comp. also Philo *Leg. ad Cai.* 3 (p. 548) οἱ μέχρι περάτων, *ib.* 27 (p. 571) ἀπὸ περάτων αὐτῶν, Celsus in Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 72 ἄχρι περάτων νενεμημένους. Ignatius would be contemplating regions as distant as Gaul on the one hand and Mesopotamia on the other. The bishops, he says in effect, however wide apart, are still united in the mind of Jesus Christ; see *Liturg. D. Marc.* p. 16 (Neale) τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων μέχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς, comp. *Liturg. S. Basil.* p. 164. Zahn objects that τὰ πέρατα cannot mean τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς, and himself conjectures τὰ ποίμνια (*I. v. A.* p. 564) or τὸν πάτερα (*ad loc.*), and Markland suggests τὴν χάριτα; but the passages which I have quoted amply justify the absolute use of [τὰ] πέρατα. Zahn rightly objects (*I. v. A.* p. 299) to Pearson's interpretation 'episcopatum fuisse ab apostolis ex voluntate Christi institutum' (*V. I.* p. 271), adopted also by Rothe and Uhlhorn. Ignatius is speaking here, not of episcopacy as instituted by Christ, but of the bishops themselves as sharing the mind of Christ.

IV. 'Act in concert with your bishop, as you are now doing. Your presbytery stands in the same relation to the bishop, as the strings to the lyre. The theme of your song is Jesus Christ. The several members of the Church will form the choir. God will give the scale. Thus one harmonious strain will rise up from all and reach the ears of the Father. He will recognise your good deeds; and by your union among yourselves you will unite yourselves with him.'

4. ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε] See for similar expressions elsewhere in Ignatius,

τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ συμφώνῳ ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ᾄδεται. καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χορὸς γίνεσθε, ἵνα σύμφωνοι ὄντες ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ, χρῶμα Θεοῦ λαβόντες, ἐν ἑνότητι ᾄδητε ἐν

GL [A]; om. [g]. τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄξιον] GL; ἄξιον ὂν τοῦ θεοῦ [g]; al. A. 8 γίνεσθε] G; γένεσθε [g]; *facti estis* L; *estote* (or *facti estis*) A. Possibly we should read ἐγίνεσθε or ἐγένεσθε. 9 ᾄδητε] ᾄδετε G.

Trall. 2, *Smyrn.* 4, *Polyc.* 1, 4.

ἀξιονόμαστον] '*worthy of record*,' '*worthy of fame*.' The fondness of Ignatius for the word ἄξιος, which has been already remarked (note on § 2), extends to its compounds also. Thus we have ἀξιαγάπητος, ἀξίαγνος, ἀξιέπαινος, ἀξιεπίτευκτος, ἀξιοθαύμαστος, ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξιόπιστος, ἀξιόπλοκος, ἀξιοπρεπής, in these epistles. Some of these must have been coined for the occasion.

6. ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ] See another application of this metaphor in *Philad.* 1 συνευρύθμισται [ὁ ἐπίσκοπος] ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, ὡς χορδαῖς κιθάρα. Comp. Clem. Al. *Protr.* 1 (p. 5) ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος...τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἁρμοσάμενος, ψάλλει τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ πολυφώνου ὀργάνου καὶ προσᾴδει τούτῳ τῷ ὀργάνῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· σὺ γὰρ εἶ κιθάρα κ.τ.λ.

διὰ τοῦτο] '*owing to this adjustment, this relation*.'

8. οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα] '*the individual* members' of the Church, who are to 'form themselves' (γίνεσθε) into a *band* or chorus. For the characteristic Ignatian expression οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα comp. below § 20, *Trall.* 13, *Smyrn.* 5, 12, *Polyc.* 1.

χορὸς] So *Rom.* 2 ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι ᾄσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ: comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 14 (p. 885) ἡ ἐκκλησία Κυρίου ὁ πνευματικὸς ἅγιος χορός.

9. χρῶμα Θεοῦ] '*the scale of God*': comp. e.g. Antiphanes in Athen. xiv. p. 643 ἔπειτα τὰ μέλη μεταβολαῖς καὶ χρώμασιν ὡς εὖ κέκραται, Plato *Resp.* x. p. 601 ἐπεὶ γυμνωθέντα γε τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς χρωμάτων τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν, αὐτὰ ἐφ' αὑτῶν λεγόμενα κ.τ.λ. (see also *Legg.* ii. p. 655). The term χρώματα 'hues' applied to sounds is only one illustration of the very common transference, by analogy, of ideas derived from one sense to another (see Farrar *Chapters on Language* p. 297 sq). The word χρῶμα then, as a musical term, designated an interval between two full tones; comp. Aristid. Quint. p. 18 ὡς γὰρ τὸ μεταξὺ λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος χρῶμα καλεῖται, οὕτω καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσων ἀμφοῖν θεωρούμενον χρῶμα προσείρηται. Hence it gave its name to the *chromatic* scale, which was called χρωματικὸν γένος, or χρῶμα simply, as distinguished from the two other scales used by the Greeks, the *diatonic* (διατονικὸν γένος or διάτονον) and *enharmonic* (ἐναρμόνιον γένος or ἁρμονία); see Aristoxenus *Harm.* pp. 19, 23 sq, 44, Euclid. *Intr. Harm.* p. 534 (ed. Gregory), Dion. Halic. *de Comp. Verb.* 19, Plut. *de Mus.* 11, 32 sq (*Mor.* pp. 1134, 1142 sq), Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* vi. p. 366, Vitruv. *Arch.* v. 4, Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* ii. 4. See on this subject Westphal *Harmonik u. Melopöie der Griechen* pp. 129 sq, 141 sq, 263 sq, Marquardt on Aristoxenus *Harm.* p. 246 sq and elsewhere. Of the

φωνῇ μιᾷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πατρί, ἵνα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀκούσῃ καὶ ἐπιγινώσκῃ, δι' ὧν εὖ πράσσετε, μέλη ὄντας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. χρήσιμον οὖν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀμώμῳ ἑνότητι εἶναι, ἵνα καὶ Θεοῦ πάντοτε μετέχητε.

V. *Εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐν μικρῷ χρόνῳ τοιαύτην συνήθειαν ἔσχον πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην*

1 διὰ] GL; om. A (attaching Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ to the following words and rendering *patri domini nostri iesu christi:* the omission may be owing to homœoteleuton (ΜΙΑΔΙΑ). The paraphrase in g is *ἐν ἑνότητι ἓν γένησθε τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ* Ἰ. Χ. *κ.τ.λ.* 2 ἐπιγινώσκῃ] *cognoscat* LA;

chromatic scale itself there were three recognised modifications; Aristox. *Harm.* p. 50 *τρεῖς δὲ χρωματικαί, ἥ τε τοῦ μαλακοῦ χρώματος καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἡμιολίου καὶ ἡ τοῦ τονιαίου* (comp. Aristid. Quint. p. 19, Sext. Emp. l. c., Euclid. l. c. p. 537 sq). Such subdivisions or modifications of any of the three great *γένη* were called *χρόαι*, 'colorations' or 'shadings'; e. g. Aristox. *Harm.* p. 24 *κατὰ τὰ γένη τε καὶ τὰς χρόας* (see Marquardt's note), comp. ib. p. 69 *καθ' ἑκάστην χρόαν ἐφ' ἑκάστου γένους.* These subdivisions (*χρόαι*) of the *χρῶμα* were also themselves called *χρώματα*: see Euclid. l. c. Ignatius may have been led to choose a term which pointed chiefly to the chromatic scale, because this scale was especially adapted to the instrument which suggested this elaborate metaphor, the *κιθάρα*: comp. Philochorus in Athen. xiv. p. 637 sq *Λύσανδρος ὁ Σικυώνιος κιθαριστὴς πρῶτος μετέστησε τὴν ψιλοκιθαριστικὴν .... χρώματά τε εὔχροα πρῶτος ἐκιθάρισε κ.τ.λ.*, Plut. *Mor.* p. 1137 E *τῷ χρωματικῷ γένει ... κιθάρα ... ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχρήσατο*: see Westphal p. 131 sq. The Latin translator here roughly renders *χρῶμα* by *melos.*

ἐν ἑνότητι] The phrase occurs again §§ 5, 14 below, *Philad.* 2, 5, *Smyrn.* 12, *Polyc.* 8. The words *ἑνοῦσθαι, ἑνότης, ἕνωσις*, are frequent in these letters, as might have been anticipated from their general purport.

2. *δι' ὧν εὖ πράσσετε*] '*through your good actions*,' as in § 14 *δι' ὧν πράσσουσιν ὀφθήσονται*; comp. § 15 *δι' ὧν λαλεῖ πράσσῃ κ.τ.λ.* There is no ground for the conjectural reading *δι' ὅν.* The Latin has not *per quem* (as it has hitherto been read), but *per quæ;* and the Armenian translates *in bonis laboribus vestris.* For *εὖ πράσσειν* in the sense, not of 'faring well,' but of 'acting well,' comp. *Smyrn.* 11.

μέλη] '*members*,' as *Trall.* 11 *ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ* (see the note there). There is no play here, as Markland and others have supposed, on the other meaning of the word, '*songs.*' Such an allusion would confuse the metaphor hopelessly, and would be unmeaning in itself.

V. 'I myself have found much happiness in my brief intercourse with your bishop; much more then must you, who are closely united with him, as the Church is with Christ, and as Christ is with the Father. Let no man deceive himself. None shall eat the bread who stand apart from the altar. The united prayers of the bishop and

οὖσαν ἀλλὰ πνευματικήν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς· μακαρίζω τοὺς ἀνακεκραμένους οὕτως, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἑνότητι σύμφωνα ᾖ. μηδεὶς πλανάσθω· ἐὰν μή τις ᾖ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου [τοῦ

ἐπιγινώσκων G; al. g. 4 μετέχητε] μετέχετε G. 8 τοὺς ἀνακεκραμένους] g* (but vv.ll.); τοὺς ἐνκεκραμένους G; *qui mixti estis* A; *conjunctos* L: see the lower note. οὕτως] GL; αὐτῷ [g]; *cum eo* [A]. 11 ᾖ ἐντὸς] G Dam-Rup 1; *sit intra* L; ἐντὸς ᾖ g. ὑστερεῖται] ὑστερεῖτε G. τοῦ Θεοῦ] GLg Dam-Rup; om. A.

the whole Church are all powerful. Whosoever comes not to the congregation is self-willed, and falls under the condemnation of the Scriptures. Let us obey our bishop, if we would be God's people.'

6. *οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην*] i. e. 'not worldly,' 'not after the ordinary ways of men'; see the note on § 9 *κατ' ἀνθρώπων βίον*.

8. *ἀνακεκραμένους*] '*closely attached*' to him. This, rather than *ἐγκεκραμένους*, seems to be the proper word, when attachment, friendship, is meant. See Pollux *Onom.* v. 113 *ἐπιτηδείως ἀνακέκραμαι πρὸς αὐτόν*, where he gives *συγκέκραμαι* as a synonyme, but not *ἐγκέκραμαι*; and so again, viii. 151: comp. also Bekker *Anecd.* p. 391 *Ἀνακραθέντες· ἀνακερασθέντες, ὁλοψύχως κολλώμενοι.* For this use see Epict. *Diss.* iv. 2. 1 *μή ποτε ἄρα τῶν προτέρων συνήθων ἢ φίλων ἀνακραθῇς τινι οὕτως ὥστε κ.τ.λ.*, M. Antonin. x. 24 *προστετηκὸς καὶ ἀνακεκραμένον τῷ σαρκιδίῳ*, *Clem. Hom.* ix. 9 *τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνακίρνανται* (comp. §§ 11, 13, 15), Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 36 (p. 978) *τῷ ἑνὶ τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς μερισθέντι ἀνακραθῶμεν*, Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 75 *ἀνακραθῶσι τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγῳ*, Euseb. *V. C.* iii. 12: comp. Philo *de Praem. et Poen.* 16 (II. p. 424), Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 29, *Vit. Cat.* 25, and the words in Eur. *Hipp.* 253 *χρὴν γὰρ μετρίας εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλίας θνητοὺς ἀνακίρνασθαι* (with Valcknaer's note).

10. *μηδεὶς πλανάσθω*] As *Smyrn.* 6. So too the Apostolic phrase (S. Paul and S. James) *μὴ πλανᾶσθε*, § 16 below, *Magn.* 8, *Philad.* 3 (see the note).

11. *τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*] The same expression occurs again *Trall.* 7 *ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν καθαρός ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.* The *θυσιαστήριον* here is not the altar, but the enclosure in which the altar stands, as the preposition *ἐντὸς* requires. This meaning is consistent with the sense of the word, which (unlike *βῶμος*) signifies 'the place of sacrifice'; and it is supported also by examples of its use as applied to Christian churches; e. g. *Conc. Laod.* Can. 19 *μόνοις ἐξὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον* (i.e. the *sacrarium*), compared with Can. 44 *οὐ δεῖ γυναῖκας ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ εἰσέρχεσθαι* (Labb. *Conc.* I. pp. 1533, 1537, ed. Colet.). This seems also to be its sense in Rev. xi. 1 *μέτρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἔξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ ἔκβαλε ἔξωθεν, καὶ μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσῃς, ὅτι ἐδόθη τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*; comp. xiv. 17, 18 *ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ . . . καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος [ἐξῆλθεν] ἐκ τοῦ θυσια-*

Θεοῦ]. εἰ γὰρ ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχὴ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἥ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ὁ οὖν μὴ ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὗτος ἤδη ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἑαυτὸν διέκρινεν· γέγραπται γάρ, ὑΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΟΙC Ὁ ΘΕΟC ΑΝΤΙΤΑCCΕΤΑΙ. σπουδά- 5

2 τε] Gg Dam-Rup; om. LA. 4 οὗτος] GA; *sic* (οὕτως) L; al. g. ὑπερηφανεῖ] ὑπεριφανεῖ G, and so ὑπεριφάνοις just below. διέκρινεν] G; διακρίνει Dam-Rup; *condemnavit* L; al. g; def. A. 5 γάρ] GLA; δὲ

στηρίου. (For the *ναός*, as confined to the holy place and distinguished from the court of the altar, see Clem. Rom. 41.)

The reference here is to the plan of the tabernacle or temple. The *θυσιαστήριον* is the court of the congregation, the precinct of the altar, as distinguished from the outer court. The application of this imagery, which Ignatius had in view, appears from the continuation of the parallel passage already quoted, *Trall.* 7 *ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν οὐ καθαρός ἐστιν, τουτέστιν, ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνου πράσσων τι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρός ἐστιν τῇ συνειδήσει.* The man who separates himself from the assembly of the faithful, lawfully gathered about its bishop and presbyters, excludes himself, as it were, from the court of the altar and from the spiritual sacrifices of the Church. He becomes as a Gentile (Matt. xviii. 17); he is impure, as the heathen is impure. See esp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 6 (p. 848) *ἔστι γοῦν τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θυσιαστήριον ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐπίγειον τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων, μίαν ὥσπερ ἔχον φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν καὶ μίαν γνώμην κ.τ.λ.* (with the whole context). Thus *θυσιαστήριον*, being at once the place of sacrifice and the court of the congregation, was used metaphorically for the Church of Christ, the *θυσιαστήριον ἔμψυχον*, as S. Chrysostom terms it. Somewhat similarly in Polyc. *Phil.* 4 *γινωσκούσας ὅτι εἰσὶν θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ*, it is applied to a section of the Church, the body of 'widows'; see also *Apost. Const.* iii. 6, 14, iv. 3.

Thus S. Ignatius does not here refer to a literal altar, meaning the Lord's table. Too much stress perhaps has been laid on the fact that the early Christians were reproached by the Gentiles with having no temples and no altars, and that the Apologists acknowledged the truth of the charge, explaining that their altars, temples, and sacrifices alike were spiritual: e.g. Minuc. Fel. *Oct.* 32, Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 17. But, independently of this, the literal interpretation will not stand here, because the place for the Christian laity would not be *ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*. In fact the imagery here is explained by the following words, where *ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία* corresponds to *θυσιαστήριον*, while *ἡ προσευχὴ* is the spiritual sacrifice therein offered; as e.g. Clem. Al. *l. c. ἡ θυσία τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχῶν ἀναθυμιώμενος*, Orig. *l. c. ἀναπέμπεται ἀληθῶς καὶ νοητῶς εὐώδη θυμιάματα αἱ προσευχαὶ ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως καθαρᾶς*. For the prayers of the Christians, as taking the place which the sacrifices held under the old dispensation, see the note on Clem. Rom. 44 *προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα*. In *Philad.* 4 *θυσιαστήριον* seems to be used (see the note

σωμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὦμεν Θεοῦ ὑποτασσόμενοι.

VI. Καὶ ὅσον βλέπει τις σιγῶντα ἐπίσκοπον,

Dam-Rup; al. g. 6 οὖν] GLS_1; om. A [Dam-Rup 5] [Anton 3]; al. g. ἀντιτάσσεσθαι] LA L_1 S_1 Dam-Rup Anton; ἀντιτάσσεσθε G; al. g. 7 Θεοῦ] G; θεῷ Dam-Rup Anton; *deo* LS_1; dub. A; al. g. 8 καὶ ὅσον] G Dam-Rup Anton; *et quantum* L; ὅσῳ οὖν [g]; *et quando* A; *quia quantum* (*quanto*) S_1. ἐπίσκοπον] G Dam-Rup; τὸν ἐπίσκοπον [g] Anton.

there) as here and in *Trall.* 7 (already quoted). For other applications of the term, likewise metaphorical, see *Magn.* 7, *Rom.* 2. These five are the only passages in which it occurs in the Epistles of Ignatius.

τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ] i.e. 'the spiritual sustenance which God provides for His people.' There is probably a reference to the eucharistic bread here, as there is more plainly in *Rom.* 7 (see the note there). The eucharistic bread however is not exclusively or directly contemplated, but only taken as a type of the spiritual nourishment which is dispensed through Christ. This reference (like *Rom.* 7) seems to be inspired by Joh. vi. 31 sq, where also the eucharistic bread furnishes the imagery, while at the same time a larger application is contemplated, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστιν ὁ καταβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κ.τ.λ. If so, the metaphor reverts ultimately to the manna, and thus harmonizes with the preceding θυσιαστήριον. The manna was the bread provided by God for the congregation of Israel. For a more direct reference to the eucharistic bread, or at least to the agape, see below § 20; and for a different application and meaning of ἄρτος, *Rom.* 4. It will be seen from the authorities that the words τοῦ Θεοῦ are somewhat doubtful. Perhaps they should be omitted: see an exactly parallel case, *Rom.* 4 καθαρὸς ἄρτος [Θεοῦ], with the note.

1. εἰ γὰρ ἑνὸς κ.τ.λ.] An allusion to our Lord's promise, Matt. xviii. 19, 20, ἐὰν δύο συμφωνήσουσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ.

4. ἑαυτὸν διέκρινεν] '*separates himself then and there.*' He pronounces, as it were, the sentence of excommunication on himself. For this force of the aorist see Gal. v. 4 (note), and comp. Winer *Gramm.* xl. p. 345 (Moulton). The Latin *condemnavit* does not imply a different reading κατέκρινεν (as Zahn), but is a mere mistranslation, just as this same version renders κατηρτισμένοι *perfecti* (§ 2), as if it were ἀπηρτισμένοι, and ἀδιάκριτον (§ 4) *incomparabile*, as if it were ἀσύγκριτον.

5. Ὑπερηφάνοις κ.τ.λ.] A quotation from Prov. iii. 34. It is quoted also 1 Pet. v. 5, James iv. 6, Clem. Rom. 30; see the note on the last passage. In all alike [ὁ] Θεὸς is substituted for Κύριος of the LXX; but Ignatius is alone in placing ὑπερηφάνοις first.

6. ὦμεν Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] '*we may be God's by our subjection*'; comp. § 8 ὅλοι ὄντες Θεοῦ, *Magn.* 10 οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *Philad.* 3 ὅσοι Θεοῦ εἰσὶν... οὗτοι Θεοῦ ἔσονται, *Rom.* 7 ἐμοὶ (v. l. ἐμοῦ) γίνεσθε, τοντέστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. The substitution of the dative was so obvious, and almost inevitable, that I have adopted the genitive against the preponderance of authorities.

VI. 'If a bishop is silent, he only

πλειόνως αὐτὸν φοβείσθω. πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα. τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δηλονότι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν Ὀνήσιμος ὑπερεπαινεῖ ὑμῶν τὴν ἐν Θεῷ εὐ- 5
ταξίαν, ὅτι πάντες κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ζῆτε καὶ ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν

1 πλειόνως] G (written πλειόνωσαυτὸν); πλεῖον [g]; πλέον Dam-Rup 5 Anton πέμπει] GLg Dam-Rup 5 Anton; ἂν πέμπῃ Dam-Rup 1; *mittet* A. 2 οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν] GL Anton; οὕτως ἡμᾶς δεῖ Dam-Rup 1; οὕτως δεῖ ὑμᾶς Dam-Rup 5; οὕτως αὐτὸν δεῖ ἡμᾶς g. 3 δέχεσθαι] Gg Dam-Rup 5 Anton; ὑποδέξασθαι Dam-Rup 1; *recipere* L. πέμψαντα] Gg Dam-Rup 1; πέμποντα Dam-Rup 5 Anton; dub. LA. οὖν] Gg Anton, and so S_1A; γοῦν Dam-Rup 5. 4 δηλονότι] GLS_1; om. A Anton Dam-Rup. προσβλέπειν] g Anton Dam-Rup, and so LS_1A; προβλέπειν G. 5 μὲν οὖν] GL; *atque igitur* A;

deserves the more reverence. The master's steward must be received as the master, the bishop as Christ. Onesimus himself praises you. He tells me that no heresy has a home among you and that you will not listen to one who speaks of anything else but Christ.'

σιγῶντα] Ignatius returns to this subject again § 15, without however mentioning the bishop. Similarly he commends the quiet and retiring disposition of the bishop of Philadelphia (*Philad.* 1), who is not named; and he deprecates any one presuming on the youth of Damas the bishop of Magnesia (*Magn.* 3).

2. ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης] Apparently an allusion to the parable in Matt. xxi. 33 sq. The words εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν are a condensed expression for εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου (or ἀμπελῶνος).

οὕτως δεῖ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. John xiii. 20 ὁ λαμβάνων ἄν τινα πέμψω ἐμὲ λαμβάνει, ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ λαμβάνων λαμβάνει τὸν πέμψαντά με, together with Matt. x. 40 ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται, καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.

7. κατοικεῖ] '*has its permanent abode*'; see the note on Clem. Rom. inscr. At the same time though no one had *settled* here, Ignatius speaks of certain heretics as παροδεύσαντας § 9.

8. περὶ κ.τ.λ.] I have ventured so to emend the text, as the Armenian Version suggests, and as the sense seems to require, substituting ΗΠΕΡΙΙΗCΟΥ for ΗΠΕΡΙΗCΟΥ; see the faulty reading of A, ωσπερ for ὡς περὶ, in [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 1. Compare *Philad.* 6 ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότεροι περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ λαλῶσιν, οὗτοι ἐμοὶ στῆλαί εἰσιν κ.τ.λ., and similarly *Trall.* 9 κωφωθῆτε οὖν, ὅταν ὑμῖν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλῇ τις. Another simple emendation would be Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν: comp. *Magn.* 10 ἄτοπόν ἐστιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λαλεῖν καὶ Ἰουδαΐζειν, *Rom.* 7 μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κόσμον δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε. The Latin *aliquem amplius quam Iesum Christum loquentem* is ambiguous, and might represent the accusative as well as the genitive.

VII. 'Certain false teachers are going about, who profess the Name of Christ in guile. Avoid them, as

οὐδεμία αἵρεσις κατοικεῖ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκούετέ τινος πλέον ἢ περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλοῦντος ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

VII. Εἰώθασιν γάρ τινες δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, ἄλλα τινὰ πράσσοντες ἀνάξια Θεοῦ· οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς θηρία ἐκκλίνειν· εἰσὶν γὰρ κύνες λυσσῶντες, λαθροδῆκται, οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς φυλάσσεσθαι ὄντας δυσθεραπεύτους. εἷς ἰατρός ἐστιν, σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικός,

μέντοι [g]. 8 ἢ περὶ] *quam* (ἤπερ) L; ἢ μόνου g (a paraphrase); εἴπερ G. In A the sentence is translated *et non audiatis quemquam, si non in veritate de iesu christo loquatur vobiscum.* See the lower note. 9 τὸ ὄνομα] txt GLg (MSS, but l adds *christi*); add. *bonorum* A; add. χριστοῦ Dam-Rup 1. See § 3 for similar glosses. 10 ἄλλα τινὰ] So app. most MSS of g*, and Dam-Rup (Lequien); ἀλλά τινα (sic) G; *sed* (ἀλλὰ) *quaedam* L; *et revera* (om. τινα) A. 12 λαθροδῆκται] G Dam-Rup; λαθροδῆκτοι g (MSS). 13 εἷς] txt GLA Athan Theodt Gelas Sev-Syr 5, 6; add. γὰρ Anon-Syr$_1$; al. g. σαρκικὸς] txt [L] [A] Athan Gelas Theodt Sev-Syr (twice) Anon-Syr$_1$; add. τε G; al. g.

wild beasts. They are like mad dogs, whose bite is hard to heal. There is only one sure Physician, flesh and spirit, create and increate, God in man, Life in death, the Son of Mary and the Son of God, passible first and then impassible, even Jesus Christ our Lord.'

9. τὸ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 6 τῶν ψευδαδέλφων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει φερόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου. For the absolute use of τὸ ὄνομα see above § 3.

10. ἄλλα τινὰ] '*certain other things.*' It seems necessary to read ἄλλα, since the oppositive conjunction ἀλλὰ would be quite out of place after δόλῳ πονηρῷ.

11. θηρία] So *Smyrn.* 4 προφυλάσσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων κ.τ.λ. In *Philad.* 2 they are called 'wolves.'

12. λαθροδῆκται] Various forms of the word occur, λαθροδήκτης, as here, being the commonest, comp. Chrysost. *Hom. in Ephes.* XV. καθάπερ οἱ λαθροδῆκται τῶν κυνῶν οἱ τὸν μὲν προσιόντα οὐδὲν ὑλακτοῦσιν κ.τ.λ. (*Op.* XI. p. 115 A); λαθροδῆκτος (?) in the corresponding passage of the Pseudo-Ignatius: λαθροδάκτης Pallad. *Vit. Chrys.* (Chrys. *Op.* XIII. p. 21); λαθραιόδηκτος, Photius in Oecum. *ad Phil.* iii. 2; λαθροδάκνης, Antiphanes in *Anthol. Græc.* II. p. 189 (Jacobs); λαθροδάκνος (?), Nilus *Epist.* i. 309, p. 196 A (Migne). The recognised classical equivalent was λαίθαργος (λάθαργος), e.g. Arist. *Eq.* 1068. Phrynichus (Bekker *Anecd.* p. 50) on λάθαργος κύων says, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ παραφθείραντες λαθροδήκτην καλοῦσιν.

δυσθεραπεύτους] i.e. 'their madness is a virulent disease which is hard to cure and which they communicate to others by their bite': comp. Soph. *Ajax* 609 δυσθεράπευτος Αἴας...θεία μανίᾳ ξύναυλος.

13. εἷς ἰατρός] 'There is only one physician who can cope with it': comp. Clem. Alex. *Quis div. salv.* 29 (p. 952) τούτων δὲ τῶν τραυμάτων μόνος ἰατρὸς Ἰησοῦς κ.τ.λ., Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 67 (I. p. 438) ἦλθε σωτὴρ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ὡς ἰατρὸς ἀγαθός κ.τ.λ. For the connexion of ἰατρὸς and

γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν.

1 *γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος*] G, and so app. Athan (though some MSS and the edd. read *γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγένητος*); *genitus et ingenitus* L; *factus et non factus* A Gelas Sev-Syr (twice) Anon-Syr$_1$; *γεννητὸς ἐξ ἀγεννήτου* Theodt. The words substituted in g are *ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς θεὸς ὁ ἀγέννητος...τοῦ δὲ μονογενοῦς πατὴρ καὶ γεννήτωρ.* See the excursus at the end of this epistle. *ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός*] Athan Theodt Gelas Sev-Syr (twice) Anon-Syr$_1$; *deus et filius hominis* [A] (reading ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ '*filius hominis*' for ܐܢܫܐ *in homine*; see Petermann); *ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεός* GL; al. g. *ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή*] Athan Theodt Sev-Syr (twice) Anon-Syr$_1$; *vera vita et in morte vivus* [A]; *in morte vita aeterna* Gelas; *ἐν ἀθανάτῳ ζωῇ ἀληθινῇ* (the dative is intended, for this MS

θηρίον see *Clem. Hom.* Ep. Clem. 2 *τὸν προκαθεζόμενον δεῖ ἰατροῦ τόπον ἐπέχειν, οὐ θηρίου ἀλόγου θυμὸν ἔχειν.* Compare § 15 *εἷς οὖν διδάσκαλος.*

σαρκικὸς κ.τ.λ.] The antithesis of *σαρκικὸς* and *πνευματικὸς* is intended to express the human and the Divine nature of Christ respectively; comp. *Smyrn.* 3 *ὡς σαρκικός, καίπερ πνευματικῶς ἡνωμένος τῷ πατρί.*

For the constant recurrence of the combination *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα* in Ignatius in various relations, see the note on § 10 below. The expressions *σαρκικός, γεννητός, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, ἐν θανάτῳ, ἐκ Μαρίας, παθητός*, here are introduced to emphasize the *reality* of Christ's humanity against the phantom theory of the Docetics: see the note on *Trall.* 9. For the use of *πνεῦμα* in early Christian writers, as opposed to *σάρξ* and expressing the Divine nature of Christ as the *Λόγος*, see 2 Clem. § 9 *Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος...ὢν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σάρξ*, with the note. The alternative is that *σαρκικὸς κ.τ.λ.* should be taken closely with *ἰατρὸς* 'a physician for flesh and spirit alike'; but the antitheses which follow seem to require the other explanation.

For this sentence of antitheses compare *Polyc.* 3 *τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὁρατόν, τὸν ἀψηλάφητον, [τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ψηλαφητόν], τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητόν κ.τ.λ.* See also Tertull. *de Carn. Chr.* 5 'Ita utriusque substantiæ census hominem et Deum exhibuit, hinc natum, inde non natum, hinc carneum, inde spiritalem, hinc infirmum, inde præfortem, hinc morientem, inde viventem,' a passage which too strongly resembles the words of Ignatius to be independent. It is worth while observing that in the immediate context Tertullian quotes the incident from Luke xxiv. 39, which Ignatius elsewhere (*Smyrn.* 3) gives from another source. Comp. also Melito *Fragm.* 13 (ed. Otto) 'judicatum esse judicem [et incomprehensibilem prehensum esse] et incommensurabilem mensuratum esse et impassibilem passum esse et immortalem mortuum esse et caelestem sepultum esse. Dominus enim noster homo natus...mortuus est, ut vivificaret, sepultus est, ut resuscitaret'; *Fragm.* 14 'quum sit incorporeus, corpus ex formatione nostra texuit sibi...a Maria portatus et Patre suo indutus, terram calcans et caelum implens, etc.'

1. *γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος*] '*generate and ingenerate*,' i.e. 'generate as regards His human nature and ingene-

VIII. *Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατάτω, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐξαπατᾶσθε, ὄλοι ὄντες Θεοῦ. ὅταν γὰρ μηδεμία ἐπιθυμία ἐνήρεισται ἐν ὑμῖν ἡ δυναμένη ὑμᾶς βασανίσαι,*

does not write the iota subscript) G; *in immortali vita vera* L; al. g. 2 *καὶ ἐκ*] GLA Athan Theodt Sev-Syr 5; *ἐκ* (om. *καὶ*) Sev-Syr 6 Gelas Anon-Syr$_1$; al. g. 3 *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν*] A Theodt Sev-Syr (twice) Anon-Syr$_1$; *dominus noster iesus christus* Gelas; *dominus christus noster* L; om. G; al. g. 5 *ὅταν γὰρ*] Σ commences again here and continues to the end of the chapter. *ἐπιθυμία*] ΣA g; *ἔρις* GL, see below. 6 *ἐνήρεισται*] *plantata est* ΣA; *complexa est* (*ἐνείρηται*?) L; *ἐνείρισται* G; *ὑπάρχῃ* [g*]. The impossible word *ἐνείρισται* is retained even by the latest editors (e.g. Hefele, Jacobson, Cureton, Dressel, Petermann, Lipsius, etc.), except Zahn and Funk. Dressel has accidentally transposed the words, *ἐνείρισται ἔρις*, in his text.

rate as regards His deity.' The words *γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος* are here used to signify 'create and increate,' in which sense the more careful dogmatic language of a later age would have employed in preference the forms *γενητὸς καὶ ἀγένητος* with the single *ν*. See the excursus at the end of this epistle.

ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός] This reading is demanded alike by the great preponderance of authorities and by the antithetical character of the sentence. The substitution *ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός* may have been due to the fear of countenancing the Apollinarian doctrine that the Logos took the place of the human *νοῦς* in Christ.

ἐν θανάτῳ κ.τ.λ.] For His death is our life, His passion is our resurrection; comp. e.g. *Smyrn.* 5 *τὸ πάθος ὅ ἐστιν ἡμῶν ἀνάστασις*. Here again there is reference to His two natures. He died as man: He lives and gives life as the Eternal Word.

2. *ἐκ Μαρίας*] See below § 18, *Trall.* 9, and comp. *Smyrn.* 1.

πρῶτον] He might have said with equal truth *πρῶτον ἀπαθὴς καὶ τότε παθητός*, as in *Polyc.* 3 (already quoted) *τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητόν*, but in these antitheses he commences with the *humanity*, as being the point attacked by the Docetic teachers.

VIII. 'Suffer not yourselves to be led astray; for now ye are wholly given to God. So long as ye are free from any evil craving, ye live after God. I would gladly devote myself for the renowned Church of Ephesus. Carnal men are incapable of spiritual things, as spiritual men are incapable of carnal things. With you, even the things done after the flesh are spiritual, for they are done in Christ.'

5. *ὄντες Θεοῦ*] See the note on § 5 *ἵνα ὦμεν Θεοῦ*.

ἐπιθυμία] The combination of authorities leaves no doubt that this is the correct reading; comp. Ephes. iv. 22 *κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης*. For the connexion of unrestrained desire (*ἐπιθυμία*) with false teaching see 2 Tim. iii. 6 *αἰχμαλωτεύοντες γυναικάρια... ἀγόμενα ἐπιθυμίαις ποικίλαις*, 2 Pet. ii. 18 *δελεάζουσιν ἐν ἐπιθυμίαις σαρκὸς* (comp. ver. 10), Jude 16, 18. The reading *ἔρις*, though not inappropriate in itself (comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 16, p. 894, *ἔριν ἣν ἐν ταῖς αἱρέσεσι προκριτέον*), must be rejected here. It may have found its way into the text from a marginal note attempting to give a derivation of *ἐνείρισται*.

6. *ἐνήρεισται*] '*is inherent, is fixed*.' So it is necessary to read

ἄρα κατὰ Θεὸν ζῆτε. περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγνίζομαι ὑμῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίας τῆς διαβοήτου τοῖς αἰῶσιν.

1 ἄρα] ἄρα G (so certainly). περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγνίζομαι] G (but with a smooth breathing ἁγνίζομαι); *peripsima vestri et castificer* (*i.e.* ἁγνίζωμαι, but the MSS *castificet*) *a vestra* etc. L*; *gaudeo in vobis et supplico pro vobis* ΣA. In

for ἐνείρισται, in which the editors generally have acquiesced, but which they do not attempt to justify. The frequent itacisms in the MS render the change obvious. Bunsen (*Br.* p. 88) saw that ἐνείρισται was impossible, but substituted ἐνεργῆται. Zahn first introduced the correct word into the text. For ἐνερείδειν (-δεσθαι) comp. Dioscorid. ii. 23 (p. 367, Kühn) τῶν ἐνηρεικότων στομάχῳ καὶ κοιλίᾳ χολωδῶν, a use that would be appropriate to the metaphor at the close of the preceding section; see also Plut. *Mor.* p. 327 B βέλει ἀπὸ τόξου τὸ στέρνον ἐνερεισθέντι, *ib.* p. 344 C τοῖς περὶ τὸν μαστὸν ἐνερεισθέντος ὀστέοις καὶ καταπαγέντος. Comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 20 (p. 487) ἀπάτη συνεχῶς ἐναπερειδομένη τῇ ψυχῇ, whence ἐναπερείσματα 'impressions' in the context. For the form of the perfect see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 33, Veitch *Greek Verbs* s. v. ἐρείδω; and for the indicative with ὅταν, Winer xlii. p. 388 sq. Merx would read ἐρρίζωται or ἐνερρίζωται (p. 41), because the Syriac and Armenian have 'plantata est,' but this seems to be only a loose rendering of ἐνήρεισται.

1. περίψημα ὑμῶν] sc. εἰμι. For the omission of the substantive verb, and for the general form of the sentence, comp. *Rom.* 4 ἀπελεύθερος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (sc. ἔσομαι) καὶ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. Otherwise we might read περίψημά εἰμι ὑμῶν, as εἰμι in this position might easily have dropped out amidst the recurrence of similar letters.

Περίψημα, literally 'filth, scum, offscouring,' was used like κάθαρμα, περικάθαρμα, especially of those criminals, generally the vilest of their class, whose blood was shed to expiate the sins of the nation and to avert the wrath of the gods. Photius, *Lex.* s.v., says οὗτος ἐπέλεγον τῷ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐμβαλλομένῳ τῇ θαλάσσῃ νεανίᾳ ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῶν συνεχόντων κακῶν Περίψημα ἡμῶν γενοῦ, ἤτοι σωτηρία καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις, καὶ οὗτος ἐνέβαλον τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ὡσανεὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσίαν ἀποτίννυντες: comp. *Amphiloch.* cxxxiii. (*Op.* I. p. 731, ed. Migne), where Photius well explains the force of the word as used by S. Paul. In Athenian language these persons were called φαρμακοί, Arist. *Ran.* 731 καὶ πονηροῖς κἀκ πονηρῶν εἰς ἅπαντα χρώμεθα, ὑστάτοις ἀφιγμένοισιν, οἷσιν ἡ πόλις πρὸ τοῦ οὐδὲ φαρμακοῖσιν εἰκῇ ῥᾳδίως ἐχρήσατ' ἄν. On these human victims see Hermann *Griech. Alterth.* Gottesdienst. § 60. Hence the idea in the word as used here is twofold: *first*, 'I am as the meanest among you,' and *secondly*, 'I devote my life for you.' For its biblical use see Jer. xxii. 28 (Symm.) μὴ περίψημα φαῦλον καὶ ἀπόβλητον ὁ ἄνθρωπος; Tobit v. 20 (LXX) ἀργύριον ... περίψημα τοῦ παιδίου ἡμῶν γένοιτο, 1 Cor. iv. 13 ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν, πάντων περίψημα ἕως ἄρτι. See also below § 18 περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, Barnab. 4 γράφειν ἐσπούδασα ἐγὼ περίψημα ὑμῶν, *ib.* 6 ἐγὼ περίψημα τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν. Hence Origen *in Ioann.* xxviii. § 14 (IV p. 393), explaining the prophecy of Caiaphas, applies the term to our Lord with an apology for so using it. In the middle of the

οἱ σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πράσσειν οὐ δύνανται οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ πίστις τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας οὐδὲ ἡ ἀπιστία τὰ τῆς πίστεως. ἃ δὲ καὶ

g it is altered into περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀγνοτάτης ἐφ. ἐκκλ. See the lower note. 3 οἱ σαρκικοὶ] GLAg (but l adds *enim*) Dam-Vat 5 Dam-Rup 7; οἱ γὰρ σαρκικοὶ Σ [Antioch 12]. πράσσειν] G Antioch Dam-Vat-Rup; πράττειν g. οὐδὲ] Gg Dam-Reg-Rup Antioch; οὔτε Dam-Vat. 5 δὲ] GLA; γὰρ Σ.

third century, as appears from Dionysius of Alexandria (Euseb. *H.E.* vii. 22), περίψημά σου had become a common expression of formal compliment 'your humble and devoted servant' (see Heinichen on Euseb. l. c. Melet. xv.). This expression, he says, which with others was a mere form of speech, had been actually fulfilled in the case of those devoted Christians who had caught the plague and died, while nursing others into health. Thus περίψημα is closely allied in meaning to ἀντίψυχον, which is also a favourite Ignatian word (see below § 21), but superadds to the idea of 'self-devotion,' which is common to both, the further idea of 'abasement, vileness.'

ἁγνίζομαι κ.τ.λ.] '*I am devoted to your Church*'; comp. *Trall.* 13 ἁγνίζεται [ἁγνίζετε MS] ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα. It appears to mean literally 'I make myself a ἅγισμα, a piacular offering, for your Church.' The verb ἁγνίζειν sometimes means 'to sacrifice,' 'to devote' (see esp. ἐφαγνίζειν, καθαγνίζειν); and ἅγισμα is 'an expiatory victim,' e.g. Æsch. *Eum.* 315. Of the genitive case after ἁγνίζομαι I can find no other instance: but it might fall under the category of verbs of admiration, affection, and the like; and, as τρύχεσθαι, ἐπιτύφεσθαι, etc., are found with this case (see Kühner II. p. 324), it can hardly be considered out of place after ἁγνίζεσθαι, when this secondary sense predominates. Several corrections have been suggested; e.g. the substitution of ἅγισμα for ἁγνίζομαι, or the insertion of ὑφ' or of ὑπέρ before ὑμῶν. But, as *Trall.* 13 (already quoted) agrees in the same expression, it is highly improbable that the scribes should have made the same error and introduced the same difficulty in both passages. A much more easy change than any hitherto proposed would be ἁγάζομαι for ἁγνίζομαι; but no correction seems to be required.

2. ἐκκλησίας] governs ὑμῶν, and does not stand in apposition with it, as the article before διαβοήτου shows.

διαβοήτου κ.τ.λ.] '*renowned through all ages*,' literally '*bruited about by the ages*.' The word occurs Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 75 (p. 986), Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 51, Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36, in which last passage it is used of Ignatius himself, ὁ παρὰ πλείστοις εἰσέτι νῦν διαβόητος Ἰγνάτιος. It is found also occasionally in late classical writers, e.g. Plutarch and Dion Chrysostom. Compare also περιβόητος, Clem. Rom. 1, 47. For the dative see Xen. Ephes. i. 2 ἦν δὲ διαβόητος τοῖς θεωμένοις ἅπασιν κ.τ.λ. The αἰῶνες are here 'future generations,' and the dative is one of the agent.

3. οἱ σαρκικοὶ κ.τ.λ.] A reminiscence of 1 Cor. ii. 14 sq.

5. ἃ δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'even your secular business is exalted into a higher sphere, is spiritualized, by your piety.'

κατὰ σάρκα πράσσετε, ταῦτα πνευματικά ἐστιν· ἐν Ἰησοῦ γὰρ Χριστῷ πάντα πράσσετε.

IX. Ἔγνων δὲ παροδεύσαντάς τινας ἐκεῖθεν, ἔχοντας κακὴν διδαχήν· οὓς οὐκ εἰάσατε σπεῖραι εἰς ὑμᾶς,

1 πράσσετε] GAg; *fecistis* Σ; *operata sunt* (πράσσεται) L. And so again just below, except g, in which the passage is quite changed. 3 ἐκεῖθεν] GL; δι' ὑμῶν [g]; *ad vos* A. 6 προητοιμασμένοι] πρ̄σ̄ ἡτοιμασμένοι G (written πρ̄σ̄, not πρ̄οσ̄, as stated by Markland and others); *patris, parati* L; *patris vestri dei, parati* A; θεοῦ...ἡτοιμασμένος [Antioch 1]; *et parati estis* [Σ]

IX. 'At the same time I learn that certain false teachers from a distance have been passing through your city; but ye stopped your ears and did not suffer them to sow the seeds of evil in you. For ye are stones of a temple, prepared for the building of God, hoisted up by the Cross of Christ, the Spirit being the rope and your faith the engine, while love is the way leading to God. Ye all take your part in the holy procession, bearing each his God and his Christ, his shrine and his sacred things, dressed in the festive robes of Christ's precepts, while I by letter am permitted to share your rejoicing and to congratulate you on your unalloyed love of God.'

3. παροδεύσαντας] sc. τὴν Ἔφεσον. They had taken Ephesus on their way, though they had not settled there; see § 6 ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεμία αἵρεσις κατοικεῖ (with the note). These are the itinerant false-teachers who are described in § 7 as δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέροντες. The interpretation of Baur (*I. B.* p. 29) and Hilgenfeld (p. 191), who take παροδεύσαντας metaphorically, 'taking a by-path,' 'going out of the direct way,' cannot stand. The word always signifies 'to pass by,' 'to pass through on the way,' e.g. Plut. *Mor.* p. 973 D τοῖς συνήθως παροδεύουσι τὸν τόπον, Lucian *Scyth.* 10 σωπῇ παροδεύσας τηλικαύτην πόλιν. It is used several times in the LXX, and always in this sense: Ezek. xxxvi. 34, Wisd. i. 8, ii. 7, v. 15, vi. 24, x. 8. See also the note on *Rom.* 9 παροδεύοντα.

ἐκεῖθεν] '*from yonder*'; comp. *Mart. Polyc.* 20 τοῖς ἐπέκεινα ἀδελφοῖς. The martyr uses the same reticence here as regards place, which he uses elsewhere as regards persons; *Smyrn.* 5 τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὄντα ἄπιστα, οὐκ ἔδοξέν μοι ἐγγράψαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γένοιτό μοι μνημονεύειν κ.τ.λ. But what place is meant? Bunsen (*I. v. A.* p. 38) says 'from *Smyrna*,' translating it 'from here'; but ἐκεῖθεν could not have this sense. Baur (*I. B.* p. 29) answers '*from Ephesus*'; and this, if I understand him rightly, is the view of Zahn also (*I. v. A.* pp. 258 sq, 356 sq, and *ad loc.*), who takes the whole sentence to mean 'I learnt that certain persons passed through where I was (at Philadelphia) from Ephesus.' But neither again could a writer well use ἐκεῖθεν of the place to which he addressed his letter. The reference in ἐκεῖθεν therefore must remain uncertain: but, if it were necessary to name any place, Philadelphia would answer the conditions. It appears from notices in the Epistle to the Philadelphians (see the introduction), that Ignatius had passed through their city on his way to Smyrna, so that he would know the facts; and we also gather from the same

5 βύσαντες τὰ ὦτα εἰς τὸ μὴ παραδέξασθαι τὰ σπειρόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν· ὡς ὄντες λίθοι ναοῦ προητοιμασμένοι εἰς οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ πατρός, ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν σταυρός, σχοινίῳ

(all the previous part of § 9 being omitted); al. g: see the lower note. Σ commences again here and continues to ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς Θεόν, omitting the last part of the chapter.
templi spiritualis A.
crux L; dub. Σ; al. Ag.
7 Θεοῦ πατρός] GLΣ Antioch; θείαν πατρός [g];
8 ὅς] G; ὅ Antioch; *per machinam...quæ est*
σχοινίῳ] G; σχοίνῳ [g] [Antioch].

letter, that heresy had been busy there (§§ 2, 3, 6, 7, 8). The substitutions for ἐκεῖθεν in the Armenian Version and in the interpolator's text are mere expedients to get rid of an obscure expression.

4. σπεῖραι] See the metaphor of βοτάνη below, § 10. Here the 'sowing' is regarded as taking place through the ear.

5. βύσαντες τὰ ὦτα] Ps. lvii. (lviii). 4 ἀσπίδος κωφῆς καὶ βυούσης τὰ ὦτα αὐτῆς. It was an action expressive of horror, when any blasphemy was uttered; Acts vii. 57 συνέσχον τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν, Iren. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20 ἐμφράξας τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ (of Polycarp, when he heard any heresy talked), Iren. *Hær.* iii. 4. 2 'si aliquis annuntiaverit ea quæ ab hæreticis adinventa sunt...statim *concludentes aures* longo longius fugient,' *Clem. Recogn.* ii. 37 '*aures* continuo *obcludens*, velut ne blasphemia polluantur' (comp. *ib.* ii. 40, 52). In Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 10 (pp. 73, 83) ἀποβύειν τὰ ὦτα is used of resisting good influences; comp. *Clem. Hom.* i. 12 βύοντες τῶν σώζεσθαι θελόντων τὰς ἀκοάς. For the purport comp. *Trall.* 9 κωφώθητε οὖν κ.τ.λ.

6. λίθοι ναοῦ] The metaphor, and in part even the language, is suggested by Ephes. ii. 20—22; comp. 1 Pet. ii. 5. The metaphor is elaborately carried out in Hermas *Sim.* ix. See below § 15 (note). The transition in the metaphor is violent, after the manner of Ignatius. It can hardly be bridged over, I think, by a reference to the idea of seed sown on rocky ground (Matt. xiii. 4), as Zahn suggests.

προητοιμασμένοι] So I have ventured to substitute for πατρὸς ἡτοιμασμένοι, i.e. ΠΡΟΗΤΟΙΜΑCΜΕΝΟΙ for ΠΡCΗΤΟΙΜΑCΜΕΝΟΙ. This was Markland's conjecture, but it had occurred to me without knowledge of the fact. Certainly πατρός is awkward, where Θεοῦ πατρός follows so closely; while προητοιμασμένοι gives another coincidence with the same Epistle of S. Paul (Ephes. ii. 10 οἷς προητοίμασεν ὁ Θεός, comp. Rom. ix. 23 σκεύη ἐλέους ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν) which has so largely influenced this letter, and more especially this context. An alternative correction would be to substitute πνς for πρς, πνεύματος for πατρός; see the note on *Smyrn.* 13. For ναοὶ πνεύματος comp. 1 Cor. vi. 19. But the mention of the Spirit comes in properly at a later stage.

8. μηχανῆς] See Hippol. *de Antichr.* 59 (p. 31 Lagarde) κλῖμαξ ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς ὕψος ἀνάγουσα ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας εἰκὼν σημείου πάθους Χριστοῦ, ἕλκουσα τοὺς πιστοὺς εἰς ἀνάβασιν οὐρανῶν (comp. Clem. Rom. 49 τὸ ὕψος εἰς ὃ ἀνάγει ἡ ἀγάπη κ.τ.λ.), Method. *de Sanct. Cruc.* 1 (p. 400, ed. Migne) μηχανὴ δι' ἧς οἱ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν εὐθετοῦντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας κάτωθεν λίθου τετραγώνου δίκην

χρώμενοι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ· ἡ δὲ πίστις ὑμῶν ἀναγωγεὺς ὑμῶν, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ὁδὸς ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς Θεόν.

1 τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ] G; τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι g; *spiritu sancto* L; *qui est spiritus sanctus* Σ; τῷ πνεύματι [Antioch]; def. A. ὑμῶν] GLΣ; om. A; ἡμῶν Dam-Rup 6, and so in the next line; al. g Antioch. ἀναγωγεὺς] G Dam-Rup;

ἀνέλκονται, ἐναρμοσθησόμενοι τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ (speaking of the cross), Chrysost. *Hom.* 3 *in Ephes.* (*Op.* XI. p. 19) *ὥσπερ διά τινος ἕλκων μηχανῆς εἰς ὕψος αὐτὴν* [*τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*] *ἀνήγαγε μέγα.*

ὅς] by attraction for *ἥ*; see on *Magn.* 7, and Winer § xxi. p. 206 sq.

1. *ἀναγωγεὺς*] '*a lifting engine.*' No other example of this sense of the word is given in the lexicons earlier than Eustath. *Opusc.* p. 328 (ed. Tafel) *Ἄργον...ὃν ἡ ποιητοῦ πλαστικὴ εἰς πολλοὺς ἤνοιξεν ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ βρύειν ὥσπερ πολλαῖς ἐποίησεν ὄψεσιν, εἰς μυρία ὄμματα κατατρήσασα, ὡς διαρρεῖν οὕτω τὸ ὀπτικὸν τοῦ ὅλου σώματος, ὡς ὅτε πολυτρήτου τινὸς ἀναγωγέως ὕδωρ πολύρρουν ἐξακοντίζεται.* This comparison to the many eyes of Argus seems to show that the *ἀναγωγεὺς* described by Eustathius is, as a friend suggests to me, an engine like Barker's Mill. The *ἀναγωγεὺς* contemplated by Ignatius may not have been of the same kind, for the word itself is not special; but there would be no anachronism in this identification, since (as I am informed on competent authority) the principle of Barker's Mill was known before his time. I have not found the word in the *Mathematici Veteres*, where it might have been expected to occur.

The metaphor is extravagant, but not otherwise ill-conceived. The framework, or crane, is the Cross of Christ; the connecting instrument, the rope, is the Holy Spirit; the motive power, which sets and keeps the machinery in motion, is faith; the path (conceived here apparently as an inclined plane), up which the spiritual stones are raised that they may be fitted into the building, is love.

3. *ἐστὲ οὖν κ.τ.λ.*] The mention of the 'way' suggests a wholly different image to the writer. The members of the Ephesian Church are now compared to a festive procession, in which each person bears some sacred vessel or emblem, a statue of a god, a model of a shrine, and the like; comp. Epist. Jer. 4 *νυνὶ δὲ ὄψεσθε ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θεοὺς ἀργυροῦς καὶ χρυσοῦς καὶ ξυλίνους ἐπ' ὤμοις αἰρομένους.* How large a place these religious festivities occupied in the life of a Greek may be inferred from Aristoph. *Lys.* 641 sq *ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγὼς' εὐθὺς ἠρρηφόρουν...κἀκανηφόρουν ποτ' οὖσα παῖς καλὴ κ.τ.λ.* Hence such words as *ἀνθοφόρος, δᾳδοφόρος, ἐρρηφόρος, θυρσοφόρος, κανηφόρος, κιστοφόρος, λικνοφόρος, παστοφόρος, ὑδροφόρος*, etc. At Ephesus itself the saint's imagery would have an especially vivid illustration in the fact that treasures belonging to the temple of Artemis were solemnly borne in procession into the city by one road and taken back by another at stated times, as we learn from a recently found inscription: see Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 1, pp. 32, 34, 42 (see above, p. 17 sq). A description of such a procession in Ephesus at an *ἐπιχώριος ἑορτὴ* of Artemis is given also in Xenoph. Ephes. i. 2, *παρῆσαν δὲ κατὰ στίχον οἱ πομπεύοντες· πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ δᾷδες καὶ κανᾶ καὶ θυμιάματα, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἵπποι καὶ κύνες καὶ σκεύη κυνη-*

ἐστὲ οὖν καὶ σύνοδοι πάντες, θεοφόροι καὶ ναοφόροι,

paraphrased πίστει ἀναγομένους [g]; ἀγωγεύς [Antioch]; *dux* L; *praeparator* A. 2 ἀναφέρουσα] G Antioch; *referens* L; ἄνω φέρουσα Dam-Rup; dub. ΣA; al. g. εἰς] G; εἰς τὸν Antioch; πρὸς Dam-Rup; πρὸς τὸν [g]. 3 ναοφόροι] GLg; om. A; paraphrased ναὸς Θεοῦ by Antioch.

γετικὰ κ.τ.λ. Accordingly elsewhere (*C. I. G.* no. 2963 c) we read of οἱ τὸν...κόσμον βαστά[ζοντες] τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς [Ἀρτέμι]δος πρὸ πόλ[εω]ς ἱερεῖς [καὶ ἱερ]ονεῖκαι. Again there is a mention in another inscription (Wood's *Discoveries* Inscr. vi. 19, p. 68) of a δειπνοφοριακὴ πομπή in this same city. Again we read of yet another Ephesian festival, the καταγώγια, in which persons went along ῥόπαλά τε ἐπιφερόμενοι καὶ εἰκόνας εἰδώλων (*Mart. S. Timoth.* in Ducange *Gloss. Graec.* p. 607: see Lobeck *Aglaoph.* p. 177). But indeed this was not characteristic of one or two special occasions. At all the great festivals of Ephesus, the Ταύρεια, in honour of Poseidon, the Ἀμβρόσια, in honour of Dionysus, etc., the same sight would probably be seen.

Ignatius is not the only writer, to whom this characteristic feature of a heathen religious ceremonial suggests the image in the text: comp. Philo *Leg. ad Cai.* 31 (II. p. 577) ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀγαλματοφοροῦσι τὰς τῶν διατεταγμένων εἰκόνας, i.e. they carry the commandments in their souls, as the pagans bear the images of their gods on their shoulders. So again *de Mund. Opif.* 23 (I. p. 16) πρὸς ἕνα τὸν τῶν ὅλων ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ἂν ἀρχέτυπον, ὁ ἐν ἑκάστῳ [νοῦς] τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπεικονίσθη, τρόπον τινὰ θεὸς ὢν τοῦ φέροντος καὶ ἀγαλματοφοροῦντος αὐτὸν, *ib.* 47 (I. p. 33) οἶκος γὰρ ἢ νεὼς ἱερὸς ἐτεκταίνετο ψυχῆς λογικῆς ἣν ἔμελλεν ἀγαλματοφορήσειν, ἀγαλμάτων τὸ θεοειδέστατον, and so frequently in Philo, who however in some passages attaches also a secondary meaning to ἄγαλμα, 'an image' or 'representation' in its philosophical sense. From Philo the application of ἀγαλματοφορεῖν is borrowed by the Christian fathers. See also Epictet. *Diss.* ii. 18. 12 sq θεὸν περιφέρεις, τάλας, καὶ ἀγνοεῖς· δοκεῖς με λέγειν ἀργυροῦν τινα ἢ χρυσοῦν ἔξωθεν; ἐν σαυτῷ φέρεις αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ. Similarly Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 4 (p. 53) ἡμεῖς γάρ, ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν οἱ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ περιφέροντες ἐν τῷ ζῶντι καὶ κινουμένῳ τούτῳ ἀγάλματι, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κ.τ.λ. See also the note on ἁγιοφόρος below.

σύνοδοι] '*companions on the way*.' This word occurs several times in Epictetus, *Diss.* ii. 14. 8, iii. 21. 5, iv. 1. 97 (and so it should be written in iii. 13. 13). Similarly πάροδος 'a wayfarer,' LXX 2 Sam. xii. 4, Ezek. xvi. 15, 25; πρόοδος 'a precursor,' *Clem. Hom.* iii. 58, viii. 2, xvi. 18, xx. 13, 14, 18; ἔφοδος 'a patrol,' e.g. Polyb. vi. 36. 6.

θεοφόροι κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'each carrying his God, his shrine, his Christ, his holy things.' On this word θεοφόρος see the note, inscr. above.

ναοφόροι] '*shrine bearers*.' The metaphor is taken from the portable shrines (containing the image of some patron deity), which were made either to be carried about in processions, or to be purchased by pilgrims to any famous sanctuary as reminiscences of their visit and worn about the person as amulets. For the former see e.g. Herod. ii. 63 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐὸν ἐν νηῷ μικρῷ ξυλίνῳ κατακεχρυσωμένῳ προεκκομίζουσι κ.τ.λ., Diod. Sic. i. 97 τῶν ναῶν

χριστοφόροι, ἁγιοφόροι, κατὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένοι ἐν ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· οἷς καὶ ἀγαλλιώμενος ἠξιώθην, δι' ὧν γράφω, προσομιλῆσαι ὑμῖν, καὶ συγχαρῆναι ὅτι

1 *χριστοφόροι*] G; *et christiferi* L; om. A [g]; recognized by Antioch, who has *θεοφόρος ἠγοῦν χριστοφόρος* (the whole being transferred into the singular). *ἁγιοφόροι*] GLAg; Antioch has *ἁγιοδρόμος*. *κατὰ πάντα*] GLg; *καὶ τὰ πάντα* Antioch; *et omnino* [A]. *κεκοσμημένοι*] *κεκοσμιμένοι* G. *ἐν*] L; om. G; *ἐν ταῖς* [g]; (*in*) *omnibus* [A]. 2 *ἀγαλλιώμενος ἠξιώθην*] L [g]; *ἀγαλλιῶμαι ὅτι ἠξιώθην* G. A begins a new sentence '*exulto quod dignus factus sum loqui vobiscum, et gaudeo in eo quod scripsi ad vos* (thus strangely

ἀνακομιζομένων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ὄρος κ.τ.λ., xx. 14 *ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρυσοῦς ναοὺς τοῖς ἀφιδρύμασι πρὸς τὴν ἱκεσίαν*. Of the latter the miniature representations of the shrine of the Ephesian Artemis furnish the best illustration, and we may suppose that Ignatius had these more or less in mind; see Acts xix. 24 (with the passages collected by commentators). Comp. Amm. Marc. xxii. 13 'deae caelestis argenteum breve figmentum, quocumque ibat, *efferre* solitus.' See also the conjectural reading of Wordsworth on the Scholiast of Aristides, *Athens and Attica* p. 108 *Παλλαδίων...τῶν περιαυτοφόρων καλουμένων*. The application of the metaphor is to the body of the Christian, as the shrine of the Spirit; see below § 15 *ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί* (with the note).

1. *χριστοφόροι*] Comp. 2 Cor. iv. 10 *πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες*, *Magn.* 12 *Ἰησοῦν γὰρ Χριστὸν ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*. The saint himself is called *χριστοφόρος* in *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 5. So Phileas in Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 10 *οἱ χριστοφόροι μάρτυρες*. Other compounds of *Χριστὸς* in Ignatius are *χριστομαθία Philad.* 8, *χριστόνομος Rom.* inscr.

ἁγιοφόροι] '*bearers of holy things*,' such as sacred treasures, votive offerings, and the like, which it was customary to carry in procession. They are the *divinarum bajuli caeremoniarum*, Firmic. Matern. *Astron.* iii. 11. 9. The word occurs again, *Smyrn.* inscr.; comp. *ἱεροφόρος C. I. G.* 1793 b, *ἱεραφόρος ib.* 2384 b (Appx.). So too the Latin 'sacra ferre' (e.g. Virg. *Æn.* iii. 19) of priests. But see esp. Plut. *Mor.* 352 B *τοῖς ἀληθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἱεραφόροις καὶ ἱεροστόλοις προσαγορευομένοις· οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν οἱ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον...ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέροντες, ὥσπερ ἐν κίστῃ, καὶ περιστέλλοντες* (with Wyttenbach's note), Virg. *Georg.* ii. 476 'Quorum *sacra fero* ingenti percussus amore'; in both which passages the image is applied as here.

κεκοσμημένοι] '*adorned, decorated*,' as with festive robes, chaplets, trinkets, and the like; comp. 1 Pet. iii. 3 *ὧν ἔστω οὐχ ὁ ἔξωθεν ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν καὶ περιθέσεως χρυσίων ἢ ἐνδύσεως ἱματίων κόσμος κ.τ.λ.*, 1 Tim. ii. 9 sq *μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτὰς...διὰ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν*. See Xenoph. Ephes. i. 2 *ἔδει δὲ πομπεύειν πάσας τὰς ἐπιχωρίους παρθένους κεκοσμημένας πολυτελῶς καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους*, describing a sacred procession at Ephesus. Mention is made of certain officers as *χρυσοφοροῦντες* in connexion with these festive processions in honour of Artemis; Wood's *Discoveries* Inscr. vi. pp. 32, 34 (comp. iii. p. 20). This seems to mean

κατ' ἀνθρώπων βίον οὐδὲν ἀγαπᾶτε, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν Θεόν.

X. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀδιαλείπτως

deranging the connexion of the words). 4 κατ' ἀνθρώπων βίον κ.τ.λ.] κατ' ἄλλον βίον κ.τ.λ. GL; see the lower note. My conjecture is supported by the paraphrase in g οὐδὲ κατὰ σάρκα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλὰ κατὰ θεόν. The text was early corrupted, as appears from the confused rendering of A, *alium quendam non diligitis sed eum qui secundum deum vivit.* 6 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ] GLg; *et pro aliis* A; *super omnibus* Σ. Σ commences again here and continues as far as ἀθετηθῇ. ἀδιαλείπτως] GLg; om. ΣA. See the lower note.

'decorated with gold ornaments or wearing gold embroidery'; comp. Wesseling on Diod. Sic. iv. 83 χρυσοφορεῖν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ. The fondness of the Ephesians for fine dresses is commemorated by the Ephesian Democritus quoted in Athenæus xii. p. 525; it is rebuked by S. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10. The interpretation of Hilgenfeld (*A. V.* p. 250), 'durch die Gebote Christi organisirt, geordnet,' seems to me quite impossible, whether the preposition ἐν be retained or not.

2. οἷς καὶ κ.τ.λ.] '*wherein also rejoicing I was permitted to associate with you by letter, and to congratulate you, that ye love nothing after the common life of men, but God only.*' The reading ἀγαλλιώμενος should probably be adopted on the ground of external authority; and if so, οἷς is more naturally taken as a neuter with ἀγαλλιώμενος. It may however be a masculine governed by προσομιλῆσαι and explained afterwards by ὑμῖν: see Winer *Gramm.* § xxii. p. 184 sq. For the whole expression comp. *Magn.* 1 ἀγαλλιώμενος προειλάμην ἐν πίστει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσλαλῆσαι ὑμῖν· καταξιωθεὶς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.; and for ἀξιοῦσθαι, a characteristic expression of Ignatius, the note on *Magn.* 2.

4. κατ' ἀνθρώπων βίον] So I have ventured to emend, ΑΝΩΝ for ΑΛΛΟΝ; or perhaps read ΑΝΙΝΟΝ = ἀνθρώπινον; comp. *Rom.* 8 οὐκέτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν, *Trall.* 2 φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῶντες. In this case εἰ μὴ will be '*but only.*' In other words it will not refer to the whole of the foregoing sentence, but to οὐδὲν ἀγαπᾶτε alone; comp. Matt. xii. 4, Luke iv. 26, 27, etc., and see the note on Gal. i. 19. The commentators fail to make anything of κατ' ἄλλον βίον. Zahn accepts Markland's conjecture καθ' ὅλον βίον, but this is a violent change and does not yield a very good sense.

X. 'Pray also for unbelievers. There is hope of their repentance. Let them learn from your deeds, if they will learn from nothing else. Requite them with good for evil; with meekness for their wrath, with humility for their boastfulness, with prayers for their revilings, with staunchness in the faith for their errors, with gentleness for their wrath. Show yourselves their brothers by your conduct. Imitate not them but the Lord. Vie with each other who shall suffer rather than do the most wrong. Let no rank weed of the devil spring up in you; but live in chastity and soberness.'

6. ἀδιαλείπτως] See 1 Thess. v. 17, where also we have the expression ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε; comp. Hermas. *Sim.* ix. 11. The same adverb occurs also Rom. i. 9, 1 Thess. i. 3,

προσεύχεσθε· ἔστιν γὰρ [ἐν] αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς μετανοίας, ἵνα Θεοῦ τύχωσιν. ἐπιτρέψατε οὖν αὐτοῖς κἂν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῖν μαθητευθῆναι. πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς πραεῖς, πρὸς τὰς μεγαλορημοσύνας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες, πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς προσευ- 5

1 προσεύχεσθε] προσεύχεσθαι G. Add. *deum* L; add. *ut redeant ad deum* A; txt GΣg. ἐν] GL: om. ΣAg (MSS, but inserted in l). 2 ἐπιτρέψατε κ.τ.λ.] The whole of this passage is loosely translated in Σ *ex operibus vestris magis discipuli-fiant; contra verba eorum dura in humilitate animi placabiles-estote et in lenitate; contra blasphemias eorum vos estote precantes; et contra errorem eorum armemini in fide; et contra ferocitatem eorum estote pacifici et tranquilli et ne admiremini eos*, where however the word תתדמרון *admiremini*, is probably an error of transcription for תתדמון *imitemini*. The Armenian substantially follows the Greek. ἐπιτρέψατε] G; *monete* L; *rogate* A; ἐπιστρέψατε g; om. Σ. οὖν] GLg; om. ΣA. 8 ἀδελφοὶ...ἀθετηθῇ] In place of these words Σ has *simus autem imitatores domini nostri in humilitate et eius qui magis injurias-*

ii. 13, in connexion with prayer and thanksgiving. See also *Polyc.* 1 προσευχαῖς σχόλαζε ἀδιαλείπτοις. The Syriac and Armenian have simply 'pray' here and simply 'be constant in prayer' in *Polyc.* 1. In the passage before us therefore the ἀδιαλείπτως is highly suspicious, and may easily have been inserted from St Paul. In *Polyc.* 1 it is not quite so clear that the word is unrepresented in the text of the Syriac translator (followed by the Armenian), because the Syriac ܩܛܪܝ 'be constant' might be intended to cover both σχόλαζε and ἀδιαλείπτοις. On the other hand, supposing that the word was in the Greek text used by the Syriac translator, he may have rejected it on account of its apparent extravagance.

1. ἔστιν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Herm. *Sim.* viii. 7 καὶ ἔτι, φησίν, ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς μετανοίας (comp. *ib.* § 10), quoted by Zahn.

2. κἂν κ.τ.λ.] '*at all events from your works*, if they will not listen to your words.' This use of κἂν is elliptical for κἂν . . . . μαθητευθῶσιν: comp. Mark vi. 56, Acts v. 15, 2 Cor. xi. 16, 2 Clem. ii. 7, 18. See Winer *Gramm.* § lxiv. p. 730 (Moulton).

3. ὑμῖν μαθητευθῆναι] '*to be your disciples*,' '*to go to school to you*'; a legitimate and not uncommon construction with μαθητεύειν (-εσθαι), e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 832 B μαθητεύσας τῷ πατρί, ἦν γὰρ σοφιστής, ᾧ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην φασὶν ἔτι παῖδα ὄντα φοιτῆσαι, *ib.* 837 C, 840 F, Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 29 αἱ...Χριστῷ μαθητευθεῖσαι ἐκκλησίαι, Euseb. *H. E.* v. 13 μαθητευθεὶς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ὡς αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ, Τατιανῷ (speaking of Rhodon), *V. C.* iii. 47 τῷ κοινῷ σωτῆρι μεμαθητεῦσθαι. On this verb see the note *Rom.* 3.

πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς κ.τ.λ.] See Matt. v. 44, Luke vi. 27, 28, Rom. xii. 14 sq. Comp. also 1 Pet. ii. 21, 22, where our Lord's example is dwelt upon as here.

5. βλασφημίας] Not '*blasphemies*,' but '*slanderings*,' '*railings*'; comp. Luke l. c. προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπη-

χάς, πρὸς τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἑδραῖοι τῇ πίστει, πρὸς τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἥμεροι· μὴ σπουδάζοντες ἀντιμιμήσασθαι αὐτούς. ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν εὑρεθῶμεν τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ· μιμηταὶ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου σπουδάζωμεν εἶναι, τίς πλέον ἀδικηθῇ, τίς ἀποστερηθῇ, τίς ἀθετηθῇ· ἵνα μὴ τοῦ

patietur et opprimetur et defraudabitur. After ἀθετηθῇ it omits everything till the last sentence of § 14 οὐ [γὰρ νῦν] ἐπαγγελίας κ.τ.λ. The corresponding words in A are *sed (in) mansuetudine state et similes dei studeamus fieri*, the sentence τίς πλέον...ἀθετηθῇ being omitted. The Syriac Version (S) was probably corrupted at an early date, and hence the aberrations of ΣA. εὑρεθῶμεν] So G. Dressel prints εὑρηθῶμεν (after other editors) and does not notice any variation from his text in G. 9 τοῦ Κυρίου] GΣ; τὸν κύριον g (with a different construction); *dei* LA (comp. § 1). 10 ἀδικηθῇ...ἀποστερηθῇ...ἀθετηθῇ] ἀδικηθεῖ...ἀποστερηθεῖ...ἀθετηθεῖ G; *injustum patiatur ... fraudetur ... contemnatur* L; def. A. The construction is changed in [g], but the words ἀδικηθεὶς, ἀποστερηθῇ, ἀθετηθῇ appear. The rendering of Σ (see above) points to the reading adopted in the text.

ρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς. For this meaning of βλασφημία, which indeed is more common than the other in the N.T., see the note on Col. iii. 8.

τὰς προσευχάς] The interpolator has supplied this ellipsis by ἀντιτάξατε; the Syriac translator has rendered it by a verb 'be ye praying.' For the elliptical sentence, which is much more forcible, see Winer lxiv. p. 734 sq, A. Buttmann p. 337 sq.

6. ἑδραῖοι τῇ πίστει] Comp. Col. i. 23 εἴ γε ἐπιμένετε τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἑδραῖοι κ.τ.λ. (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 58), Polyc. *Phil.* 10 'firmi in fide et immutabiles.' So too *Smyrn.* 13 ἑδρᾶσθαι πίστει.

8. ἀντιμιμήσασθαι] '*requite them by imitating their conduct to you*,' i.e. '*retaliate*,' a rare word. It occurs Appian *Bell. Civ.* v. 41; comp. ἀντιμίμησις, Thuc. vii. 67.

ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'The right way of showing our brotherhood with them is not by imitating their conduct, but by evincing our regard. Our *imitation* must be of Christ, not of them.' The word ἐπιείκεια, as denoting the spirit of concession and forbearance, which contrasts with strict justice, strict retaliation, is highly appropriate here; see the notes on Phil. iv. 5, Clem. Rom. 59 (p. 284). It was moreover especially characteristic of Christ (2 Cor. x. 1), whose example is enforced here.

9. τίς κ.τ.λ.] This describes the proper aim of their rivalry. They should try to imitate Christ and show 'who can suffer more wrong than his neighbour.' The words are dependent on μιμηταί; comp. § 19 ταραχή...πόθεν κ.τ.λ. For the conjunctive in indirect questions, see Kühner § 394 (II. p. 187). It is unnecessary to emend the sentence τίς πλέον ἠδικήθη κ.τ.λ. (Markland), or τίς πλέον ἀδικηθείς (Hefele), or οὗ τίς πλέον ἀδικηθῇ (Pearson), or κἂν τις πλέον ἀδικηθῇ (Dressel). The whole passage is a reminiscence of 1 Cor. vi. 7 διατί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖσθε; διατί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀποστερεῖσθε; κ.τ.λ.

διαβόλου βοτάνη τις εὑρεθῇ ἐν ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ἐν πάσῃ ἁγνείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ μένετε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ σαρκικῶς καὶ πνευματικῶς.

XI. Ἔσχατοι καιροί. λοιπὸν αἰσχυνθῶμεν, φοβηθῶμεν

2 μένετε] G; *maneatis* L; *ut stetis* A; as if they had read μένητε, which is perhaps correct; al. g. Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ A [g]; Ἰησοῦ χριστῷ GL. 4 Ἔσχατοι καιροί. λοιπὸν κ.τ.λ.] So it seems to be taken in Dam-Rup 4 ἔσχατοι καιροί, ἀδελφοί, λοιπὸν αἰσχυνθῶμεν, and this is apparently the connexion intended in L *extrema tempora de cetero* etc. In g λοιπόν is connected with what precedes ἔσχατοι καιροὶ λοιπόν εἰσιν; in A it is omitted. In G there is no stop till after αἰσχυνθῶμεν. See the lower note. φοβηθῶμεν] Gg Dam-Rup; *et timeamus* L; om. A. 5 ἵνα] GL; om. Dam-Rup; al. g. ἡμῖν εἰς κρῖμα] G (κρῖμα) L;

1. βοτάνη] '*weed*.' Though the word is quite neutral in itself and is often used in a good sense (e.g. Heb. vi. 7), yet it has a tendency to take a bad meaning, 'a rank or noxious herb,' 'a weed'; e.g. Hermas *Sim.* v. 2 εἶδεν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα βοτανῶν πλήρη ὄντα...καὶ πάσας τὰς βοτάνας τὰς οὔσας ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι ἐξέτιλλεν κ.τ.λ., *ib.* ix. 26 ὡς γὰρ ἄμπελος...ὑπὸ τῶν βοτανῶν ἐρημοῦται κ.τ.λ.; comp. *Clem. Hom.* xix. 15, 20, βοτάναι θανάσιμοι, κακαί, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 7 (p. 770) ἄγριαι βοτάναι. Hence βοτανίζειν 'to weed,' e.g. Theophrast. *C. P.* iii. 20. 9. This sense it gets, because its leading idea is the *absence of culture*. On the other hand λάχανα is used more especially for 'garden herbs,' 'vegetables.' Accordingly βοτάνη, as a metaphor, is especially applied, as here, to vice or to heresy; comp. *Trall.* 6, *Philad.* 3. It is opposed to the *planting*, the φυτεία τοῦ πατρός (*Trall.* 11, *Philad.* 3). It is the rank growth which springs up *of itself* in the soil of man's unregenerate nature; or it is the malicious sowing of the devil, as here, where there is probably a reference to the parable in Matt. xiii. 25.

2. ἁγνείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ] The same combination is found in Clem. Rom. 58 (see the note p. 169).

σαρκικῶς κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 2 Cor. vii. 1 καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος. This conjunction of 'flesh and spirit,' as comprehending the whole nature of man, is very common in Ignatius; *Magn.* 1, 13, *Trall.* inscr., 12, *Rom.* inscr., *Smyrn.* 1, 12, 13, *Polyc.* 1, 5. But see esp. *Polyc.* 2 διὰ τοῦτο σαρκικὸς εἶ καὶ πνευματικός κ.τ.λ. In one place only there is a triple division *Philad.* 11 σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι. See also the note on § 7, above.

XI. 'The end of all things is at hand. Let us therefore stand in awe of the judgment, or, if we do not fear the coming wrath, let us value the present grace. From the one motive or the other may we be found in Jesus Christ. In Him I wear these bonds; these jewels in which I hope also to be decorated at the resurrection through your prayers. This is my hope; that I may be united in one destiny with the glorious Church of Ephesus, which was ever a devoted follower of the Apostles.'

4. ἔσχατοι καιροί] See 1 John ii. 18 ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν, and esp. 1 Cor. vii. 29 ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστὶν τὸ λοιπὸν ἵνα κ.τ.λ. So also *Magn.* 6 ἐν τέλει ἐφάνη.

5 θῶμεν τὴν μακροθυμίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἡμῖν εἰς κρίμα γένηται. ἢ γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν φοβηθῶμεν ἢ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν ἀγαπήσωμεν, ἓν τῶν δύο· μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὑρεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν. χωρὶς τούτου μηδὲν ὑμῖν πρεπέτω, ἐν ᾧ τὰ δεσμὰ περιφέρω,

εἰς κρίμα ἡμῖν Dam-Rup; *vobis...in judicium* A; al. g. 7 χάριν] GLA Dam-Rup; χαρὰν g* (MSS, but l has *gratiam*). ἓν τῶν δύο] GL; ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ g Dam-Rup. Something like this may have been the reading of A which translates τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν κ.τ.λ. *gratiam quam habemus in hoc mundo*; unless indeed *in hoc mundo* represents ἐνεστῶσαν, but if so ἓν τῶν δύο is omitted. Perhaps ἓν τῶν δύο was first corrupted into ἐν τῷ νῦν, and βίῳ added afterwards as a gloss; see the lower note. 8 εὑρεθῆναι] G, and so too g (but inserting words ἔστω δὲ κ.τ.λ. to help out the construction); *invenitur* L*; εὑρεθῶμεν Dam-Rup; *inveniamur* A. ἀληθινὸν] GLA; ἀληθινῶς [g]. 9 ἐν ᾧ] Lg; *cujus causa* A; ἐν τῷ G.

λοιπὸν] '*for what remains*,' and so '*henceforth*'; comp. *Smyrn.* 9 εὔλογόν ἐστιν λοιπὸν ἀνανῆψαι. For the occurrence of λοιπόν or τὸ λοιπόν at the beginning of the sentence see 2 Cor. xiii. 11, Phil. iii. 1, iv. 8, 2 Thess. iii. 1, 2 Tim. iv. 8, Clem. Rom. 58; and it should probably be taken with what follows in 1 Cor. l. c. So too I have punctuated it here, as this is by far the most usual position of λοιπόν and the most forcible in this place.

5. κρίμα] For the accent of this word, see the note on Gal. v. 10. The Greek MS however accentuates it κρῖμα here.

6. γένηται] '*it turn*,' sc. ἡ μακροθυμία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

7. ἓν τῶν δύο] See Phil. iii. 13 ἓν δέ, τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω κ.τ.λ.; compare the classical use of δυοῖν θάτερον, and for examples of similar constructions see Kühner II. p. 244 sq, Winer § lxvi. p. 774. See also *Magn.* 1 τὸ δὲ κυριώτερον, *Magn.* 3 τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον. The reading ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ is shown from the authorities to have been as early as the 4th century, but cannot be correct.

μόνον κ.τ.λ.] i.e. μόνον [οὕτω ποιήσωμεν ὥστε] εὑρεθῆναι. For similar elliptical uses of the infinitive see Kühner II. p. 590. There is a tendency to ellipsis with μόνον: comp. *Rom.* 5 μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω, *Smyrn.* 4 μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ., and see the note on Gal. ii. 10.

8. ζῆν] '*life*'; the infinitive being treated as a substantive, as above, § 3, and below, § 17, *Magn.* 1, 5. This very phrase τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν occurs in *Trall.* 9, *Smyrn.* 4.

9. τούτου] i.e. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ὑμῖν πρεπέτω] '*glitter in your eyes*,' i.e. 'have any attraction for you'; as e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* x. 105 πειρῶντι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασάνῳ πρέπει καὶ νόος ὀρθός. The word is thus a preparation for the imagery of 'the spiritual pearls' which follows. Ignatius would say 'Do not value any *decoration* apart from Christ.'

περιφέρω] He uses the same word of his bonds again, *Magn.* 1, *Trall.* 12. It suggests the idea of ostentation. He is proud of this decoration, with which his Sovereign has invested him. On the prominent

τοὺς πνευματικοὺς μαργαρίτας· ἐν οἷς γένοιτό μοι ἀναστῆναι τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν, ἧς γένοιτό μοι ἀεὶ μέτοχον εἶναι, ἵνα ἐν κλήρῳ Ἐφεσίων εὑρεθῶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, οἳ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνήνεσαν ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 5

3 ἐν] Lg; ἐνὶ G; al. A; see *Ephes.* 20 for a similar confusion of ἐν, ἐνί, in G. 4 συνήνεσαν] GL; συνῆσαν gA. The testimony of A shows that the corruption (if it be such) was very early. 8 πάροδός ἐστε] GL; παραδοθεὶς γε

place given to his 'bonds' by Ignatius, as by S. Paul, see the notes on § 3, above, *Magn.* 1.

1. τοὺς πνευματικοὺς κ.τ.λ.] *Clem. Hom.* xiii. 16 τιμίους μηργαρίτας περικεῖται, τοὺς σωφρονίζοντας λόγους. See also a similar image in Polyc. *Phil.* 1, where, referring apparently to Ignatius and his companions, he says, τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσι δεσμοῖς, ἅτινά ἐστιν διαδήματα τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλελεγμένων. So too in the *Epistle of the Gallican Churches*, Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 ὥστε καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ κόσμον εὐπρεπῆ περικεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς νύμφῃ κεκοσμημένῃ ἐν κροσσωτοῖς χρυσοῖς πεποικιλμένοις, Cyprian. *Epist.* 76 (p. 829, Hartel) 'ornamenta sunt ista, non vincula, nec Christianorum pedes ad infamiam copulant sed clarificant ad coronam,' Victor *Vit. de Pers. Vand.* iii. ad fin. 'rigentium pondera catenarum quasi quaedam monilia pervidebat, quia non fuerunt illa vincula, sed potius ornamenta'; see Cotelier *ad loc.*, Pearson *V. I.* p. 588, and comp. *Magn.* 1 (note).

ἀναστῆναι] He can hardly mean that he desired literally to rise in his chains; but that he hoped through the prayers of the Ephesians to remain steadfast to the end, and so to appear at the resurrection invested with the glory of discipline and suffering, of which his chains were the instrument and the symbol. For other references to his condition at the resurrection see *Rom.* 4, *Polyc.* 7 (v. l.).

3. ἐν κλήρῳ] Comp. *Philad.* 5 ἵνα ἐν ᾧ κλήρῳ ἠλεήθην ἐπιτύχω, *Ep. Vienn.* § 7 in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 [ἐν] τῷ κλήρῳ τῶν μαρτύρων προσετέθη. Voss, followed by some later editors, reads ἐνὶ (for ἐν), but this poetic form would hardly be possible in a writer like Ignatius.

4. τοῖς ἀποστόλοις] S. Paul and S. John primarily, for these resided and taught at Ephesus; possibly S. Peter as well, for he corresponded with the Churches of Asia Minor, if he did not visit them (1 Pet. i. 1); perhaps also S. Andrew and S. Philip, whom early tradition represents as living in these parts; see *Colossians* p. 44 sq. The interpolator names Paul, John, and Timothy; but Timothy was not an Apostle: see *Galatians* p. 96.

συνήνεσαν] I have, with some hesitation, preferred this reading to συνῆσαν, only because letters were more likely to have dropped out than to have been inserted.

XII. 'I know that it ill becomes me to address such exhortations to you. I am only a weak criminal, while ye have obtained mercy and are strong in the faith. Ye have ever escorted the martyrs on their way to death. Ye were fellow-students of the mysteries with Paul the blessed,

XII. *Οἶδα τίς εἰμι καὶ τίσιν γράφω. ἐγὼ κατάκριτος, ὑμεῖς ἠλεημένοι· ἐγὼ ὑπὸ κίνδυνον, ὑμεῖς ἐστηριγμένοι. πάροδός ἐστε τῶν εἰς Θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων, Παύλου συμμύσται τοῦ ἡγιασμένου, τοῦ μεμαρτυρη-*

g* (MSS). The reading *πάροδος* underlies the rendering in A *ad vos viatores qui propter deum martyres-fiunt.* 9 *ἡγιασμένου*] So G; not *ἁγιασμένου* as stated in Dressel.

in whose footsteps I would fain tread, and who makes mention of you in all his letters.'

6. *ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.*] See a similar passage in *Rom.* 4 *Οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος κ.τ.λ.*, and comp. *Trall.* 3 *ἵνα ὦν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι.* In all these passages his civil status, as *κατάκριτος*, is an emblem of his spiritual status: 'I am under sentence of condemnation; while ye have obtained mercy and are pardoned.'

7. *ὑπὸ κίνδυνον*] Comp. *Trall.* 13 *ἔτι γὰρ ὑπὸ κίνδυνόν εἰμι.* He alludes to the danger of his flinching before the terrors of death, or otherwise yielding to the allurements of the world.

8. *πάροδός ἐστε*] '*ye are a way of transit.*' They had escorted S. Paul first, and now they were escorting Ignatius on his way to martyrdom. Their spiritual position, he seems to say, corresponds to their geographical position. As they conducted the martyrs on their way in the body, so they animated their souls with fresh strength and courage. The reference to S. Paul will hardly be satisfied by the interview with the Ephesian elders in Acts xx. 17 sq, for he was not then on his way to death, if (as is most probable) he was liberated from his first captivity: but the notices in the Pastoral Epistles show that he was again at Ephesus shortly before his final trial and martyrdom (1 Tim. i. 3, 2 Tim. i. 18). Probably Ignatius was thinking of other martyrs also of whom we know nothing. See e.g. Polyc. *Phil.* 1 *συνεχάρην ὑμῖν προπέμψασιν . . . τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσι δεσμοῖς κ.τ.λ.*, and *ib.* 9 *ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονὴν ἣν καὶ εἴδετε κατ' ὀφθαλμούς, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις Ἰγνατίῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ καὶ Ῥούφῳ κ.τ.λ.*

τῶν εἰς Θεὸν κ.τ.λ.] '*who are slain unto God*,' a condensed expression for 'who are put to death and thus conducted to God'; comp. § 1 *δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας* (with the note). The word *ἀναιρουμένων* is a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, where we should look for some such expression as *προπεμπομένων*.

9. *Παύλου συμμύσται*] i.e. 'fellow-recipients, fellow-students, of the mysteries, with Paul.' For the word see Orig. *in Ies. Naue Hom.* 7 (II. p. 413) 'Paulum nobis communiter adhibeamus magistrum; ipse enim est symmystes Christi,' Hippol. *in Daniel.* p. 174 (Lagarde) *ὡς συμμύσται καὶ θεοσεβεῖς ἄνδρες* (i.e. co-religionists), Constantine in Theodt. *H.E.* i. 19 *ὁ τῆς τυραννικῆς ὠμότητος συμμύστης.* This was signally true of the Ephesians, among whom S. Paul resided for an exceptionally long time (Acts xix. 10 sq, xx. 31), with whom he was on terms of the most affectionate intimacy (Acts xx. 18 sq, 36), and who were the chief, though probably not the sole, recipients of the most profound of all his

μένου, ἀξιομακαρίστου, οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη

epistles. The propriety of the language here is still further enhanced by the fact that S. Paul, in the Epistle to the Ephesians more especially, dwells on the Gospel dispensation as *μυστήριον* (i. 9, iii. 3, 4, 9, v. 32, vi. 19). Elsewhere (Phil. iv. 12) he speaks of himself as *μεμυημένος*. In later ecclesiastical language the words *μυστήριον*, *μύστης*, *μυστικός*, *ἄμυστος*, *ἀμύητος*, etc., were used with especial reference to the sacraments, more particularly to the eucharist (Bingham *Christ. Ant.* I. iv. 2). But there is no trace of this meaning in Ignatius, who still uses these terms, as they are used by S. Paul, of the doctrines and lessons of Christianity. For the force and significance of this use in the Apostle, see the notes on Col. i. 26.

If it be asked why S. John also is not mentioned here, the answer is simple. Ignatius is speaking of the relations of the Ephesians with martyrs (*τῶν εἰς Θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων*); but S. John died peaceably in extreme old age at Ephesus. He is doubtless included in the *ἀπόστολοι* mentioned before; but here there is no place for him. It should be added also, that the life of S. Paul had a peculiar attraction for Ignatius, owing to the similarity of their outward circumstances. He too, like Paul, had been an *ἔκτρωμα*; he too, like Paul, was journeying from Asia to Rome, there to win the crown of martyrdom. If Ignatius shows a full knowledge and appreciation of the *teaching* of S. John, his heart clings to the *example* of S. Paul.

τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου] '*attested*,' and hence '*approved*,' '*of good report*'; as e.g. Acts vi. 3, x. 22, xvi. 2, xxii. 5, 1 Tim. v. 10. So Clem. Rom. 47 *ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις*; see also Clem. Rom. 17 (note), 18, 19, 44, and *Philad.* 5, 11. It must not however be confined to the opinion of the Church, but will refer rather to the testimony of God as given in S. Paul's own life and work: comp. Heb. xi. 2, 4, 5, 39 *μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ τῆς πίστεως*. Thus *indirectly* it may refer to his martyrdom; because this is God's chief act of *attestation*. But the Anglo-Latin translator is wrong in rendering it *martyrizati*, i.e. 'put to death as a martyr'; because the passive is not used in this sense even in very late Greek. 'To be a martyr' is not *μαρτυρεῖσθαι*, but *μαρτυρεῖν* 'to bear testimony.' Even in Latin the passive *martyrizari* is a solecism, though a common one; and *martyrizare* is the more correct word. On the use of these words, *μάρτυς*, *μαρτυρεῖν*, etc., as referring especially to the testimony borne by the *death* of the witness, see the note on Clem. Rom. 5.

1. *ἀξιομακαρίστου*] See the note on this word above, inscr.

ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη] Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 21, and esp. *Mart. Polyc.* 22 *Πολύκαρπος οὗ γένοιτο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἴχνη εὑρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς*. In the *Mart. Ignat. Ant.* § 5 it is related that the saint on his journey to Rome desired to follow in the Apostle's foot-prints, not only figuratively, but literally also, *κατ' ἴχνος βαδίζειν ἐθέλων τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου*; but adverse winds prevented him from landing at Puteoli and so entering Rome by the Appian Way as S. Paul had done. *Ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη* here stands for the more usual *κατὰ τὰ ἴχνη* or *ἐν τοῖς ἴχνεσιν*. With the accusative *ὑπὸ* often signifies 'close to,' e.g. Thuc. v. 10 *ὑπὸ τὰς πύλας*, Soph. *El.* 720 *ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἐσχάτην στήλην* (see the note on *ὑπεναντίος*,

εὑρεθῆναι, ὅταν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω· ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

3 μνημονεύει] GLg; μνημονεύω A.

Col. ii. 14); but the instances are very rare in which, as here, its local meaning is preserved while yet the idea of subjacence has altogether disappeared; comp. Plut. *Vit. Pelop.* 16 μικρὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τὰ ἕλη νεώς ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος. It almost universally refers to objects which are more or less raised. Comp. Ov. *Met.* iii. 17 '*sub*sequitur pressoque legit *vestigia* gressu.' The Armenian translates ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη 'under his footstool.'

2. Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω] A phrase used especially of his martyrdom; see the note on *Magn.* 1.

ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ] '*in every epistle.*' Besides the epistle which bears their name, S. Paul refers to Ephesus and the Ephesian Christians, either alone or with others, in Romans (xvi. 5), 1 Corinthians (xv. 32, xvi. 8, 19), 2 Corinthians (i. 8 sq), and the two Epistles to Timothy. These references would be quite sufficient to explain the hyperbole in the text; comp. e. g. 1 Thess. i. 8 ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, Col. i. 23 ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν. But, as Ignatius must have been born before the Apostle's death, it is not improbable that he had oral information respecting the Apostle's relations to the Ephesian Church, which has not come down to us and by which his language here is coloured. Others would translate ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ 'throughout his letter,' supposing him to refer to the 'Epistle to the Ephesians'; e.g. Pearson *V. I.* p. 487 sq, and *ad loc.* But for the omission of the definite article with πᾶς in this sense no example has been produced which is analogous. The instances alleged are either proper names, as Matt. ii. 3 πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα, Rom. xi. 26 πᾶς Ἰσραήλ (quoted by Hefele); or they are highly poetical passages, as Eurip. *Med.* 114 πᾶς δόμος ἔρροι (quoted by Jacobson); or they are false readings, as *Ephes.* 5 καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας (quoted by Pearson *V. I.* p. 488, who has taken the incorrect text of Voss, the MS having καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας); or they are misinterpreted, as 2 Tim. iii. 16 πᾶσα γραφή (quoted also by Pearson *V. I.* l. c. and wrongly explained 'tota scriptura'); or they illustrate wholly different uses of πᾶς, as Soph. *Aj.* 275 κεῖνός τε λύπῃ πᾶς ἐλήλαται κακῇ (again quoted by Pearson, l. c.); or they are false Latin analogies, as e.g. Cicero's 'omne corpus' which might stand quite as well for πᾶν τὸ σῶμα as for πᾶν σῶμα, and which therefore fails in the main point (quoted also by Pearson, l. c.). It is strange that no one has adduced Ephes. ii. 21 where πᾶσα οἰκοδομή is the best supported reading; but even though this reading be accepted, the context (esp. συνοικοδομεῖσθε) shows that many οἰκοδομαί are required to make up the one temple (comp. Matt. xxiv. 1, Mark xiii. 1, 2), and that therefore 'every building' is the right rendering.

3. μνημονεύει] '*makes mention.*' This would be singularly unmeaning, if not untrue, supposing the reference to be to the Epistle to the Ephesians. Hence Valois and others would import into the word more than it contains, 'vos cum laude memorat.' The interpolator has changed what seemed to him a very awkward expression, and substitutes ὃς πάντοτε

XIII. *Σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν· ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ λύεται ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως. οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἄμεινον εἰρήνης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶς πόλεμος* 5 *καταργεῖται ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων.*

2 Θεοῦ] here, GLg (MSS, but l has *ad eucharistiam et gloriam dei*); after δόξαν [S_1]; om. A. εἰς δόξαν] GLS$_1$A; δόξαν (om. εἰς) g. πυκνῶς] G Dam-Rup 4: *crebro* L; συνεχῶς g; al. A. 3 γίνεσθε] G Dam-Rup; *convenitis* L; γένησθε (v. l. γίνησθε) g. καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις] Gg; καθαιροῦνται δυνάμεις Dam-Rup; *destruuntur potentiae* L; *diruitur vis* S_1; *infirmatur vis* A. 4 καὶ] GLA; om. Dam-Rup; al. g. ὁ] G; om. Dam-Rup; al. g. ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ] GL Dam-Rup; αὐτοῦ...ὄλεθρος [g]; S_1 has ܡܬܪܝܬܗ *imperium ejus*, but this is probably a corruption of ܡܬܝܬܗ *exitium ejus*. The rendering of A shows another corruption, *memoria ejus*=ܡܬܒܪܬܗ. 5 οὐδέν] GLS$_4$Ag

ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν. An anonymous critic (see Lardner *Credibility* Pt. ii. c. 5) conjectured *μνημονεύω*; and this is now found to be the reading of the Armenian Version. This would be true to fact, for Ignatius does mention the Ephesians in five of the six remaining epistles, *Magn.* 15, *Trall.* 13, *Rom.* 10, *Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 12. But the parallelism of the clauses, as well as the general tenour of sentence, shows that S. Paul, not Ignatius, is the subject here.

XIII. 'Gather yourselves together more frequently for eucharistic praise. By your frequent gatherings the powers of Satan are frustrated. The concord of your faith is their ruin. Nothing is better than peace, which vanquishes the antagonism of all enemies, spiritual and carnal.'

1. *πυκνότερον*] As *Polyc.* 4 *πυκνότερον συναγωγαὶ γινέσθωσαν*, [Clem. Rom.] ii. 17 *πυκνότερον προσερχόμενοι πειρώμεθα προκόπτειν κ.τ.λ.*, *Doctr. Apost.* 16 *πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε*; see also *Magn.* 4 *διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐντολὴν συναθροίζεσθαι* (with the note). Compare for similar injunctions in early times, Heb. x. 25 *μὴ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν*, Barnab. 4 *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι συνζητεῖτε κ.τ.λ.*, *Clem. Hom.* iii. 69 *πρὸ δὲ πάντων, εἰ καὶ δεῖ ὑμῖν λέγειν, συνεχέστερον συνέρχεσθε.* The meaning of *πυκνότερον* is not 'in larger numbers,' as it is taken by some (e.g. Pearson, here and on *Polyc.* l.c.; Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 345, and *ad loc.*), but 'more frequently,' which sense is demanded alike by the passage *Polyc.* l.c. and by the common usage of the adverb in later Greek (e. g. Acts xxiv. 26). The former rendering would have been more correct, if the reading had been *πυκνότεροι*.

2. *εὐχαριστίαν*] '*thanksgiving*.' The word is quite general in itself, but doubtless refers indirectly to the Holy Communion, which was the chief *εὐχαριστία* of the Church, and which elsewhere Ignatius regards as the special bond of union; *Philad.* 4 (see the note there). The genitive *Θεοῦ* must be supplied also with *δόξαν*.

XIV. Ὧν οὐδὲν λανθάνει ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν τελείως εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἔχητε τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην· ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ζωῆς καὶ τέλος· ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη· τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἑνότητι γενόμενα Θεός ἐστιν, τὰ

(but I adds *enim*) [Dam-Vat 1] [Dam-Rup 2] [Anton 2]; add. γὰρ S_1. πᾶς πόλεμος] Gg Dam-Vat Dam-Rup; πᾶς ὁ πόλεμος Anton; dub. LS_1S_4A. 6 καταργεῖται] g Dam-Vat Dam-Rup; καταργεῖτε G; *evacuatur* L; καταλύεται Anton; *impediuntur* A; *frustrantur* S_1S_4. 7 τελείως] GLS_4Ag; om. Dam-Rup 6. εἰς] GLg Dam-Rup; om. S_4A. 8 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν] GLS_4[A]; χριστὸν ἰησοῦν Dam-Rup; χριστὸν [g]. ἥτις ἐστὶν] GS_4g Dam-Rup; *quae sunt* L; *sunt* A (om. ἥτις). 9 ζωῆς] GLg Dam-Rup; al. S_4; om. A. πίστις ...ἀγάπη] Gg; ἡ πίστις...ἡ ἀγάπη Dam-Rup. 10 γενόμενα] Gg; γινόμενα Dam-Rup. Θεός ἐστιν] LS_4A Dam-Rup; θεοῦ ἐστιν G; θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἀποτελεῖ g.

3. καθαιροῦνται...λύεται] See § 19, where the words are similarly connected.

αἱ δυνάμεις] i.e. '*the hosts, the forces of Satan*,' whether they are evil angels (ἐπουράνιοι) or wicked men (ἐπίγειοι).

4. ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ] i.e. 'the destruction which he is preparing for others.'

5. πᾶς πόλεμος κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'every antagonism which wars against the Church.' It is not the war between the powers of heaven and the powers of earth, but the war of his spiritual (ἐπουράνιοι) and his carnal (ἐπίγειοι) enemies alike against the Christian, of which Ignatius speaks. For ἐπουράνιοι, as applied to the powers of evil, comp. Ephes. vi. 12 πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, a passage which the interpolator has introduced into his text here.

XIV. 'All these warnings will be needless, if you abide in faith and love. Faith is the beginning of life, and love is the end. Where these two coexist, there is God. Faith cannot err, and love cannot hate. The tree is known by its fruits: profession is tested by practice. The work to which we are called consists not in empty profession, but in an effective and abiding faith.'

7. οὐδὲν λανθάνει] Comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 12 'nihil vos latet.'

8. ἥτις ἐστὶν] An irregularity of construction for αἵτινές εἰσιν. This leaves an ambiguity, which is cleared up by the explanatory clause ἀρχὴ μὲν κ.τ.λ.

9. ἀρχὴ ζωῆς κ.τ.λ.] See Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 10 (p. 864) ἄμφω δὲ ὁ Χριστός, ὅ τε θεμέλιος ἥ τε ἐποικοδομή, δι' οὗ καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὰ τέλη... ἥ τε ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος, πίστις λέγω, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη κ.τ.λ.; comp. *ib.* ii. 13 (p. 458) προηγεῖται μὲν πίστις, φόβος δὲ οἰκοδομεῖ, τελειοῖ δὲ ἡ ἀγάπη. See also the confused passage in Barnab. 1 in the Greek MSS, where the confusion has perhaps arisen partly from the insertion of some such passage as this, written originally as an illustration in the margin. For the second clause comp. 1 Tim. i. 5 τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη.

10. Θεός ἐστιν] Comp. *Trall.* 11 τοῦ Θεοῦ ἕνωσιν ἐπαγγελλομένου ὅς ἐστιν αὐτός. See also a similar expression in *Magn.* 15 κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον πνεῦμα, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. The combination of authorities leaves no doubt about the

δὲ ἄλλα πάντα εἰς καλοκαγαθίαν ἀκόλουθά ἐστιν. οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἁμαρτάνει οὐδὲ ἀγάπην κεκτημένος μισεῖ. φανερὸν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ· οὕτως οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι, δι' ὧν πράσσουσιν ὀφθήσονται. οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως ἐάν τις εὑρεθῇ εἰς τέλος.

1 ἐστιν] Gg; εἰσιν Dām-Rup. 2 ἐπαγγελλόμενος] GLS$_4$g Antioch 6; add. ἔχειν A Dam-Rup. οὐδὲ] GLS$_4$g Antioch, and so prob. A; οὐδεὶς Dam-Rup. 3 κεκτημένος] GLS$_4$Ag Dam-Rup; ἔχων Antioch. φανερὸν] GLS$_4$ Dam-Rup; add. γὰρ [Antioch]; praef. *quoniam* A; al. g. 4 αὐτοῦ] GLS$_4$A Dam-Rup; om. αὐτοῦ [g] (changing the whole context); γίνεται (om. αὐτοῦ) Antioch. οὕτως οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι] GL Dam-Rup; *ita et qui promittunt* A; οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι [g] (om. οὕτως); ὁ οὖν ἐπαγγελλόμενος [Antioch], substituting the singular throughout. Χριστοῦ] gA Dam-Rup Antioch; χριστιανοί GL. 5 οἱ κ.τ.λ.] Σ commences again here and continues as far as λαλοῦντα μὴ εἶναι § 15. γὰρ νῦν]

reading. The interpolator has substituted an easier expression for a more difficult one.

1. εἰς καλοκαγαθίαν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'attend upon these and lead to perfection.' For this pregnant use of the preposition see the note on § 1 δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας. The word καλοκαγαθία does not occur in the LXX or N. T., but seems here to denote Christian perfection (τελειότης, Heb. vi. 1).

3. φανερὸν κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xii. 33 ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται; comp. Luke vi. 44.

5. οὐ γὰρ νῦν κ.τ.λ.] '*for now* (i.e. in these evil times, in this season of persecution) *the Work is not a mere matter of profession.*' For this absolute use of τὸ ἔργον, meaning 'the preaching and practice of the Gospel,' comp. *Rom.* 3 οἱ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον ἀλλὰ μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμός, ὅταν μισῆται ὑπὸ κόσμου, a passage which explains the force of νῦν here. See also Acts xv. 38, Phil. ii. 30 (with the note). Similarly we have τὸ ὄνομα (see note § 3 above), [τὸ] θέλημα (see note § 20 below), ἡ χάρις (e.g. *Smyrn.* 12), and the like.

6. ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει κ.τ.λ.] '*but* is realised only *if a man be found in the power of faith* (with an effective faith) *to the end.*' The words ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως are sometimes attached to the preceding clause, and πιστός is understood with εὑρεθῇ; but the construction which I have adopted seems simpler. It is not uncommon to throw some of the dependent words forward with ἐὰν and similar particles, for the sake of emphasis; e.g. John x. 9 δι' ἐμοῦ ἐάν τις εἰσέλθῃ, 1 Cor. vi. 4 βιωτικὰ μὲν οὖν κριτήρια ἐὰν ἔχητε, xi. 15 γυνὴ δὲ ἐὰν κομᾷ. The connexion εὑρεθῇ εἰς τέλος however is possible in itself (comp. *Rom.* 2 εὑρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν).

XV. 'It is better to keep silence and to be, than to talk and not to be. The great Teacher never spoke without doing: and even His silence is of the Father. He, who apprehends the word of Jesus, understands also His silence. With a man so taught speech is action and silence is articulate. Even our most secret thoughts lie open before the Lord.

XV. Ἀμεινόν ἐστιν σιωπᾷν καὶ εἶναι ἢ λαλοῦντα μὴ εἶναι· καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, ἐὰν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ. εἷς οὖν διδάσκαλος, ὃς εἶπεν καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ ἃ σιγῶν δὲ πεποίηκεν ἄξια τοῦ πατρός ἐστιν. ὁ λόγον Ἰησοῦ κεκτημένος ἀληθῶς δύναται καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, ἵνα τέλειος ᾖ· ἵνα δι' ὧν λαλεῖ πράσσῃ καὶ δι'

GL Rup; om. [Σ][A]; al. g. 6 ἀλλ' ἐν] GL; ἀλλὰ Rup; al. Ag. 7 λαλοῦντα] GLΣS$_4$A; λαλοῦντας [Antioch 4]; al. g. 8 μὴ εἶναι] The next sentences are omitted in Σ, and the words ἵνα δι'...σιγᾷ γινώσκηται follow immediately. After these it omits everything till the beginning of § 18. ὁ λέγων] GLg Antioch; *quod dicit* (ὃ λέγει) S$_1$S$_4$; al. A. 9 διδάσκαλος] G; ὁ διδάσκαλος Antioch; dub. LS$_4$A; al. g. ὃς] GLS$_4$A; ὡς Antioch (ed.); al. g. ἃ] GL Antioch; om. S$_4$A; al. g. The same authorities omit ἐστιν in the next line. 10 Ἰησοῦ] GLA; add. χριστοῦ Antioch; al. g. 12 τέλειος ᾖ] G [L]; ᾖ τέλειος Antioch; al. g. λαλεῖ πράσσῃ] Antioch; λαλῇ πράσσει G; al. g.

Let us remember therefore that we are His temple, and He dwells in us. This is so now, and it will hereafter be made manifest.'

7. Ἀμεινόν κ.τ.λ.] Iren. ii. 30. 2 *οὐκ ἐν τῷ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εἶναι, ὁ κρείττων δείκνυσθαι ὀφείλει*: comp. *Rom.* 3 *ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω*, and see the note on Clem. Rom. 38. This is an indirect defence of their bishop Onesimus, on whose quiet and retiring disposition men were apt to presume: see above § 6.

9. καὶ ἐγένετο] '*and it came to pass*,' taken from Ps. xxxii (xxxiii). 9, where the LXX has εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν, but ἐγένετο would be a more literal translation of the original. Thus Ignatius says in effect, 'It is true of Christ's work on earth, as the Psalmist says of God's work in the universe, that the word was equivalent to the deed'; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* x. 4 (p. 469). This reference explains the following clause; 'The effects of His silence also, not less than of His speech, are worthy of the Father.'

ἃ σιγῶν δὲ κ.τ.λ.] '*yea, and what He hath wrought by His silence*,' etc. i.e. His retirement in childhood and youth, His refusal to allow His miracles or His kingship to be published, His withdrawal for the purpose of prayer, His silence before His accusers, and the like; in short, the passive side of our Lord's life. The impression which His silence at His trial more especially made on His followers may be inferred from Matt. xxvi. 63, xxvii. 14, Luke xxiii. 9, John xix. 9, Acts viii. 32, 1 Pet. ii. 23. There is no reference here to the silence before the Incarnation, as in § 19. The silence here contemplated relates not to the counsels of God, but to the life of Christ.

10. ὁ λόγον κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'He, who has truly mastered the spoken precepts of Christ, is best able to appreciate and copy His silence.' Ἀληθῶς is best taken with κεκτημένος.

12. ἵνα δι' ὧν λαλεῖ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'that, when he has thus appropriated both the word and the silence of Christ, his speech may be as operative as action and his silence as significant as speech.' For the latter clause comp. Clem. Al. *Pæd.* ii. 7 (p. 202) ὁ δὲ

ὧν σιγᾷ γινώσκηται. οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστιν. πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν Θεός· ὅπερ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ φανή-

1 γινώσκηται] G; γινώσκεται Antioch (ed.); al. g. οὐδὲν] txt GL [S_2] Ag; add. γὰρ Antioch. 2 αὐτῷ] Gg*; αὐτοῦ Antioch. ἐστιν] Gg; εἰσιν Antioch. 3 αὐτοῦ ναοὶ] GLg; *templum ejus* A; *templa dei* S_2. 4 αὐτὸς] txt gL; add. ᾖ G [S_2][A]. Θεός] txt gS_2; add. ἡμῶν GLA

ἐμὸς υἱός, ἐκεῖνον λέγω τὸν σιωπῶντα, οὐ παύεται λαλῶν. Somewhat similarly Clem. Rom. 21 τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τῆς γλώσσης αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς σιγῆς φανερὸν ποιησάτωσαν. See the note on *Philad.* 1. The meaning of Philo *Quis rer. div.* 53 (I. p. 511) quoted by Zahn, ὁ προφήτης, καὶ ὁπότε λέγειν δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἡσυχάζει, is somewhat different, 'When he seems to speak, it is God who speaks and not himself.' The force of γινώσκηται seems to be '*may be recognized, understood* by others, as if he were speaking.' Otherwise γινώσκηται might refer to recognition by God (a meaning suggested by the words following οὐδὲν λανθάνει κ.τ.λ.); but this is hardly so appropriate.

1. οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ.] Clem. Rom. 27 πάντα ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστιν...πάντα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ εἰσιν καὶ οὐδὲν λέληθεν τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοῦ.

2. αὐτῷ] For the dative with ἐγγὺς comp. Ps. cxliv (cxlv). 18, Acts ix. 38, xxvii. 8, Clem. Rom. l.c., Herm. *Vis.* ii. 3; see Bleek *Hebräerbr.* II. 2. p. 209. The genitive is the more usual case, and in classical Greek the dative is very rare; Kühner II. p. 357. The authorities leave no doubt about the reading here.

4. ναοὶ] Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17, vi. 19, 2 Cor. vi. 16; and *Philad.* 7 τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε, Barnab. 16 ἵνα ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνδόξως οἰκοδομηθῇ...διὸ ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ Θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν, Tatian *ad Græc.* 15 εἰ μὲν ὡς ναὸς ᾖ, κατοικεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ βούλεται Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πρεσβεύοντος πνεύματος. See on *Mart. Ant.* 2.

Θεός] '*as God*'; i.e. 'that He may be the God of this spiritual temple in which He dwells, just as the image is the god of the material shrine in which it is placed': the word Θεὸς being part of the predicate, and not the subject to κατοικεῖ. Ἡμῶν, which is added in some texts, interferes slightly with the sense. See the note on § 9 ἐστὲ οὖν κ.τ.λ. above.

ὅπερ καὶ ἔστιν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'It is the case that God dwells in us now, and this fact will be made clearly manifest to our eyes hereafter from our deeds of love towards Him'; comp. § 14 δι' ὧν πράσσουσιν ὀφθήσονται.

5. δικαίως] '*rightly*,' i.e. '*as in duty bound*'; comp. *Magn.* 9 ὃν δικαίως ἀνέμενον, 1 Cor. xv. 34 ἐκνήψατε δικαίως. Hence it sometimes signifies 'truly'; see Lobeck on Soph. *Aj.* 547.

XVI. 'Be not deceived. To violate the house of God is to forfeit the kingdom of heaven. If those who desecrated the temple of their bodies were punished with death, what fate must await such as defile the temple of the faith, for which Christ died? They are filthy indeed, and will go into unquenchable fire—they and their disciples.'

7. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε] See the notes

σεται πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν, ἐξ ὧν δικαίως ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτόν.

XVI. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· οἱ οἰκοφθόροι Βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. εἰ οὖν οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ταῦτα πράσσοντες ἀπέθανον, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐὰν

(but A omits ἐν ἡμῖν). ὅπερ...ἡμῶν] GL; om. S_2A (perhaps owing to homœoteleuton); al. g. 7 οἱ] GS_4Ag; om. Dam-Rup 1. 9 πράσσοντες ἀπέθανον] GLS_4A; πάσχοντες ἀπέθνησκον Dam-Rup; al. g. ἐὰν] G Dam-Rup; *qui* (plur.) S_4A (omitting ἐὰν); *si quis* L; al. g.

on § 5 μηδεὶς πλανάσθω above, and on *Philad.* 3.

οἱ οἰκοφθόροι] The whole passage is founded on S. Paul's language in the First Epistle to the Corinthians; comp. iii. 16 οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν; εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ Θεός, combined with vi. 9, 10, 19, μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε πόρνοι.....οὔτε μοιχοί.....βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν...οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματός ἐστιν; Hence οἰκοφθόρος must be interpreted from S. Paul. It denotes those who violate the temple of their hearts and bodies, which is God's house, by evil thoughts or evil habits. In classical Greek οἰκοφθόρος, οἰκοφθορεῖν, οἰκοφθορία, commonly refer to the squandering of property, e.g. Plato *Phæd.* 82 C; but occasionally they designate the ruin of a house by offences of another kind, as in Plut. *Mor.* 12 B γυναικῶν οἰκοφθορίαι γαμετῶν, and perhaps in *Orac. Sibyll.* ii. 258 δόλιοί τ' οἰκοφθόροι αἰνοί; comp. Orig. *c. Cels.* vii. 63 νοθεύειν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἑτέρῳ προκαταληφθεῖσαν γυναῖκα καὶ φθείρειν τὸν ἄλλου ἀνθρώπου οἶκον. Whence Hesychius explains οἰκοφθόροι by μοιχοί. The word therefore would lend itself easily to the application which Ignatius here makes of it. If the explanation which I have adopted be correct, the following ἀπέθανον will probably refer to the incident in Numbers xxv. 1—9, to which also S. Paul alludes in the same epistle, x. 8 μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν, καθώς τινες αὐτῶν ἐπόρνευσαν, καὶ ἔπεσαν κ.τ.λ. The interpolator has got altogether on a wrong track, for he paraphrases εἰ δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους οἴκους διαφθείροντες θανάτῳ καταδικάζονται, πόσῳ μᾶλλον οἱ τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν κ.τ.λ.

8. βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] See 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, Gal. v. 21; comp. *Philad.* 3, Polyc. *Phil.* 5.

εἰ οὖν οἱ κατὰ σάρκα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Clem. Hom.* Ep. ad Iac. 7 πολὺ γὰρ δεινὸν ἡ μοιχεία τοσοῦτον ὅσον τὰ δευτερεῖα ἔχειν αὐτὴν τῆς κολάσεως· ἐπεὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα τοῖς ἐν πλάνῃ οὖσιν ἀποδίδοται, κἂν σωφρονῶσιν, *ib.* xvi. 20 μοιχείας πνευματικῆς τῆς κατὰ σάρκα χείρονος ὑπαρχούσης. This last passage illustrates the force of κατὰ σάρκα in the text. The excuse for such laxity lies in the fact that the early heresies, which these writers combat, were in many cases highly immoral in their tendency, maintaining in direct terms the indifference of sins of the flesh. See the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 9, where also the sanctity of the bodily temple is maintained against such pernicious teaching.

πίστιν Θεοῦ ἐν κακοδιδασκαλίᾳ φθείρῃ, ὑπὲρ ἧς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη. ὁ τοιοῦτος ῥυπαρὸς γενόμενος εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον χωρήσει, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ.

XVII. Διὰ τοῦτο μύρον ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς [αὐτοῦ] ὁ Κύριος, ἵνα πνέῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφθαρσίαν. μὴ

1 πίστιν Θεοῦ] GLA; *fidem veram* S_4; om. Dam-Rup; al. g. κακοδιδασκαλίᾳ] Dam-Rup; κακῇ διδασκαλίᾳ G; al. g: comp. *Philad.* 2. See *Trall.* 6, where in a similar case Dam-Rup alone has preserved the correct reading καταξιοπιστευόμενοι. φθείρῃ] G; φθερεῖ Dam-Rup; al. g. 2 ὁ τοιοῦτος] GL; ὅτι οὗτος Dam-Rup; al. Ag. ῥυπαρὸς] GL Dam-Rup; al. A. As g paraphrases λιπανθεὶς καὶ παχυνθείς, he would seem to have read τρυφερός. 6 αὐτοῦ] Gg; *suo* LA;

1. πίστιν Θεοῦ] '*the faith of God*,' i.e. 'the teaching of the Gospel.' For this objective sense of πίστις see *Galatians* p. 155, and the notes on i. 23, iii. 23, vi. 10. This use is so fully recognised when Ignatius writes, that the definite article is dispensed with, as e.g. in θέλημα (see the note on § 20).

φθείρῃ] '*any one corrupt*.' This omission of τις in classical writers is not unfrequent; see Kühner II. p. 32 sq, Jelf § 373. 6.

2. ῥυπαρὸς] 'He, not less than the other, is defiled with filth.'

3. τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον] See Matt. iii. 12, Luke iii. 17, and esp. Mark ix. 43.

XVII. 'The Lord's head was perfumed with ointment, that He might shed the fragrance of incorruptibility on the Church. Suffer not yourselves to be anointed with the foul odour of the teaching of the Prince of this world. We have received the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ. How then shall we ignore His grace bestowed upon us, and perish in our folly?'

5. Διὰ τοῦτο] to be connected with the following ἵνα, as in 2 Cor. xiii. 10, 2 Thess. ii. 11, 1 Tim. i. 16, Philem. 15, comp. *Magn.* 9; though διὰ τοῦτο sometimes refers to the preceding clause, when followed by ἵνα, e.g. Eph. vi. 13.

μύρον ἔλαβεν] A reference to the incident in the Gospels; Matt. xxvi. 7 sq, Mark xiv. 3 sq, [Luke vii. 37 sq], John xii. 3 sq. As on that occasion 'the whole house was filled with the odour of the ointment,' so to all time the Church is perfumed with the fragrance of incorruptibility shed from the Person of Christ. Somewhat similarly Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 8 (p. 205), speaking of this same incident, says δύναται δὲ τοῦτο σύμβολον εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας τῆς κυριακῆς καὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ· μύρῳ γὰρ εὐώδει ἀλειφόμενοι κ.τ.λ., where Clement explains the anointed feet of the Lord to mean the Apostles who received the fragrant chrism of the Holy Spirit. Comp. *Clem. Hom.* xiii. 15 ἡ σώφρων γυνὴ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀγαθῇ τιμῇ μυρίζει, Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 79 ἐπεὶ Χριστὸς κεφαλή ἐστιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὡς εἶναι ἓν σῶμα Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ μύρον ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς καταβέβηκεν κ.τ.λ. (with the whole context), Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* iii. 14 (p. 23) τὸ οὐράνιον μύρον (said of Christ, in reference to the incident at Beth-

ἀλείφεσθε δυσωδίαν τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, μὴ αἰχμαλωτίσῃ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου ζῆν. διὰ τί δὲ οὐ πάντες φρόνιμοι γινόμεθα λαβόντες
10 Θεοῦ γνῶσιν, ὅ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; τί μωρῶς ἀπολλύμεθα ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ χάρισμα ὃ πέπομφεν ἀληθῶς ὁ Κύριος;

om. g Antioch 2. μὴ ἀλείφεσθε] GLA; μηδεὶς οὖν ἀλειφέσθω [Antioch]; μὴ ἀλειφέσθω...ἡ ἁγία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία [g*]. 7 τῆς διδασκαλίας] G; διδασκαλίας [g]; *doctrinae* L; ἀπιστίας Antioch; *iniquitatis* A. 10 ὅ] G; *qui* (ὅς) L; dub. A; al. g. 11 χάρισμα] GL[g]; χάριν [Antioch]; dub. A. Zahn conjectures χρῖσμα. There is a v. l. χάρισμα for χρῖσμα in 1 Joh. ii. 27. πέπομφεν] GL; πέπονθεν A Antioch (who paraphrases, ὑπὲρ ἧς πέπονθεν ἀληθῶς ὁ κύριος); al. g.

any). Zahn truly remarks that the allusion here implies a knowledge of S. John's Gospel (ἡ δὲ οἰκία ἐπληρώθη κ.τ.λ.), as well as of S. Matthew's (κατέχεεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ) or S. Mark's (κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς).

6. αὐτοῦ] not αὑτοῦ; see the notes on Col. i. 20, 22.

ἀφθαρσίαν] '*incorruptibility*,' rather than '*immortality*,' here, as the preceding φθείρῃ requires; comp. Ephes. vi. 24, and so prob. *Magn.* 6 εἰς τύπον καὶ διδαχὴν ἀφθαρσίας. At least the former idea must be prominent here, though the latter may not be absent. Zahn quotes Iren. iii. 11. 8 πανταχόθεν πνέοντας τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν said of the Gospels (so too i. 4. 1 ὁδὸν ἀφθαρσίας, i. 6. 1 πνοὴ ἀφθαρσίας). Comp. *Apost. Const.* vii. 27 εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι...καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ μύρου καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀθανάτου αἰῶνος κ.τ.λ. See Harnack in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* II. p. 295.

7. δυσωδίαν] *Liturg. D. Jac.* p. 40 εὐωδίασον ἡμῶν τὸ δυσῶδες τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος; comp. *Ep. Vienn.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 τὴν εὐωδίαν ὀδωδότες ἅμα τὴν Χριστοῦ ὥστε ἐνίους δόξαι καὶ μύρῳ κοσμικῷ κεχρῖσθαι αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ κατηφεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὶ καὶ δυσειδεῖς καὶ πάσης ἀσχημοσύνης ἀνάπλεοι κ.τ.λ., where perhaps we should read δυσώδεις for δυσειδεῖς. See also *Magn.* 10 ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς ἐλεγχθήσεσθε.

τοῦ ἄρχοντος κ.τ.λ.] The same expression occurs below § 19, *Magn.* 1, *Trall.* 4, *Rom.* 7, *Philad.* 6; comp. John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11, ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, 1 Cor. ii. 6, 8, οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (this later phrase however apparently being used by S. Paul of earthly powers).

8. μὴ αἰχμαλωτίσῃ κ.τ.λ.] '*lest he lead us captive* and carry us away *from the life* etc.' For the condensed expression αἰχμαλωτίζειν ἐκ τοῦ κ.τ.λ., see the note on § 1 δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας. For αἰχμαλωτίσῃ comp. *Philad.* 2 αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν τοὺς θεοδρόμους, 2 Tim. iii. 6 αἰχμαλωτίζοντες γυναικάρια (the correct reading).

τοῦ προκειμένου ζῆν] '*the life which is set before us*,' i.e. 'for us to pursue.' For this sense of προκείμενος comp. Heb. vi. 18, xii. 1, 2. For the substantival use of ζῆν see the note on § 11 above.

9. λαβόντες] '*by receiving*.' It might however be translated '*seeing that we received*,' but the words in the following clause, μωρῶς, ἀγνοοῦντες, point to the former interpretation.

10. ὅ ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Magn.* 10 μεταβάλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην ὅ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Col. ii. 2 ἐπίγνωσιν

XVIII. *Περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὅ ἐστιν σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος.* ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητητής; *ποῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν;* *ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν*

1 *περίψημα κ.τ.λ.*] Σ begins again here and continues to *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*. It omits the rest of the chapter and commences again with § 19. *τοῦ σταυροῦ*] GLΣA; *crucis tuae* Anon-Syr$_2$; al. g. 2 *ὅ*] G; *quae* (i.e. *crux*=*ὅς*) L; dub. ΣA Anon-Syr$_2$; al. g. *ἡμῖν δὲ*] GL Anon-Syr$_2$; *ὑμῖν δὲ* Σ; *sed vobis fidelibus* A; *τοῖς δὲ πιστοῖς* [g]. *σωτηρία...αἰώνιος*] GLAg; *in salutem et in vitam aeternam* Σ Anon-Syr$_2$. 4 *συνετῶν*] GLA Tim-Syr 2; *δυνατῶν* g. 5 *ὁ*] G; om. G′ Theodt; al. g. *ὑπὸ*] GG′ Theodt; *ἐκ* [g]; *ex* L; dub. A Tim-Syr. *Μαρίας*] txt GLAg

τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, Χριστοῦ ἐν ᾧ εἰσὶν πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι (the correct reading). The knowledge of God is coextensive with Jesus Christ. For *ὅ*, where we should expect *ἥτις*, see the note on Col. iii. 14 *τὴν ἀγάπην ὅ ἐστιν σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος* (the correct reading). It is not uncommon in these epistles; *Magn.* l.c., *Trall.* 7, *Rom.* 7. The reading however is doubtful here; see the upper note.

XVIII. 'I am the devoted slave of the Cross. It is a scandal to the unbeliever, but salvation and life to us. In it the boast of this world's wisdom comes to nought. Such was God's scheme for our redemption. Jesus Christ our God was born as a man. He was Himself baptized that by His passion He might cleanse the waters of baptism for us.'

1. Περίψημα] '*the offscouring*'; see the note on § 8. Here also the idea is twofold, abasement and self-sacrifice; 'My spirit bows itself at the foot of the Cross,' and 'My spirit devotes itself for the sake of the Cross.' 'I am content,' Ignatius would say, 'to give up everything, and to become myself as nothing, for that Cross in which others find only a stumbling-block.' Zahn points out a passage in Ephraem Syrus *Op. Syr.* III. p. 494 E 'crucem tuam adoravi,' which seems to be a reminiscence of the Syriac version of *περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ* here, 'adorat spiritus meus crucem tuam.'

2. *ὅ ἐστιν σκάνδαλον*] A reminiscence of 1 Cor. i. 18, 23, 24; comp. Gal. v. 11. The Cross was still a stumblingblock, as it had been in the Apostolic age; but the persons who stumbled at it were different. The stumblers, to whom Ignatius seems especially to allude in *σκάνδαλον* here, are the Docetics; see on *Philad.* 8, and I. p. 359 sq, 568 sq.

3. *ποῦ σοφός κ.τ.λ.*] An inexact quotation from 1 Cor. i. 20 *ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεύς; ποῦ συνζητητὴς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*; which words themselves are a free paraphrase of Isaiah xxxiii. 18. The following clause, *ποῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν*, is Ignatius' own; but it is suggested by the quotation from Isaiah xxix. 14, *ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω*, which S. Paul introduces into his context (i. 19), combined with other expressions of the Apostle in this neighbourhood (i. 31 *ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω*, a condensed quotation of the passage in Jeremiah ix. 23, 24,

5 Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκυοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεὶδ πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου· ὃς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρίσῃ.

Tim-Syr; add. *τῆς παρθένου* G'. *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*] *κατοικονομίαν* G. *οἰκονομίαν*] g*; add. *dei patris* [A] (the whole sentence being in brackets); add. *dei* GG'L Theodt Tim-Syr 6 *Δαυεὶδ*] *δᾶδ* GG'. *πνεύματος*] GG'Lg* (with a v.l.); *ἐκ πνεύματος* Theodt, and so prob. Tim-Syr; dub. A. For *μὲν...δὲ* Tim-Syr has a simple connecting particle *e semine dauid et e spiritu sancto.* 7 *ἵνα...καθαρίσῃ*] GG'L; *ut aquas passibiles purgaret* Tim-Syr, so that his translator apparently read *τοῦ παθεῖν* for *τῷ πάθει*; *ut purgaret aquae corruptionem* A; *ἵνα τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν καθαρισθῇ* Theodt; al. g.

μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.) and elsewhere (Rom. iii. 27 *ποῦ οὖν ἡ καύχησις*;).

4. *ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν*] See the note on this expression in inscr. above.

5. *ἐκυοφορήθη*] '*was borne in the womb.*' For the word comp. Clem. Rom. 20. It is found once in the LXX, Eccles. xi. 5, and occurs several times in late classical writers.

ὑπὸ Μαρίας] See above, § 7.

κατ' οἰκονομίαν] '*according to a dispensation.*' The word *οἰκονομία* came to be applied more especially to the Incarnation (as here and below § 20 *ἧς ἠρξάμην οἰκονομίας* κ.τ.λ.), because this was *par excellence* the system or plan which God had ordained for the government of His household and the dispensation of His stores. Hence in the province of theology, *οἰκονομία* was distinguished by the fathers from *θεολογία* proper, the former being the teaching which was concerned with the Incarnation and its consequences, and the latter the teaching which related to the Eternal and Divine nature of Christ. The first step towards this special appropriation of *οἰκονομία* to the Incarnation is found in S. Paul; e.g. Ephes. i. 10 *εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν.* See the note on that passage, where the history of the word is more fully traced. In this passage of Ignatius it is moreover connected with the 'reserve' of God (§ 19 *ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπράχθη*). Thus 'economy' has already reached its first stage on the way to the sense of 'dissimulation,' which was afterwards connected with it, and which led to disastrous consequences in the theology and practice of a later age.

6. *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ*] This is the way in which Ignatius delights to represent the human nature of our Lord; comp. § 20 below, *Trall.* 9, *Rom.* 7, *Smyrn.* 1. It is generally counterbalanced by a reference to His Divine nature, as here (*ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, πνεύματος ἁγίου*); except where, as in *Trall.* 9, his object is merely to assert the *reality* of the human nature against the Docetics. See esp. Tertull. *Carn. Chr.* 21.

7. *ἐγεννήθη*] not '*begotten*,' but '*born*,' as in *Trall.* 9; comp. *Smyrn.* 1. So Luke i. 13, 57, xxiii. 29, etc.

ἵνα τῷ πάθει κ.τ.λ.] The baptism of Christ might in a certain sense be said, in the language of our liturgy, to 'sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin' (comp. Tertull. *adv. Jud.* 8, *de Bapt.* 9); but it was the death of Christ which gave their

XIX. *Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*

1 *καί*] GG'LAg Orig (Gk, but omitted in Jerome's version) Euseb Andr-Cret Tim-Syr; *sed* Anon-Syr$_2$; om. Σ.
2 *Μαρίας*] txt GL etc.; add. *τῆς ἀειπαρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου* G'. *τοκετὸς*] GG'g etc.;

purifying effect to the baptismal waters. The baptism was only the inauguration of this sanctifying process.

XIX. 'This divine economy was hidden from the prince of this world. The virginity of Mary, her child-bearing, the death of the Lord —these three mysteries, though destined to be proclaimed aloud, were wrought in the silence of God. The announcement was first made to all the ages by the appearance of a star, which outshone all the celestial lights, and to which sun and moon and stars did obeisance. They were terrified at this strange apparition. Magic vanished before it; ignorance was done away; the ancient kingdom of evil was destroyed, when God appeared in the form of Man. Thus the eternal counsel of God was inaugurated. And the whole universe was confounded because the dissolution of death was purposed.'

1. Καὶ ἔλαθεν κ.τ.λ.] This passage is more frequently quoted by the fathers than any other in the Ignatian Epistles. It is cited or referred to by Origen (*Hom. in Luc.* vi, *Op.* III. p. 938 A), by Eusebius (*Quaest. ad Steph.* I, *Op.* IV. p. 881, ed. Migne), by Basil (*Hom. in Sanct. Chr. Gen.* 3, *Op.* II. p. 598 B), by Jerome (*Comm. in Matt.* i. § 1, *Op.* VII. p. 12 B), by Jovius Monachus (*de Oecon.* vii, in Phot. *Bibl.* ccxxii, p. 622), by Andreas Cretensis (*Hom. in Nativ. B. Virg.* ii, in Pearson *V. I.* p. 87), and by an anonymous Monophysite writer preserved in a Syriac version (Cureton *C. I.* p. 219; see *ib.* p. 359), besides Timotheus of Alexandria (Cureton *C. I.* p. 211) who has quoted also the previous context. Of these writers however, Basil and Jerome have obviously taken the reference, not from Ignatius himself, but from Origen, whose comment they mix up with the statement of Ignatius, as Cotelier has pointed out. The passage was apparently also in the mind of the commentator who bears the name of Theophilus of Antioch (*in Evang.* i, p. 280 Otto), of Ephrem Syrus (*Hymn.* 19, quoted by Merx, p. 74 sq), of S. Ambrose on Luke i. 27 (*Op.* I. p. 1281 'ut virginitas Mariæ falleret principem mundi'), of Cyrillonas the Syrian poet (Bickell *Consp. Rer. Syr. Lit.* pp. 34, 35, quoted by Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 187), of Anastasius (*de Rect. Ver. Dogm.* quoted by Pearson *V. I.* p. 81), and certainly of a Syrian Commentator on S. John (Cureton *C. I.* p. 285; this was either Harith-bar-Sisin, or Lazarus of Beth-Kandasa; see Wright *Catal. Syr. Manuscr. Brit. Mus.* pp. 608, 610).

The idea that the Deceiver was himself deceived by God's mysterious reserve is found in many connexions in the early fathers; see for instance, besides the passages already quoted, Justin Martyr in Iren. v. 26. 2 *Σατανᾶς...μηδέπω εἰδὼς αὐτοῦ τὴν κατάκρισιν*, Hippol. *Op.* p. 38 (Lagarde) *ἰδοὺ ὁ Κύριος παραγίνεται λιτός, μόνος, γυμνός, ἀπροστάτευτος, ἔνδυμα ἔχων τὸ ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα, κρύπτων δὲ τὸ τῆς θεότητος ἀξίωμα ἵνα λάθῃ τοῦ δράκοντος τὸ πανούργημα...ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος λιτὸς καὶ ὑπόχρεως ἁμαρτιῶν ἔκλινεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ βαπτισθῆναι κ.τ.λ.* (a passage which may have been suggested by the words of

ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ

τόκος Andr-Cret. *αὐτῆς...ὁ θάνατος*] GG'LΣ$_3$ (which omits *ὁμοίως*) A (which has *verum etiam* for *ὁμοίως καὶ*) g Euseb Andr-Cret Tim-Syr Anon-Syr (comp. Jov *καὶ τὴν σταύρωσιν*); om. Σ$_2$: see the lower note.

Ignatius), *ib.* p. 146 *τοῦτο δὲ οἰκονομία τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγίνετο, ἵνα μὴ ὁ διάβολος συνίῃ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν ἐν παραβολαῖς λελαλημένα κ.τ.λ.* So too Greg. Nyss. *Orat. Catech.* 26 (II. p. 68 Migne) *ἀπατᾶται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προβλήματι ὁ προαπατήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῷ τῆς ἡδονῆς δελεάσματι*, and for other passages in writers of the fourth and later centuries see Baur *Christl. Lehre v. d. Versöhnung* p. 73 sq.

2. *ὁμοίως καὶ κ.τ.λ.*] For this mode of connexion see § 16, *Trall.* 13: similarly *ὡσαύτως καὶ* Clem. Rom. 43.

In one of the two MSS (Σ$_2$) of the Curetonian text this clause is omitted, and the words run 'the virginity of Mary and the birth of our Lord and the three mysteries of a cry.' Thus the three mysteries are dissociated from the virginity and child-bearing. This reading has been adopted by Cureton (*C. I.* p. 284 sq), Lipsius (*Aecht.* p. 128 sq, *S. T.* pp. 9, 36, 194), and others, as the text of the original Ignatius; and is adduced as an argument for preferring the Curetonian letters to the Vossian. The reasons urged in favour of this view are twofold. (1) It is said that the earliest writers who quote or refer to the passage (Origen and Theophilus of Antioch) stop short of the death of Christ. The answer is, that they were speaking of the virginity of Mary and the birth of Christ alone, and therefore quoted, or referred to, just so much only of Ignatius' words as served their purpose. In the case of Origen the argument is suicidal; for he ends with *ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας*, so that the testimony of his silence would be equally valid against *ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς* as against *ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου*. Again Theophilus of Antioch (if indeed we could venture to consider this commentary his genuine work) does not directly refer to the passage at all, and therefore any allusion to the death would be altogether out of place. Eusebius, the next writer in point of time who quotes the passage, quotes the clause *καὶ ὁ θάνατος κ.τ.λ.* also. Cureton alleges likewise the Pseudo-Ignatius (*Philipp.* 8), who mentions the virginity and birth alone as being hidden from Satan; but here again the answer is the same. This writer is not concerned at all with the death of Christ. Moreover this very instance shows the fallacy of the argument from silence; for this Ignatian forger certainly had *καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου* in his text here, as his own recension shows. (2) It is urged that the statement involved in *ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου* is false; for, since Satan is represented in the Gospels as prompting Judas to the betrayal (Luke xxii. 3, John xiii. 2), he could not have been ignorant of the death. Nor is the answer given by Uhlhorn (p. 48) and Hefele, that this ignorance of Satan applied to the predeterminate counsel of God and not to the historical event, satisfactory. It is not however the fact of the death, but the significance and effects of the death, to which Ignatius refers. The prince of this world instigated the death of Christ, not knowing that it was ordained to be the life of mankind. Thus the deceiver was himself deceived. See esp. 1 Cor. ii. 7 sq *λα-*

λοῦμεν Θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ, τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν προώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν, ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔγνωκεν· εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν κ.τ.λ., where, as here, the reference is to the mystery of the atonement through the cross of Christ, and on which passage Chrysostom says τὸ δὲ Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ οὐ περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐνταῦθα εἰρῆσθαι ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῆς τοῦ πράγματος τῆς οἰκονομίας, οἷον, τί ἐβούλετο ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ σταυρός, οὐκ ἤδεισαν. As Ignatius has quoted the context of this passage of S. Paul just before, we must suppose that he had the Apostle's words in his mind here. It is probable indeed that by οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου S. Paul means earthly rulers, such as Pilate and Herod; but very many ancient commentators (e.g. Marcion in Tertull. *adv. Marc.* v. 6; Origen *Sel. in Psalm.* ii, II. p. 538; τινές in Chrysost. on I Cor. ii. 6; Ambrosiaster *ad loc.*), and some modern, have interpreted the words of spiritual powers, and Ignatius is likely to have done the same. Even if he did not, he would still regard the earthly rulers as acting under *the* ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου in this crime. Indeed the mention of the 'death of Christ' is required by the context. Here, as elsewhere in Ignatius, the πάθος is the centre round which his thoughts revolve. The Incarnation has its importance mainly in the fact that it leads up to the Passion. It is only the *beginning* of the end (ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν). The whole passage opens and closes with the *death* of Christ. It opens with the mention of the 'Cross' which is 'salvation and life eternal' (§ 18 beginning); it closes with the reference to the 'dissolution of death' through the sacrifice of Calvary (§ 19 end). Both these passages, it will be observed, appear in the Curetonian letters themselves. And, while the mention of Christ's death is thus suggested by the parallel in S. Paul and required by the context of Ignatius himself, this mode of regarding it entirely accords with the language of other fathers, who speak in the same way of Satan's ignorance respecting it; e.g. Orig. *Sel. in Psalm.* xxxiv. 8 (commenting on the words ἐλθέτω αὐτοῖς παγὶς ἣν οὐ γινώσκουσι κ.τ.λ., *Op.* II. p. 650) νομίζω περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ λέγειν αὐτόν, εἰς ὃν ἐμπέπτωκεν ὁ διάβολος ἀγνοῶν κ.τ.λ., *Comm. in Matt.* T. xiii § 6, *Op.* III. p. 583 (comp. *Comm. in Matth.* T. xiii § 9, *Op.* III. p. 583, ἵν' οἱ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν...ἐκ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐκμυκτηρισθῶσιν, εἰς κατάλυσιν τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας καὶ ἀρχῆς παρὰ προσδοκίαν παραλαβόντες...δι' ὃν ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατοῦμεν). The Marcionites used similar language of the demiurge, Adamant. *Dial. de Rect. Fid.* ii ὁ δημιουργὸς...ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ, μὴ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ θάνατος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σωτηρία ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο. See also the references in the previous note on the idea of the Deceiver deceived.

On the other hand the shorter reading, which omits the reference to the death, is condemned alike on grounds of external and internal criticism. (1) Though one of the two MSS (Σ_2) of the Syriac has the passage as given above, the other (Σ_3) reads it 'the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing and the death of the Lord (ܒܬܘܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܘܝܠܕܬܗ ܘܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ) and the three mysteries of crying,' thus only differing in sense from the Greek text by the insertion of '*and*' before τὰ τρία μυστήρια (an insertion which a thoughtless transcriber would readily make). It is said indeed, that this MS (Σ_3) must

θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν

1 τοῦ Κυρίου] GG'LΣAg Tim-Syr Anon-Syr; τοῦ χριστοῦ Euseb Andr-Cret. τρία μυστήρια] GG'LA (which adds *mirabilia*) g Euseb Andr-Cret Tim-Syr; *et tria mysteria* $\Sigma_2\Sigma_3$. κραυγῆς] GG'LΣ etc; φρικτὰ Andr-Cret; see the lower note. ἅτινα] GG'LΣ etc; om. A.

have been corrected from the Greek text. But such a solution is highly improbable in itself; for elsewhere Σ_3 follows the Curetonian text closely in all the omissions and divergences from the Greek. In the only other passage of importance in which it exhibits a variation, *Rom.* 9 καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδῷ, where with the Greek it retains the negative μὴ, which Σ_2 omits, it clearly preserves the original reading (see the note there). Even in smaller matters it is not uncommonly more correct than Σ_2 (see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 187). Again the Armenian Version, which was translated from the Syriac, has the clause here as in the Greek; and it is quoted or referred to in Syriac writers (see the references given above), who were scarcely likely to have got it from the Greek. Moreover the omission in Σ_2 is readily explained. The eye of the transcriber would be confused between words differing so slightly as ܘܝܠܕܬܗ 'and her child-bearing,' and ܘܡܘܬܗ 'and the death of,' so that the latter word might easily drop out; and as a matter of fact this same confusion is actually made in *Rom.* 6, where τοκετός is rightly translated in the Curetonian text *dolores partus*, but an extract elsewhere preserved gives it with the corrupt reading ܟܡܘܬܐ for ܟܝܠܕܐ, and accordingly the Armenian version has *dolores mortis* (see the notes on the passage). (2) The reading of Σ_2, which distinguishes the three mysteries from what has gone before, has never yet been adequately explained. What in this case are the 'three mysteries of crying'? Cureton altogether evades this difficulty when he says (*C. I.* p. 286) that they may 'refer to the song of the angelic host,' Luke ii. 14; for there is nothing in this song which explains such a reference. Ritschl (*Entstehung* p. 578, ed. 1) and Lipsius (*Aecht.* p. 133) agree that two of the three were (1) the voice at the baptism, (2) the voice at the transfiguration. For the third Lipsius suggests the angelic announcement of the conception as made either to Joseph (Matt. i. 20) or to the Virgin herself (Luke i. 26); while Ritschl supposes that Ignatius used some other Gospel containing a third proclamation similar to the two others. But, if the transfiguration is allowed a place here, why not the death? And again, in what sense can the announcements of Matt. i. 20, Luke i. 26 be called κραυγῆς, seeing that they were strictly private? Volkmar (see Lipsius *S. T.* p. 9 sq) finds all the three μυστήρια κραυγῆς in S. Mark, explaining them of the voice at the baptism, the voice at the transfiguration, and the exclamation of the centurion at the crucifixion (Mark xv. 39). As he includes this last, it is difficult to see on what grounds he rejects ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου.

1. κραυγῆς] '*of crying, of proclamation*,' a stronger word than κηρύξεως: see Athenag. *Suppl.* 11 ἐπιτρέψατε ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ἐξακούστου μετὰ πολλῆς κραυγῆς γεγο-

ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν; ἀστὴρ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔλαμψεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας,

1 Θεοῦ] GG'LΣA Euseb Andr-Cret Tim-Syr; om. g. *πῶς οὖν...αὐτοῖς*] In place of all this Σ has merely *a latere* (a Syriasm for *ἀπὸ* or *ἐκ* or *παρὰ*) *stellae.*

νότος ἐπὶ παρρησίαν ἀναγαγεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλέων φιλοσόφων ἀπολογούμενον (comp. Luke i. 42 *κραυγῇ μεγάλῃ*, probably the correct reading). Comp. also *Philad.* 7 *ἐκραύγασα*, with the note. Here *κραυγή* is the correlative to *ἡσυχία*, as revelation is to mystery. 'These mysteries,' Ignatius would say, 'were foreordained and prepared in silence by God, that they might be proclaimed aloud to a startled world.' It is an exaggerated expression of the truth stated in Rom. xvi. 25 *τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν κ.τ.λ.*, Ephes. iii. 9 *τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ...ἵνα γνωρισθῇ νῦν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις κ.τ.λ.* (with the parallel passage Col. i. 26 sq); comp. also 1 Cor. ii. 7 sq (already quoted), 2 Tim. i. 10. For the use of *μυστήριον* in S. Paul as suggesting the idea of revelation, see the note on Col. i. 26. The expression *μυστήρια κραυγῆς* involves a studied contradiction in terms; for, as Chrysostom says (*Op.* II. p. 375), *ἔνθα μυστήρια, πολλὴ σιγή.*

The substitution of *φρικτὰ* for *κραυγῆς* in Andreas Cretensis is not to be explained with Merx (p. 76) as a corruption of *κρυπτά*, this again being corrupted from *κραυγῆς*. It is merely the substitution, in a loose quotation, of a common epithet of *μυστήριον* (occurring in the liturgies) for a not very intelligible expression. The epithet *φρικτὸν* is found with *μυστήριον*, e.g. Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8. 5, Hippol. p. 17 (Lagarde), *Lit. D. Marc.* p. 16, *Lit. S. Basil.* p. 164 (ed. Neale). So in Chrysostom the *μυστήρια* (i.e. the eucharist) are styled *φρικτά, φρικώδη*, *Op.* VII. p. 310, VIII. p. 273, X. p. 393, and elsewhere. Bunsen would read *ἐναργῆ* for *κραυγῆς*.

ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ...ἐπράχθη] Comp. *Magn.* 8 *ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών* (with the note). On this silence of God compare Dionys. Areop. *de Div. Nom.* xi *περὶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῆς, ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστι, τῆς θείας εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας κ.τ.λ.* See also the language of Marcellus of Ancyra quoted on *Magn.* 8.

1. *τοῖς αἰῶσιν*] '*to the ages*' past and future, which are here personified. It seems probable that in S. Paul's expression, *μυστήριον ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων* (Eph. iii. 9, Col. i. 26), the preposition should be taken as temporal (see the note on the latter passage); but Ignatius may have understood it otherwise. At all events this personification of 'the aeons' is a step towards the Valentinian phraseology, and affords another illustration of the Gnostic tinge which colours the language of Ignatius.

2. *ἀστὴρ*] In the evangelical narrative (Matt. ii. 2 sq) the incident of the star is very simply told; but this simplicity was early overlaid by gross exaggerations. So we find it treated in the *Protevangelium*, § 21 *εἴδομεν ἀστέρα παμμεγέθη λάμψαντα ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις τούτοις καὶ ἀμβλύνοντα αὐτούς, ὥστε τοὺς ἀστέρας μὴ φαίνεσθαι.* [I may here mention by way of caution, that Lipsius (*Aecht.* p. 135)

καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκλάλητον ἦν, καὶ ξενισμὸν παρεῖχεν ἡ καινότης αὐτοῦ· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἄστρα ἅμα

erroneously quotes after Cureton as a *separate* authority, though closely allied, an extract from the MS, *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14, 484, which Cureton himself correctly gives as a Syriac *translation* of this passage in the Protevangelium (*C. I.* p. 286). See the account of the MS in Wright's *Catal.* p. 99.] Compare also Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 74 (p. 986) *ἀνέτειλεν ξένος ἀστὴρ καὶ καινός, καταλύων τὴν παλαιὰν ἀστροθεσίαν, καινῷ φωτὶ οὐ κοσμικῷ λαμπόμενος, ὁ καινὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ σωτηρίους τρεπόμενος, αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἀνθρώπων ὁδηγὸς κ.τ.λ.*, where the resemblances to this passage of Ignatius are perhaps too great to be accidental. Still more extravagant is the extract which Cureton (*C. I.* p. 287) gives from the Syriac work called the *Cave of Treasures*, wrongly ascribed to Ephrem: 'For two years before the birth of Christ the star appeared to the magi; for they beheld the star in the firmament of heaven, which shone with a light, the appearance of which was greater than all the stars; and there was a girl in the midst of it holding a boy, and a crown was placed upon his head, etc.' This extract is taken from the MS *Brit. Mus. Add.* 25, 875: see Wright's *Catal.* p. 1064. A similar account of the appearance of the virgin and child in the star is found also in the Æthiopic *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, of which the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* is apparently only another recension (see Dillmann *Das Christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes* p. 9 sq, in Ewald's *Jahrbücher* no. v), but nothing is there said of the two years. The star however is there stated, as here, to have 'shone in the heavens *in the midst of all the other stars*' (Dillmann l. c. p. 135). Whether Ignatius derived his statement from some written narrative or from oral tradition, it would be impossible to say. In the only other passage where he seems to step outside of the Canonical Gospels, *Smyrn.* 3, either hypothesis is tenable.

In the Curetonian letters the whole passage, *πῶς οὖν...ἡ ἀνόμοιος αὐτοῖς*, is abridged into these words ܥܠ ܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܫܪܝ ‘a latere stellae,’ which if it had been translated from the Greek, would probably represent *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀστέρος*. But even if it be rendered 'from the time of the star's appearing' with Weiss, Lipsius (*Aecht.* p. 132), and others (see below, III. p. 90), no good sense is attained. Bunsen boldly substitutes *ἐκηρύχθη* for *ἐπράχθη*; but what is the meaning of *ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐκηρύχθη*? Cureton does not attempt to explain the words.

3. *ἀνεκλάλητον*] Not a common word; see 1 Pet. i. 8, Iren. i. 14. 5.

ξενισμὸν] '*amazement, perplexity*,' as arising from a sense of strangeness; comp. 1 Pet. iv. 12 *μὴ ξενίζεσθε τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γινομένῃ, ὡς ξένου ὑμῖν συμβαίνοντος*, which explains the meaning. See the note on *ξενισθήσονται* [Clem. Rom.] ii. 17. The substantive occurs occasionally elsewhere in the sense which it has here; e. g. Polyb. xv. 17. 1 *συγκινεῖ πως ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ὁ ξενισμός*.

4. *τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κ.τ.λ.*] The conception here is obviously taken from Joseph's dream, and it may therefore be a question how far Ignatius intended this as a description of actual phy-

ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνη χορὸς ἐγένετο τῷ ἀστέρι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερβάλλων τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντα· ταραχή τε ἦν

1 χορὸς] G′; χωρὸς G (but with a blot which may be intended as a correction into χορὸς). ἐγένετο] GG′; ἐγίνοντο g. 2 τε] GG′Ag; *autem* (δὲ) L. 3 ὅθεν] GG′; ἔνθεν [g]. From this point Σ reads *etiam adhuc in manifestatione filii coepit aboleri magia et omnia vincula evanuerunt et regnum vetus et error malitiae destruebatur. inde commota sunt simul omnia et dissolutio mortis excogitata est, et erat initium illi quod in deo* (*apud deum*) *perfectum est*, where the epistle ends, so that §§ 20, 21 are omitted altogether. ἐλύετο...διεφθείρετο, Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία (μαγία), καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς ἠφανίζετο κακίας, ἄγνοια καθηρεῖτο (καθηρῆτο), παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο, Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. GG′L, and so it is universally read by the editors. But I am disposed to think that διεφθείρετο ought to be omitted, and the punctuation will be readjusted accordingly, as is done in the text. With perhaps the exception of Severus, I cannot find any trace of διεφθείρετο in our other authorities: (1) g paraphrases ἐμωραίνετο σοφία κοσμική, γοητεία ὕθλος ἦν καὶ γέλως ἡ μαγεία, πᾶς θεσμὸς κακίας ἠφανίζετο, ἀγνοίας ζόφος διεσκεδάννυτο, καὶ τυραννικὴ ἀρχὴ καθηρεῖτο κ.τ.λ.; where τυραννικὴ ἀρχὴ is the substitute for παλαιὰ βασιλεία: (2) A has *et hinc solvebatur omnis incantatio astrologorum* (= ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς) *et deceptiones mali finiebantur* (ἠφανίζετο κακίας ἄγνοια) *et vetus regnum destruebatur* (καθηρεῖτο παλαιὰ βασιλεία) *per revelationem dei* etc.

sical phenomena. The parallel passage of the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* already quoted shows how the symbol and the thing symbolized might be blended together: see also Ephrem Syrus, *Op. Syr.* IV. p. 416 'A star shone forth suddenly with præternatural light, less than the sun and greater than the sun. It was less than the sun in manifest light; it was greater than he in secret strength by reason of its mystery. A star in the east darted its rays into the house of darkness, etc.'; Marcellus in Euseb. *c. Marc.* ii. 3 (p. 48) οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τηνικαῦτα φανεὶς ἀστὴρ ὁ φέρων τε καὶ δηλῶν τὴν ἡμέραν τοῖς μάγοις, explaining Ps. cix (cx). 3. There is the same contradistinction as here, between ἄστρα 'the constellations' and ἀστὴρ 'the single star,' in *Protev.* 21 (quoted above).

1. χορὸς ἐγένετο] Comp. § 4, *Rom.* 2.

2. ὑπερβάλλων κ.τ.λ.] '*surpassing all in its light*,' where τὸ φῶς is probably the cognate accusative, describing the thing in which the excess took place; as e.g. Aristot. *H. A.* ix. 29 (p. 618) τὴν δειλίαν ὑπερβάλλει τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον. At least I do not remember any instance where ὑπερβάλλειν signifies 'to make to exceed.' In 2 Macc. iv. 24 ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Ἰάσωνα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τριακόσια, the second accusative is one of quantity (see Grimm *ad loc.*).

ταραχή τε ἦν] i.e. '*there was trouble, perplexity*, to know *whence* came *this strange appearance which was* so *unlike them*.' For καινότης comp. Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 58 (I. p. 373) τὸν ὀφθέντα ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καινὸν εἶναι νομίζομεν καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν συνηθῶν παραπλήσιον κ.τ.λ.

3. ὅθεν ἐλύετο] The critical note will explain the diplomatic grounds on which I have placed διεφθείρετο in brackets, as probably a later and spurious addition. The gain to the sense is great and obvious. Δεσμός

πόθεν ἡ καινότης ἡ ἀνόμοιος αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμός, ἠφανίζετο κακίας ἄγνοια, καθη-

(3) The sentence is much tumbled about in Σ (as given above), and retranslated into the Greek it would run thus, *ἐλύετο μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς ἠφανίζετο καὶ καθῃρεῖτο παλαιὰ βασιλεία καὶ κακίας αγνοια*. From a comparison of the two last it seems to follow that the Syriac Version, of which Σ is a tumbled abridgment and from which A is a corrupt text of a secondary translation, must have run somewhat thus; *solvebatur omnis magia et omne vinculum et error malitiae finiebatur et regnum vetus destruebatur*, etc. The scribe of the ancestral MS of GG'L, having begun with a wrong punctuation, found when he got to the end of the sentence that he had no verb for *παλαιὰ βασιλεία* and inserted *διεφθείρετο* accordingly. Sev-Syr 5 quotes only the latter part of the sentence, *ignorantia dissipabatur, regnum vetus corrumpebatur* (*destruebatur*), where the last verb מתחבלא הות is a natural rendering of *διεφθείρετο*, which was perhaps already in his text. 4 *μαγεία*] *μαγία* G'. *δεσμός*] GG'LΣ; *θεσμὸς* [g]; al. A. *καθῃρεῖτο*] g; *destruebatur* A; *καθηρῆτο* GG'; *ablata est* L. *Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου*] GG'L; *quum deus homo manifestaretur* Sev-Syr; *θεοῦ ὡς ἀνθρώπου φανερουμένου* g (treating the whole context paraphrastically); *per revelationem dei qui incarnatus est* A; *in manifestatione filii* Σ (in an earlier place in the sentence; see above).

is thus connected with *ἐλύετο*, and *βασιλεία* with *καθῃρεῖτο*, to which they have respectively a natural affinity; whereas in the common text they are separated. For the connexion of *λύειν* with *δεσμὸς* see *Philad.* 8; for the connexion of *καθαιρεῖν* with power and sovereignty, see above § 13.

4. *μαγεία*] The idea that magic was overthrown by the Advent of Christ is frequent in the fathers, and this overthrow was commonly connected, as here, with the visit and worship of the magi, as the symbol and assurance of its defeat. See e.g. Tertull. *de Idol.* 9, Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 60 (I. p. 374 sq) *καθαιροῦνται αἱ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐνέργειαι μὴ δυνάμεναι ἀντιβλέψαι τῷ τῆς θεότητος φωτί*, with other references given by Cotelier. The same too is said in Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 72 sq (p. 986) more especially of astrology; comp. Tertull. l. c. 'attamen cum magia punitur, cujus est species astrologia, utique et species in genere damnatur.' The large space which magic, witchcraft, astrology, and the like, occupied in the popular religion of the heathen, may be seen from the denunciations of the Christian fathers; e.g. Justin *Apol.* i. 14, Tertull. *Apolog.* 23, etc. See the account of Hadrian in *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 56. The lapse of Julian into paganism was connected with magical rites; Eunapius *Vit. Soph.* p. 89 sq (comp. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 4, I. p. 102). For the prevalence of magic at Ephesus see Acts xix. 19.

πᾶς δεσμός] '*every spell*'; comp. Porph. *Ep. ad Aneb.* p. 5 (ed. Gale) *δεσμεῖν τε ἱερούς τινας δεσμοὺς καὶ λύειν τούτους*. As I have connected the words, *δεσμὸς* will refer especially to witchcraft, incantations, and the like, though it need not be confined to these, but will extend to any spell which the powers of evil exert over a man (see *Philad.* 8). For other examples of this sense of *δεῖν*, *δεσμός*, etc., see Æsch. *Eum.* 303 *ὕμνον δ'*

ρεῖτο παλαιὰ βασιλεία, [διεφθείρετο], Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου εἰς ΚΑΙΝΟΤΗΤΑ *ἀϊδίου* ΖΩΗΣ· *ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ Θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον. ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνεκινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν.*

2 *εἰς...ζωῆς*] GG'L Sev-Syr; *ad vitam novam aeternitatis* A; om. Σ; al. g. *ἀϊδίου*] *ἀειδίου* G'. *ἀρχὴν...κατάλυσιν*] GG' (the latter reading *ἐκεῖτο* for

ἀκούσει τόνδε δέσμιον σέθεν (comp. ver. 318), Plat. *Resp.* ii. p. 364 C *ἐπαγωγαῖς τισὶ καὶ καταδέσμοις*; comp. Justin *Dial.* 85 (p. 311 C) *ἐξορκίζουσι καὶ θυμιάμασι καὶ καταδέσμοις χρῶνται*, Tertull. *de Spect.* 2 'vis homicidium ferro, veneno, magicis *devinctionibus* perfici?' Euseb. *L.C.* 13 § 4 *καταδέσμοις τισὶν ἀπειρημένης γοητείας.*

1. *παλαιὰ βασιλεία*] The ancient kingdom of the Evil One was replaced by the *βασιλεία Θεοῦ*. The visit of the magi was regarded from the earliest times as the inauguration of a new *kingdom*, this being implied in Matt. ii. 2. Their gifts were the offerings of subjects to their sovereign. Compare Justin *Dial.* 78 (p. 304 D) *οἱ γὰρ μάγοι, οἵτινες ἐσκυλευμένοι ἦσαν πρὸς πάσας κακὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐνεργουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐκείνου, ἐλθόντες καὶ προσκυνήσαντες τῷ Χριστῷ φαίνονται ἀποστάντες τῆς σκυλευσάσης αὐτοὺς δυνάμεως ἐκείνης*, Iren. iii. 16. 4, Tertull. *adv. Jud.* 9, *adv. Marc.* iii. 13, etc.

Θεοῦ] i.e. 'when God thus appeared as a man to claim His own Kingdom.' The substitution of 'at the revelation of the Son' for *Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου* in the Curetonian text seems to be a capricious alteration made by the epitomator, who has abridged and transposed freely throughout this passage. This is shown by the reading of the Armenian, which follows the Greek.

2. *εἰς καινότητα κ.τ.λ.*] i.e. 'so as to introduce a new order of things, which is everlasting life,' *ζωῆς* being the genitive of apposition; comp. Winer § lix. p. 666. See Rom. vi. 4, where also *καινότης ζωῆς* means 'the new state which is life,' as opposed to the old state which was death. Comp. *Magn.* 9 *εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος.*

ἀρχὴν δὲ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'the economy which had been perfected in the counsels of God long before began to take effect.' The appearance of the star was the beginning of the end.

3. *τὰ πάντα κ.τ.λ.*] These words may be compared with a passage in the *Protevangelium*, of striking power, but in its dramatic character singularly unlike the representations of the Canonical Gospels, where not the universal disturbance, but the universal hush, of nature is the consequence of this birth of the Victor of Death; § 18 *καὶ ἀνέβλεψα εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ εἶδον τὸν ἀέρα ἔκθαμβον καὶ ἀνέβλεψα εἰς τὸν πόλον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἑστῶτα κ.τ.λ.* So too Milton, 'The stars with deep amaze *Stand fixt* in stedfast gaze.'

4. *θανάτου κατάλυσιν*] Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 26 *ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος.* The actual destruction of death is the last scene of all; but the appearance of the star was the signal for the commencement of the war destined so to end.

XX. 'If God permits me, I intend to write to you a second treatise, in which I will complete the subject thus begun, God's economy in the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ; more especially, if it should

XX. Ἐάν με καταξιώσῃ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν, καὶ θέλημα ᾖ, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλιδίῳ, ὃ μέλλω γράφειν ὑμῖν, προσδηλώσω ὑμῖν ἧς ἠρξάμην οἰκονομίας εἰς τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐν

συνεκινεῖτο) LAg Sev-Syr; the order of the two sentences, ἀρχὴν δὲ κ.τ.λ. and ἔνθεν κ.τ.λ., is transposed in Σ.

please the Lord to reveal it to me. Only let me hear that you all meet together in one in the faith of Jesus Christ, who is both Son of God and Son of Man, and that you are obedient to your bishop and presbyters, breaking one bread, which is the medicine of incorruptibility and the antidote against death.'

5. καταξιώσῃ] A favourite Ignatian word; *Magn.* 1, *Trall.* 12, *Rom.* 2, *Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 1, 7, 8.

ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν] i.e. 'through your prayers.' The same expression occurs in a similar context, *Philad.* 8, *Smyrn.* 11. Altogether the 'prayers' of his correspondents occupy a very prominent place in the letters of Ignatius. He either asks their prayers for himself (§ 1', 11, *Magn.* 14, *Philad.* 5, 8, *Smyrn.* 11) or for the Church at Antioch (*Rom.* 9, *Trall.* 13); or he gratefully acknowledges the effects of their prayers on behalf of the latter (*Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 4, *Polyc.* 7); or he gives them general injunctions respecting prayer (§ 5, 10, *Magn.* 7, *Trall.* 12, *Smyrn.* 6, *Polyc.* 1).

6. θέλημα] i.e. '*the Divine will*.' It is used thus absolutely several times in Ignatius, either with the definite article (*Polyc.* 8 ὡς τὸ θέλημα προστάσσει) or, as here, without it (*Rom.* 1 ἐάνπερ θέλημα ᾖ τοῦ ἀξιωθῆναί με κ.τ.λ., *Smyrn.* 1 υἱὸν Θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν, *ib.* 11 κατὰ θέλημα δὲ κατηξιώθην). Examples of both kinds appear also in S. Paul, Rom. ii. 17 sq καυχᾶσαι ἐν Θεῷ καὶ γινώσκεις τὸ θέλημα, 1 Cor. xvi. 12 πάντως οὐκ ἦν θέλημα ἵνα νῦν ἔλθῃ; though in the former passage the fact is obscured by the proximity of Θεῷ, and in the latter θέλημα is almost universally misunderstood as applying to Apollos himself. So too Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 18 (p. 826) θελήματι θέλημα καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεωρεῖν ἐθίζοντες. On the other hand of the devil Heracleon said that he μὴ ἔχειν θέλημα, ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμίας, Orig. *in Ioann.* xx. § 20 (IV. p. 339). The translators and transcribers of Ignatius however, not understanding this absolute use, have in several instances supplied genitive cases: see the critical notes on *Rom.* 1, *Smyrn.* 1, 11. Compare the absolute use of ἡ χάρις, τὸ ὄνομα, etc.

ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ κ.τ.λ.] There is no reason to think that this design was ever fulfilled: see above, p. 18.

7. προσδηλώσω κ.τ.λ.] '*I will go on to expound the economy* (of the Incarnation) *upon which I commenced*.' See the note on § 18 κατ' οἰκονομίαν.

8. εἰς τὸν καινὸν κ.τ.λ.] '*referring to the new Man, Jesus Christ*,' the words being closely connected with οἰκονομίας. The καινὸς ἄνθρωπος of Ignatius is equivalent to the ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ, the δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος, of S. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 45, 47). The Apostle himself seems to use ὁ καινὸς ἄνθρωπος in a different sense, Ephes. iv. 24 ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, though

τῇ αὐτοῦ πίστει καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πάθει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναστάσει, μάλιστα ἐὰν ὁ Κύριός μοι ἀποκαλύψῃ· †ὅτι† οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κοινῇ πάντες ἐν χάριτι ἐξ ὀνόματος συνέρχεσθε ἐν μιᾷ πίστει καὶ ἑνὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαυείδ, τῷ υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου καὶ υἱῷ 5

3 ὅτι] GL[A]; εἴ τι Theodt; om. Gelas (treating *συνέρχεσθε* as an imperative *convenite*); al. g: see the lower note. χάριτι] G[g]; τῇ χάριτι Theodt. 4 ἑνί] Theodt; *in uno* Gelas; ἐν GL, and so S_2 (which has

it is quite possible that Ignatius took this to mean *ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν Χριστόν*.

ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.] 'consisting *in faith towards Him and love towards Him*.' This again must be closely connected with *οἰκονομίας*; comp. 1 Tim. i. 4 *οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει, τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη*. For the genitive case see the note on *Rom.* inscr. So again the following *ἐν πάθει κ.τ.λ.* must be similarly connected. This latter clause describes the objective element, as the former described the subjective element, which are the essential characteristics of the dispensation.

3. †ὅτι† *κ.τ.λ.*] '*for ye all meet together in common—every individual of you*.' If the reading be correct, this must be the grammar and connexion of the clause. Hefele however follows Uhlhorn (p. 52) in connecting ὅτι with *ἀποκαλύψῃ* 'if the Lord reveal to me that etc.,' but this gives a sense altogether unworthy of the writer and entirely opposed to his mode of speaking elsewhere (e.g. §§ 3, 6, 9, 11, 12). But the reading is rendered suspicious by the fact that Theodoret has *εἴ τι*, while Gelasius treats *συνέρχεσθε* as an imperative. Moreover the dependent *εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ὑμᾶς* points to a preceding imperative or conditional statement. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 569) for ὅτι suggests ἔτι, or (as preferable) simply τι, which he reads in his text, connecting it with the preceding words. This latter conjecture has much to recommend it. For *οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα*, 'each individually,' see the note on § 4, where it stands in the same relation to *χορός* as it does to *κοινῇ πάντες* here; comp. *Smyrn.* 12 *τοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κοινῇ πάντας*. In this passage it is further strengthened by *ἐξ ὀνόματος* '*name by name*,' '*severally*'; comp. *Polyc.* 4 (with the note), 8.

4. *ἑνὶ Ἰησοῦ*] or perhaps *ἐν ἑνὶ Ἰησοῦ*. The recurrence of the same letters ΕΝΕΝΙΙΗCΟΥ would account for the omission. Comp. *Magn.* 7 *εἷς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, *ib. συντρέχετε...ἐπὶ ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*, Clem. Rom. 46 *ἢ οὐχὶ...ἕχομεν...ἕνα Χριστόν*; in which passages the application is the same as here. It is equivalent to S. Paul's appeal in 1 Cor. i. 13 *μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός*; Here, as in § 12, Zahn suggests the impossible form *ἑνί*.

τῷ κατὰ σάρκα κ.τ.λ.] This is inserted as a protest against Docetic error, by which their unity was threatened. But this emphatic mention of the human nature requires a counterbalance. Hence he adds that Christ is not only 'Son of man,' but also 'Son of God': see above, the note on § 18 *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυείδ*.

Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ὑμᾶς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ· ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὅ ἐστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός.

XXI. *Ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν ἐγώ, καὶ ὧν ἐπέμψατε*

in una fide in iesu christo); al. Ag. See the converse error, *Ephes.* 11. τῷ] G; om. Theodt; al. g. 5 Δαυείδ] δᾶδ G. ἀνθρώπου... Θεοῦ] G; τοῦ ἀνθρώπου...τοῦ θεοῦ Theodt; al. g. 7 κλῶντες] gLA; κλῶντος G. ὅ] gL; ὅς G; dub. A. 10 ὧν] g (but l has *quem*); ὃν GLA.

7. ἀπερισπάστῳ] '*undistracted*'; Wisd. xvi. 11, Ecclus. xli. 1. So ἀπερισπάστως, 1 Cor. vii. 35. The words are not uncommon in classical writers of the age of Polybius and later, more especially in Stoic circles; e.g. Epict. i. 29. 52, ii. 21. 22, etc., M. Antonin. iii. 6.

ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες] The reference will be to the agape, but more especially to the eucharistic bread, in which the agape culminated, and which was the chief bond of Christian union; comp. *Philad.* 4 σπουδάσατε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ., *Smyrn.* 8 τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε...ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα...οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν (see the note there). For κλᾶν ἄρτον comp. Acts ii. 46 (comp. ver. 42), xx. 7, 11, 1 Cor. x. 16, where it occurs as a synonyme for celebrating the eucharistic feast, apparently in all cases in conjunction with the agape.

ὅ] The right reading rather than ὅς. The ὅ may refer either to the whole preceding clause, 'this concord and unity in breaking bread,' or to ἄρτος alone by attraction with φάρμακον. The latter is the more probable; see Irenæus iv. 18. 5, v. 2. 3 (passages quoted by Jacobson), who argues that our fleshly bodies must inherit eternal life, because they partake of the eucharistic bread. We need not however suppose that Ignatius had this very material conception in view.

8. ἀντίδοτος] This word, when used as a substantive, is either ἡ ἀντίδοτος (sc. δύναμις, e.g. Strabo iii. 4. 14 ἀντιδότοις τισὶ δυνάμεσι; see E. A. Sophocles *Lex.* s. v.) or τὸ ἀντίδοτον (sc. φάρμακον, e.g. Anthol. *Ad.* 80, III. p. 166, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κακῶν φάρμακον ἀντίδοτον); but never apparently ὁ ἀντίδοτος. The feminine is the more common, e.g. *Clem. Hom.* xi. 9. The dependent genitive commonly describes the thing counteracted and not, as here, the result of the counteraction.

XXI. 'I am devoted to you and your representatives at Smyrna, from which place I write. Remember me, and so will Christ remember you. Pray for the Church in Syria, whence I was carried in bonds to Rome, though all unworthy of the glorious destiny which awaits me. Farewell in God the Father and in Jesus Christ.'

10. Ἀντίψυχον] So too *Smyrn.* 10, *Polyc.* 2, 6. The interpolator has caught up the phrase, as characteristic of Ignatius, and introduces it freely, *Tars.* 8, *Ant.* 7, 12, *Hero.* 9, *Philipp.* 14. Ἀντίψυχον is properly 'a life offered for a life,' 'a vicarious sacrifice'; as [Joseph.] Macc. 6 ἵλεως

εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν εἰς Σμύρναν· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς. μνημονεύετέ μου, ὡς καὶ ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ, ὅθεν δεδε-

3 καὶ] GAg; om. L (the omission of *et* after *ut* being easy).

γενοῦ...καθάρσιον αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα, καὶ ἀντίψυχον (v. l. *ἀντὶ ψυχῶν*) *αὐτῶν λάβε τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν, ib.* ver. 17 *ὥσπερ ἀντίψυχον γεγονότας τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους ἁμαρτίας*: comp. 1 Kings xx. 39 *καὶ ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ σοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, ib.* ver. 42, 2 Kings x. 24, Clem. Rom. 49. Hence S. Athanasius uses it of our Lord in a sense nearly equivalent to *ἀντίλυτρον*, e.g. *de Incarn. Verb.* 9 (I. p. 44); comp. 1 John iii. 16 *ἐκεῖνος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἔθηκεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀφείλομεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς θεῖναι.* The Syriac translator of Ignatius has employed the same phrase, 'I will be instead of thy soul,' which is found in the Peshito in the passages of the O. T. The expression means therefore properly 'I give my life for you,' 'I devote myself for you,' and is closely allied to *περίψημα* in meaning (see the note on § 8); but the direct idea of a vicarious *death* is more or less obliterated, and the idea of devotion to and affection for another stands out prominently. We cannot therefore press the allusion to his approaching martyrdom. See the similar Jewish use of כפרה (Buxtorf's *Lex.* s. v. p. 1078, to which Jacobson refers here). It is in a different sense that Anselm said of Osbern (*Epist.* i. 4, p. 313) 'anima ejus anima mea est,' and that Horace calls Mæcenas 'meæ partem animæ.' Even if there were any authority for this sense of *ἀντίψυχον* 'another self,' we should expect not *ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν ἐγώ*, but *ἀντίψυχόν μου ὑμεῖς.*

ὧν] i.e. *ἐκείνων οὕς*, referring to Onesimus, Burrhus, Crocus, Euplus, Fronto, and others; see §§ 1, 2. This is clearly the right reading, in place of which *ὃν* would easily be substituted by careless transcribers: for (1) The earlier part of the epistle mentions *several* representatives of the Ephesian Church; (2) The grammar of *ὃν* would be extremely harsh as well as ambiguous, since it might stand for either *ἐκείνου ὃν* or *ἐκεῖνος ὃν*, and indeed the latter would be the more natural construction. (3) In the other letters written from Smyrna the Ephesian delegates are spoken of in the plural; *Magn.* 15, *Trall.* 13, *Rom.* 10.

1. *εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν*] As just below. So too *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 5; comp. *Magn.* 3, *Trall.* 12.

εὐχαριστῶν] One chief subject of his thanksgiving is obviously his intercourse with Polycarp, for whom he entertains a strong affection (*ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον κ.τ.λ.*).

3. *μνημονεύετέ μου*] i.e. *ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν*; see *Magn.* 14, *Trall.* 13, *Rom.* 9.

Ἰησοῦς Χριστός] sc. *μνημονεύσει* or *μνημονεύσειε*: see the note on *Smyrn.* 9.

προσεύχεσθε] The same request is made in all the other letters written from Smyrna; *Magn.* 14, *Trall.* 13, *Rom.* 9.

4. *ὅθεν δεδεμένος*] As *Smyrn.* 11; see also above § 1.

5. *ἀπάγομαι*] The word is commonly used of criminals led to trial or execution; comp. e.g. Matt. xxvii.

μένος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπάγομαι, ἔσχατος ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν, ὥσπερ ἠξιώθην εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ εὑρεθῆναι. Ἔρρωσθε ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν.

7 ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν] txt GL; add. ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ· [ἔρρωσθε]· ἀμήν· [ἡ χάρις] g*; add. *gratia vobiscum; amen* A.

There is no subscription in GLA. For Σg see the Appx.

2, Acts xii. 19, in which latter passage for the correct reading ἀπαχθῆναι D has ἀποκτανθῆναι.

τῶν ἐκεῖ] i. e. ἐν Συρίᾳ; comp. *Trall.* 13 τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ, ὅθεν καὶ οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι λέγεσθαι, ὢν ἔσχατος ἐκείνων. He uses similar language also, *Magn.* 14, *Smyrn.* 11, *Rom.* 9.

6. ὥσπερ] To be connected with δεδεμένος...ἀπάγομαι.

Ἔρρωσθε] This was a common salutation at the close of a letter, as χαίρειν was at the commencement; Artemid. *Oneir.* iii. 44 ἴδιον γὰρ πάσης ἐπιστολῆς τὸ Χαίρειν καὶ τὸ Ἔρρωσο (quoted by Pearson on *Smyrn.* inscr.). They correspond to the Latin *Salve* and *Vale* respectively. Ἔρρωσο (ἔρρωσθε), like ὑγίαινε, was regarded as essentially a *parting* salutation, 'Farewell'; *ib.* i. 82 οὐ γὰρ προσίοντες ἀλλήλοις...ταῦτα λέγουσιν ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαττόμενοι: comp. e.g. Boeckh *C. I. G.* 3832, 3833, in letters. The parting salutation in all the seven epistles takes this form; the attached words however varying, e.g. ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ, etc.

7. τῇ κοινῇ κ.τ.λ.] See the notes § 1, *Magn.* 11.

Excursus on γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος § 7.

THE Son is here declared to be γεννητὸς as man and ἀγέννητος as God, for this is clearly shown to be the meaning from the parallel clauses. Such language is not in accordance with later theological definitions, which carefully distinguished between γενητός and γεννητός, between ἀγένητος and ἀγέννητος; so that γενητός, ἀγένητος, respectively denied and affirmed the eternal existence, being equivalent to κτιστός, ἄκτιστος, while γεννητός, ἀγέννητος, described certain ontological relations, whether in time or in eternity. In the later theological language therefore the Son was γεννητός even in His Godhead. See esp. Joann. Damasc. *de Fid. Orth.* i. 8 (I. p. 135 Lequien) χρὴ γὰρ εἰδέναι ὅτι τὸ ἀγέννητον, διὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς ν γραφόμενον, τὸ ἄκτιστον ἢ τὸ μὴ γενόμενον σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ἀγέννητον, διὰ τῶν δύο νν γραφόμενον, δηλοῖ τὸ μὴ γεννηθέν κ.τ.λ.; whence he draws the conclusion that μόνος ὁ πατὴρ ἀγέννητος, and μόνος ὁ υἱὸς γεννητός.

There can be little doubt however that Ignatius wrote γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, though his editors frequently alter it into γενητὸς καὶ ἀγένητος. For (1) The Greek MS still retains the double ν, though the claims of orthodoxy would be a temptation to scribes to substitute the single ν. And to this reading also the Latin *genitus et ingenitus* points. On the other hand it cannot be concluded that translators who give *factus et non factus* had γενητὸς καὶ ἀγένητος; for this was after all what Ignatius meant by γεννητὸς κ.τ.λ., and they would naturally render his words so as to make his orthodoxy apparent. (2) When Theodoret writes γεννητὸς ἐξ ἀγεννήτου, it is clear that he, or the person before him who first substituted this reading, must have read γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος; for there would be no temptation to alter the perfectly orthodox γενητὸς καὶ ἀγένητος, nor (if altered) would it have taken this form. (3) When the interpolator substitutes ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ὁ ἀγέννητος... τοῦ δὲ μονογενοῦς πατὴρ καὶ γεννήτωρ, the natural inference is that he too had the forms in double ν, which he retained, at the same time altering the whole run of the sentence so as not to do violence to his own doctrinal views; see Bull *Def. Fid. Nic.* ii. 2 § 6 (*Works* v. p. 114 sq). (4) The quotation in Athanasius is more difficult. The MSS vary, and his editors write γενητὸς καὶ ἀγένητος. Zahn too, who has paid more attention to this point than any previous editor of Ignatius, in his former work (*Ign. v. Ant.* p. 564) supposed Athanasius to have read and written the words with a single ν, though in his subsequent edition of

Ignatius (p. 338) he declares himself unable to determine between the single and double *ν*. I believe however that the argument of Athanasius decides in favour of the *νν*. Elsewhere he insists repeatedly on the distinction between κτίζειν and γεννᾶν, justifying the use of the latter term as applied to the divinity of the Son, and defending the statement in the Nicene Creed γεννητὸν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὁμοούσιον (*De Synod.* 54, 1. p. 612). Although he is not responsible for the language of the Macrostich (*De Synod.* § 3, 1. p. 590), τὸν πατέρα μόνον ἄναρχον ὄντα καὶ ἀγέννητον γεγεννηκέναι ἀνεφίκτως καὶ πᾶσιν ἀκαταλήπτως οἴδαμεν· τὸν δὲ υἱὸν γεγεννῆσθαι πρὸ αἰώνων καὶ μηκέτι ὁμοίως τῷ πατρὶ ἀγέννητον εἶναι καὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ἔχειν τὸν γεννήσαντα πατέρα, and would have regarded it as inadequate without the ὁμοούσιον, yet this use of terms entirely harmonizes with his own. In the passage before us, *ib.* §§ 46, 47 (p. 607), he is defending the use of ὁμοούσιος at Nicæa, notwithstanding that it had been previously rejected by the Council which condemned Paul of Samosata, and he contends that both Councils were orthodox, since they used ὁμοούσιος in a different sense. As a parallel instance he takes the word ἀγέννητος, which, like ὁμοούσιος, is not a scriptural word, and like it also is used in two ways, signifying either (1) τὸ ὂν μέν, μήτε δὲ γεννηθὲν μήτε ὅλως ἔχον τὸν αἴτιον, or (2) τὸ ἄκτιστον. In the former sense the Son cannot be called ἀγέννητος; in the latter He may be so called. Both uses, he says, are found in the fathers. Of the latter he quotes the passage in Ignatius as an example; of the former he says, that some writers subsequent to Ignatius declare ἓν τὸ ἀγέννητον ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ εἷς ὁ ἐξ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς γνήσιος, γέννημα ἀληθινόν κ.τ.λ. [He may have been thinking of Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 7, which I shall quote below.] He maintains that both are orthodox, as having in view two different senses of the word ἀγέννητον; and the same, he argues, is the case with the Councils which seem to take opposite sides with regard to ὁμοούσιος. It is clear from this passage, as Zahn truly says, that Athanasius is dealing with one and the same word throughout; and, if so, it follows that this word must be ἀγέννητον, since ἀγένητον would be intolerable in some places. I may add by way of caution that in two other passages, *de Decret. Syn. Nic.* 28 (1. p. 184), *Orat. c. Arian.* i. 30 (1. p. 343), S. Athanasius gives the various senses of ἀγένητον (for this is plain from the context), and that these passages ought not to be treated as parallels to the present passage which is concerned with the senses of ἀγέννητον. Much confusion is thus created, e.g. in Newman's notes on the several passages in the Oxford translation of Athanasius (pp. 51 sq, 224 sq), where the three passages are treated as parallel, and no attempt is made to discriminate

the readings in the several places, but 'ingenerate' is given as the rendering of ἀγένητον and ἀγέννητον alike. If then Athanasius also read γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος in Ignatius, there is absolutely no authority for γενητὸς καὶ ἀγένητος. The earlier editors (Voss, Ussher, Cotelier, etc.) printed it as they found it in the MS; but Smith substituted the forms with the single *ν*, and he has been followed more recently by Hefele, Dressel, and some others. In the Casanatensian copy of the MS a marginal note is added, ἀναγνωστέον ἀγένητος τοῦτ' ἔστι μὴ ποιηθείς. Waterland (*Works* III. p. 240 sq, Oxf. 1823) tries ineffectually to show that ἀγέννητος was invented by the fathers at a later date to express their theological conception. He even 'doubts whether there was any such word as ἀγέννητος so early as the time of Ignatius.' In this he is certainly wrong.

The MSS of early Christian writers exhibit much confusion between γενητός and γεννητός, ἀγένητος and ἀγέννητος: see e.g. Justin *Dial.* 2 (p. 218) with Otto's note; Athenag. *Suppl.* 4 with Otto's note; Theophil. *ad Autol.* ii. 3, 4; Iren. iv. 38. 1, 3; Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 66; Method. *de Lib. Arbitr.* p. 57 Jahn (see Jahn's note II. p. 122); Maximus in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* vii. 22; Hippol. *Haer.* v. 16 (from Sibylline Oracles); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, pp. 702, 718; and very frequently in later writers. Yet notwithstanding the confusion into which later transcribers have thus thrown the subject, it is still possible to ascertain the main facts respecting the usage of the two forms. The distinction between the two terms, as indicated by their origin, is that ἀγένητος denies *the creation*, and ἀγέννητος *the generation or parentage*. Both are used at a very early date; e.g. ἀγένητος by Parmenides in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14 (p. 716) ὡς ἀγένητον ἐὸν καὶ ἀνώλεθρόν ἐστιν, and by Agathon in Arist. *Eth. Nic.* vi. 2 (p. 1139) ἀγένητα ποιεῖν ἅσσ' ἂν ᾖ πεπραγμένα (comp. also *Orac. Sibyll.* prooem. 7, 17); and ἀγέννητος in Soph. *Trach.* 61 καὶξ ἀγεννήτων ἄρα μῦθοι καλῶς πίπτουσιν (where it is equivalent to δυσγενῶν). Here the distinction of meaning is strictly preserved, and so probably it always is in Classical writers; for in Soph. *Trach.* 743 τὸ γὰρ φανθὲν τίς ἂν δύναιτ' ἀγέννητον ποιεῖν we should after Porson and Hermann read δύναιτ' ἂν ἀγένητον ποιεῖν with Suidas. In Christian writers also there is no reason to suppose that the distinction was ever lost, though in certain connexions the words might be used convertibly. Whenever, as here in Ignatius, we have ἀγέννητος where we should expect ἀγένητος, we must ascribe the fact to the indistinctness or incorrectness of the writer's theological conceptions, not to any obliteration of the meaning of the terms themselves. To this early father for instance the eternal γέννησις of the Son was not a distinct

theological idea, though substantially he held the same views as the Nicene fathers respecting the Person of Christ. The following passages from early Christian writers will serve at once to show how far the distinction was appreciated, and to what extent the Nicene conception prevailed in Antenicene Christianity; Justin *Apol.* ii. 6 (p. 44) ὄνομα δὲ τῷ πάντων πατρὶ θετόν, ἀγεννήτῳ ὄντι, οὐκ ἔστιν...ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνὼν καὶ γεννώμενος κ.τ.λ., comp. *ib.* § 13 (p. 51); Athenag. *Suppl.* 10 ἕνα τὸν ἀγένητον καὶ ἀΐδιον...ὑφ' οὗ γεγένηται τὸ πᾶν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου...ἐρῶ διὰ βραχέων [τὸν υἱὸν] πρῶτον γέννημα εἶναι τῷ πατρί, οὐχ ὡς γενόμενον κ.τ.λ. (comp. *ib.* 4); Theoph. *ad Aut.* ii. 3 εἰ γὰρ ἐγέννων καὶ ἐγεννῶντο [θεοί], δῆλον ὅτι ἐχρῆν καὶ ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο γίνεσθαι θεοὺς γεννητούς κ.τ.λ.; Tatian *Orat.* 5 ὁ λόγος ἐν ἀρχῇ γεννηθεὶς ἀντεγέννησε τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποίησιν (with the context); Rhodon in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 13 τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐστι μία ἀρχή, μὴ γινώσκειν ἔλεγεν...μὴ ἐπίστασθαι πῶς εἷς ἐστιν ἀγέννητος Θεός; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 7 (p. 769) ἓν μὲν τὸ ἀγέννητον ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεός, ἓν δὲ καὶ τὸ προγεννηθὲν δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο κ.τ.λ.; Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 17 (p. 643) οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ἀγένητον καὶ πάσης γεννητῆς φύσεως πρωτότοκον κατ' ἀξίαν εἰδέναι τις δύναται, ὡς ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ κ.τ.λ., *ib.* vi. 52 περὶ μὲν γενέσεως κόσμου καὶ φθορᾶς, ἢ ὡς ἀγένητος καὶ ἄφθαρτος, ἢ ὡς γενητὸς μὲν ἄφθαρτος δέ κ.τ.λ.; Concil. Antioch. (A.D. 269) in Routh *Rel. Sacr.* iii. p. 290 ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἀγέννητος, εἷς, ἄναρχος, κ.τ.λ..... τοῦτον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν γεννητόν, μονογενῆ υἱόν κ.τ.λ.; Method. *de Creat.* 5 (p. 101 Jahn) γενητὸν τὸ μὴ γενέσεως ἔχον ἀρχὴν φαίης ἄν; οὐ δῆτα· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὑποπίπτει γενέσεως ἀρχῇ, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀγένητόν ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ γέγονεν, κ.τ.λ. In no early Christian writing however is the distinction more obvious than in the *Clementine Homilies*, x. 10 τοῦ μόνου ἀγενήτου, ὅτε τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα γενητὰ τυγχάνει· ὡς οὖν τοῦ ἀγενήτου ἴδιον τὸ θεὸς εἶναι, οὕτως πᾶν ὁτιοῦν γενόμενον θεὸς τῷ ὄντι οὐκ ἔστιν, xvi. 16 τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ μὴ γεγεννῆσθαί ἐστιν, υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ γεγεννῆσθαι· γεννητὸν δὲ ἀγεννήτῳ ἢ καὶ αὐτογεννήτῳ οὐ συγκρίνεται κ.τ.λ. (where the distinction is employed to support the writer's heretical theology): see also viii. 16 εἴτε ἀγαθοὶ εἴτε κακοὶ οὐ γεννώμεθα ἀλλὰ γινόμεθα, and comp. xix. 3, 4, 9, 12. The following are instructive passages as regards the use of these words where the opinions of other heretical writers are given; Saturninus, Iren. i. 24. 1, Hippol. *Haer.* vii. 28; Simon Magus, Hippol. *Haer.* vi. 17, 18; the Valentinians, Hippol. *Haer.* vi. 29, 30, the Ptolemæus in particular, Ptol. *Ep. ad Flor.* 4 (in Stieren's Irenæus p. 935); Basilides, Hippol. *Haer.* vii. 22; Carpocrates, Hippol. *Haer.* vii. 32.

From the above passages it will appear that Antenicene writers were

not indifferent to the distinction of meaning between the two words; and when once the orthodox Christology was formulated in the Nicene Creed in the words γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, it became henceforth impossible to overlook the difference. The Son was thus declared to be γεννητός, but not γενητός. I am therefore unable to agree with Zahn (*Marcellus* pp. 40, 104, 223, *Ign. von Ant.* p. 565) that at the time of the Arian controversy the disputants were not alive to the difference of meaning. See for example Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxiv. 8 (p. 531) ὡς γάρ τινες [i.e. the Arians] ἡμᾶς βούλονται σοφίζεσθαι καὶ λέγειν ἴσον τὸ γεννητὸν εἶναι τῷ γεννητῷ, οὐ παραδεκτέον δὲ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα μόνον· ἕτερον γάρ ἐστι γενητὸν καὶ ἕτερόν ἐστι γεννητόν, κ.τ.λ.; where he is arguing against a passage of Origen which ran (at least as Epiphanius read it) τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχιερέως γενητοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. But it had no special interest for them. While the orthodox party clung to the ὁμοούσιος as enshrining the doctrine for which they fought, they had no liking for the terms ἀγέννητος and γεννητός, as applied to the Father and the Son respectively, though unable to deny their propriety, because they were affected by the Arians and applied in their own way. To the orthodox mind the Arian formula οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, or some Semiarian formula hardly less dangerous, seemed always to be lurking under the expression Θεὸς γεννητός as applied to the Son. Hence the language of Epiphanius *Haer.* lxxiii. 19 (p. 866) ἐὰν οἱ καινοὶ αἱρετικοὶ προσδιαλεγόμενοι ἀγέννητον λέγουσι καὶ γεννητόν, ἐροῦμεν αὐτοῖς, Ἐπειδὴ κακουργήσαντες τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ὄνομα ἐν χρήσει τοῖς πατράσιν ὑπάρχον ὡς ἄγραφον οὐ δέχεσθε, οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀγέννητον ἄγραφον ὂν δεξόμεθα κ.τ.λ., i.e. 'As you refuse to accept our ὁμοούσιος because, though used by the fathers, it does not occur in the Scriptures, so will we decline on the same grounds to accept your ἀγέννητος.' Similarly Basil *c. Eunom.* i (i. p. 215 sq, p. 227 sq, p. 235), iv (p. 281), and especially *ib.* iv (p. 283 sq), in which last passage he argues at great length against the position of the heretics, εἰ ἀγέννητος, φασίν, ὁ πατήρ, γεννητὸς δὲ ὁ υἱός, οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας. See also the arguments against the Anomœans in [Athan.] *Dial. de Trin.* ii passim (*Op.* ii. p. 423 sq). This fully explains the reluctance of the orthodox party to handle terms which their adversaries used to endanger the ὁμοούσιος. But, when the stress of the Arian controversy was removed, it became convenient to express the Catholic doctrine by saying that the Son in His Divine nature was γεννητός but not γενητός. And this distinction is staunchly maintained in later orthodox writers, e.g. John of Damascus (quoted above p. 90).

2.

TO THE MAGNESIANS.

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AFTER leaving Ephesus, says Strabo, the first city is Magnesia (xiv. 1, p. 647 *πρώτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐξ Ἐφέσου Μαγνησία*). The sequence in the Ignatian Epistles is the same as the sequence in the geographer's itinerary.

Magnesia by the Mœander was said to have been originally a settlement of the Magnesians from Thessaly (Strabo xiv. 1, p. 636; Plin. *N. H.* v. 31). The site of the city was well chosen. The valley of the Cayster on the north is separated from that of the Mæander on the south by a mountain chain running for the most part nearly due east and west, but taking a more southerly direction in its western extremity and terminating in the promontory of Mycale opposite Samos. Indeed the lofty island of Samos itself is only a prolongation of this same mountain range which is broken by the intervening channel of the sea. There is a very marked depression in the chain towards its western extremity. The long range eastward of this depression, bounding the valley of the Mæander on the north during the greater part of its course, bore the name of Messogis; the shorter range to the west or seaward was called Mount Mycale. A few miles to the north of this depression in the valley of the Cayster stood the famous city of Ephesus; while to the south, immediately below the pass, on the ground overhanging the valley of the Mæander Magnesia was built. It thus commanded the pass through which ran the high road connecting the fertile and populous valley of the Mæander with the metropolis of Asia Minor.

Magnesia is occasionally designated the 'Asiatic' in earlier times to distinguish it from the Thessalian district of the same name; but in later writers, from Aristotle downwards, it is specified as 'Magnesia by' or 'on the Mæander', in contradistinction to another Asiatic city of

the same name, which had risen meanwhile into importance, 'Magnesia under' or 'against Sipylus' (see the references given below p. 106). It was not however situated directly on the banks of the Mæander, as this name would suggest, but on a tributary, the Lethæus, at a distance of some four miles (6½ kilometres, Texier *Asie Mineure* III. p. 41) from the larger river; comp. Strabo xiv. 1, p. 647, Μαγνησία πόλις Αἰολίς, λεγομένη δὲ ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρου· πλησίον γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἵδρυται· πολὺ δὲ πλησιαίτερον ὁ Ληθαῖος ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον. Hence Pausanias persistently speaks of Magnesia or the Magnesians 'on the Lethæus' (i. 35. 6, v. 21. 10, vi. 17. 3, x. 32. 6; comp. Nicander in Athen. xv. p. 683 Ληθαίου Μάγνητος ἐφ' ὕδασιν). But in coins, inscriptions, and all public documents, as well as in common parlance, it was designated by the nobler stream.

Earlier travellers (Smith, Chandler, Pococke, and others) had identified Magnesia ad Mæandrum with the modern town of Güzel-Hissar. Its true site was pointed out by W. R. Hamilton in 1803. Its modern representative is Inek-Bazar, or more properly Eyineh-Bazar (W. J. Hamilton's *Researches in Asia Minor* I. p. 535); whereas Güzel-Hissar, otherwise known as Aidin, is close to the site of the ancient Tralles, some eighteen miles from Magnesia. These latter identifications alone agree with the distances recorded in ancient books of travel, and they are rendered absolutely certain by inscriptions found on the respective sites (see Leake's *Asia Minor* p. 242 sq). The scenery and ruins of Magnesia are described in Arundell *Seven Churches* p. 58 sq; in Texier *Asie Mineure* III. p. 35 sq, p. 90 sq, and in some respects more fully in his smaller work of the same name in Didot's series *L'Univers* p. 346 sq; in Murray's *Handbook for Turkey in Asia* p. 305 sq; in Hamilton's *Asia Minor* I. p. 538 sq; and elsewhere. It stands on the right bank of the Lethæus and is built partly on the side of Mount Thorax, a spur or buttress of the main range, and partly in a plain girt with a background of hills (Strabo xiv. 1, p. 647, κεῖται δ' ἐν πεδίῳ πρὸς ὄρει καλουμένῳ Θώρακι ἡ πόλις; comp. Diod. Sic. xiv. 36). The theatre, as usual, is situated on the hill-side; the principal ruin in the plain is the temple of Artemis Leucophryene[1]. The ravine of the Lethæus to

[1] Though the question respecting the relation of Leucophrys and Magnesia has no direct bearing on my subject, I venture to discuss it briefly in a note, as this will give me an opportunity of calling attention to a passage in an ancient author which seems to have been altogether overlooked, but which nevertheless contains the key to the solution of the difficulty.

The facts are these. (1) Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 2. 14), speaking of the campaign of

the east of the city, as it descends from its sources in Messogis to join the Mæander, is described as singularly beautiful.

Dercyllidas (B. C. 396) in Asia Minor, states that, a parley having been agreed upon between the generals of the contending armies, the Persians retired to Tralles and the Greeks 'to Leucophrys where was a temple of Artemis of peculiar sanctity (*ἐς Λεύκοφρυν ἔνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν μάλα ἅγιον*) and a lake more than a stadium (in length), sandy and perennial, of warm water fit to drink'. In a later passage (*ib.* iv. 8. 17), where he is giving an account of the campaign of Thimbron (B.C. 391) in this same region, he speaks of his setting out from Ephesus and from 'the cities in the plain of the Mæander, Priene and Leucophrys and Achilleion.' [This last by the way cannot be the place bearing the same name in the Troad, as commentators seem to assume.] In neither passage does he mention Magnesia, though Magnesia had existed for centuries. (2) Strabo (xiv. 1, p. 647), speaking of the temple of the Mother of the Gods built by Themistocles, writes, 'Now however the temple does not exist (*οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἱερόν*), because the city has been removed (*μετῳκίσθαι*) to another place; but in the present city (*ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν πόλει*) there is the temple of Artemis Leucophryene' etc.

Boeckh (*C. I. G.* II. p. 582) discerns the true solution. The city of Magnesia stood originally on another site, but was afterwards transferred to Leucophrys, so that the ancient temple of Artemis of Leucophrys was now within the city of Magnesia itself. This may perhaps be also the meaning of Texier (*L'Univers* pp. 349, 350), but I am not quite sure that I understand him. When then did this removal take place? Texier (p. 350) says, when it was rebuilt after its destruction by the Treres, a Cimmerian people (see Strabo l.c.). But this is quite impossible, as Boeckh had already pointed out (II. p. 700): for, though the age of this invasion of the Treres is doubtful, it certainly took place long before the time of Themistocles, and yet Magnesia was still on its ancient site in his time. Boeckh continues 'Addo eam (i.e. translationem) factam videri ante medium tertium saeculum Christianam praecedens epocham, nam vs. 84 nostri foederis Dianae Leucophryenae templum Magnesiae ad Maeandrum tribuitur'. [The words of the treaty (about B.C. 244) are *ἐμ Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Λευκοφρυήνης.*] But indeed we are not dependent on conjecture, where direct evidence is forthcoming. He and others have overlooked a passage in Diodorus (xiv. 36) which gives the fact. Diodorus, speaking of an earlier campaign (B.C. 399) of the same Thimbron in these regions, says that, having taken Magnesia and made an unsuccessful attack on Tralles, he retired to Magnesia, *ταύτης δ' οὔσης ἀτειχίστου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβούμενος μή ποτε χωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ κυριεύσῃ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, μετῴκισεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸ πλησίον ὄρος ὃ καλοῦσι Θώρακα.* Here then is the whole account of the matter. The position chosen by Thimbron exactly corresponds to the site of the later city as described by Strabo. In its original position it was defenceless and had been exposed to successive captures; but he removed it nearer to the hill-side, as the term *λεύκοφρυς*, 'White-brow' or 'White-cliff', itself suggests, so as at once to incorporate the ancient temple of Artemis and to make Mount Thorax serve as a natural fortress. A few years later (B.C. 391), during Thimbron's second campaign, Xenophon can still speak of Leucophrys, because the migration was still recent, perhaps was not yet complete; and the name of the old fortress had not

Magnesia rose to very considerable importance at an early date. Its connexion with Themistocles, as his place of residence during his exile (Thuc. i. 138; Diod. Sic. xi. 57; Strabo xiv. 1, p. 647; Athen. i. p. 29; Plut. *Vit. Them.* 30, 31, 32; see Grote's *History of Greece* v. p. 385 sq), has given it a special renown. His descendants, one of whom bore his own name, enjoyed exceptional honours there even as late as the age of Ignatius (Plut. *Vit. Them.* 32). A more speaking testimony to its importance is the fact that the Persian satraps appear at one time to have chosen it as their place of abode (Herod. iii. 122, Diod. Sic. xiv. 36). Indeed, considering the advantages of its situation and the fertility of the country, the surprise is not that it was a considerable city but that it did not attain to even greater distinction. During the Roman period it appears to have declined somewhat in importance (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 55); but it continued to strike coins as late as the reign of Gallienus A.D. 260—268 (Mionnet *Supplement* VII. p. 256). Among the famous men, who were natives of Magnesia, Strabo especially mentions the orator Hegesias the founder of the florid Asiatic style of eloquence, and Simus the inventor of a licentious form of lyric poetry called Simodia after him, each in a different way the corruptor of his respective art (l.c. p. 648). Altogether its literary reputation did not redound much to its credit.

Themistocles is said to have erected at Magnesia a temple to the Mother of the Gods under the name Dindymene (of which his daughter or his wife became priestess), in consequence of an epiphany of this goddess which saved his life (Plut. *Vit. Them.* 30; Strabo xiv. 1, p. 647); but this temple no longer existed when Strabo wrote. The patron goddess of the city was Artemis Leucophrys or Leucophryne or Leucophryene, for the epithet is written in all these ways.

yet been merged in the name of Magnesia.

The name Λεύκοφρυς, I cannot doubt, refers primarily to the natural features of the ground (see Texier *L'Univers* p. 350), just as Tenedos was called Λεύκοφρυς (Strabo xiii. 1, p. 604; Diod. Sic. v. 83; Plin. *N.H.* v. 39 (31); Pausan. x. 14. 3; Hegesianax in Athen. ix. p. 393). This account of the name seems far more probable than Boeckh's hypothesis (II. p. 582) that the worship of Artemis was imported hither from Tenedos. The goddess was properly called Λευκοφρυήνη or Λευκοφρύνη, but sometimes Λεύκοφρυς (Nicander in Athen. xv. p. 683, and frequently on coins, Mionnet III. p. 147 sq, *Supplement* VI. p. 236 sq). From being the name of the place it was transferred to the goddess, as we say S. Christopher-le-Stocks, S. Peter-le-Cheap, S. John Lateran, etc. The story of the nymph Leucophryne who was buried at Magnesia (Zeno Myndius in Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3, p. 39; comp. Arnob. vi. 6) is of course a legend founded on the name of the place.

Her name and effigy occur constantly on the coins (Mionnet III. p. 147 sq, *Supplement* VI. p. 236 sq); and her priestesses are mentioned in extant inscriptions (Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2914). She is commemorated also in Anacreon *Fragm.* 1 (Bergk) δέσποιν' Ἄρτεμι θηρῶν ἦ κου νῦν ἐπὶ Ληθαίου δίνῃσι θρασυκαρδίων ἀνδρῶν ἐσκατορᾷς πόλιν χαίρουσ' κ.τ.λ. The Ionic temple dedicated to her was one of the most famous in Asiatic Greece (Strabo xiv. 1, p. 647; Pausan. i. 26. 4; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 62; *C. I. G.* 3137. ii. 84, II. p. 697; Vitruv. *Archit.* iii. 1, vii. præf.). Strabo (l. c.) commends it as exceeding in size all the temples in Asia but two, those of Ephesus and Didymi (Branchidæ); and, though inferior to the former in magnitude and in the costliness of its offerings, yet superior in the proportions and design of its cell. Very considerable ruins of this edifice still remain, which will be found described in Leake's *Asia Minor* p. 245, p. 349 sq, Texier *Asie Mineure* III. p. 40, p. 91 sq, *L'Univers* p. 350 sq. The site was excavated under the direction of Texier in 1836, when the sculptures of the friezes were removed to the Louvre[1].

In the Epistles of S. Ignatius the Ephesians and Magnesians appear in close connexion (*Magn.* 15). This is accounted for by their near neighbourhood. The distance between Ephesus and Magnesia is given by Artemidorus (Strabo xiv. 2, p. 663) as 120 stadia (so too Diod. Sic. xiv. 36), by Pliny (*N. H.* v. 31) as 15 Roman miles. The distance between the modern railway stations of Ayasoulouk and Balachik, which are near to the sites of Ephesus and Magnesia respectively, is stated to be somewhat under 14 English miles. Owing to this proximity, the southern gate of Ephesus bore the name of the Magnesian Gate (Μαγνήτιδες πύλαι, Pausan. vii. 2. 9; Μαγνητικὴ πύλη, Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 1, pp. 32, 42). As an illustration of the saying οὐδὲν γειτονίας χαλεπώτερον (Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 21), we find the Ephesians and Magnesians at war in early ages (Strabo xiv. 1, p. 648; Hermippus in Diog. Laert. i. 117; Ælian *V. H.* xiv. 46, *N. H.* xi. 27; comp. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 3, p. 1289); and this state of things ended for the time in the Ephesians taking possession of the Magnesian territory (Strabo l. c., Athen. xii. p. 525). At a later date, under the Romans, we find the two cities making up their differences and striking coins to commemorate their friendly relations, with the legend ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ (Mionnet *Supplement* VI. p. 242). Among the not very numerous inscriptions recently discovered in the

[1] While the sheets for this second edition were passing through the press, a paper by De Villefosse appeared in the *Revue Archéologique* Dec. 1887, giving an account of further very recent discoveries on the site of this temple.

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temple of Artemis at Ephesus, at least two record services rendered to the Ephesians by individual citizens of Magnesia (Wood's *Discoveries* etc. Inscr. ii. 3 Ἀπολλώνιος Κόνωνος Μάγνης, *ib.* 12 Θρασύμαχος Ποσειδωνίου Μάγνης).

This proximity of the two cities also answers another question. How and when was the Gospel first preached in Magnesia? When we read that during S. Paul's three years' residence in Ephesus (A. D. 54—57), 'all those who dwelt in Asia (the proconsular province) heard the word of God' (Acts xix. 10, comp. ver. 26), when we find the Apostle towards the close of his sojourn sending salutations to distant correspondents from 'the Churches of Asia' (1 Cor. xvi. 19), when we learn that within two or three years of this date there were Christian congregations even in the comparatively distant towns of Hierapolis and Laodicea and Colossæ, we can hardly doubt that Magnesia, the nearest city of any importance, lying within four hours' walk of Ephesus, must have been among the earliest of these recipients of Christianity. If we were to hazard a conjecture regarding the agent in its conversion, we might mention Tychicus. The name Tychicus seems to have been especially common at Magnesia; see Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2918, Mionnet III. pp. 153, 154, 155, 157, *Supplement* VI. pp. 236, 245, 250, 255. The Apostle's companion bearing this name was a native of proconsular Asia (Acts xx. 2), and apparently of some place not far from Ephesus, if not of Ephesus itself (2 Tim. iv. 12). But, though less common than some of the New Testament names, it is not so rare that any great stress can be laid on the coincidence. The omission of any mention of Magnesia in the Apocalypse presents no difficulty on the supposition that this church had been founded during S. Paul's residence at Ephesus. The seven letters are addressed only to the principal churches in the respective districts. Ephesus was the centre of one district comprising Magnesia and Tralles and Miletus, just as Laodicea was the centre of another comprising Hierapolis and Colossæ; and of the subordinate churches no mention is made in either case. Another link of connexion with S. Paul was the fact that the Pisidian Antioch, where he preached, was a colony of this Magnesia (Strabo xii. 8, p. 577).

At all events the Church of Magnesia seems to have been a flourishing community in the early years of the second century when Ignatius wrote. The Magnesians, like the Ephesians, had heard of his projected visit to Smyrna; and, like their neighbours, they had sent delegates to meet him there (§§ 1, 2, 6, 15). The Magnesian delegacy was an adequate representation of the Church. It comprised all orders of the ministry—the bishop Damas, the presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, the deacon Zotion (§ 2). It was in acknowledgement of the

attention which the Magnesians had thus shown to him that he wrote this letter.

The main theme of the epistle is the exhortation to unity (§§ 1, 2—4, 6, 7, 13). The bond of unity is obedience to the bishop and to the other officers of the ministry. A warning is the more needed in their case, because some might be tempted to presume upon the youth of the bishop (§ 3).

The object of this exhortation appears in another part of the letter. Unity is the best safeguard against the intrusion of heresy (§§ 8—11). The heresy in question is described as a return to the old and unprofitable fables, the stale and sour leaven, of Judaism (§§ 8, 10). He expresses the substance of his warning to his correspondents in the exhortation not to 'sabbatize,' but to 'live after the Lord's day' (§ 6). It appears however from incidental expressions, that he is not contemplating Judaism of a pure Pharisaic type, for he affirms with emphasis the *reality* of Christ's birth, passion, and resurrection (§§ 9, 11), obviously having these same teachers in view. The heresy therefore is a Docetic Judaism. He acquits the Magnesians of any complicity therein as yet; but, while this false doctrine is abroad, he feels that the warning is not superfluous, and he counts on their obedience (§§ 11, 12, 14).

The Church of the Magnesians was not famous in later ecclesiastical history. The martyrdom of a certain Quadratus is said to have occurred at Magnesia, presumably the city on the Mæander; and one form of the legend identifies him with the celebrated Apologist bearing this name, who presented his defence of Christianity to the emperor Hadrian. But it seems more probable that the martyr in question suffered during the persecution of Decius, if indeed the story of the martyrdom is not altogether a fiction (see *Act. SS. Boll.* 26 Maii, and comp. Tillemont *Mémoires* II. p. 236 sq, 589 sq). In the succeeding centuries we hear of the Magnesian Church from time to time, as represented by her bishops at the great Councils of the Church (see below p. 105), though they do not occupy any very distinguished position on these occasions. But, if we might assume that the Macarius, whose work has been recently recovered and published[1], owed his surname to this city, the Church of Magnesia is not left without a representative in the field of theological literature.

The following is an *analysis* of the epistle.

'IGNATIUS to the CHURCH OF MAGNESIA ON THE MÆANDER, abundant greeting in the Father and in Jesus Christ.'

[1] Μακαρίου Μάγνητος, Ἀποκριτικὸς ἢ Μονογενής, *ex inedito codice ed.* C. Blondel, Paris 1876.

'Knowing your harmony and love I was glad to hold converse with you. I glorify all those churches which preserve unity. Abiding in love, you will resist the assaults of the Evil One (§ 1). I rejoiced therefore to see you in the person of your bishop Damas, of your presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, of your deacon Zotion (§ 2). Let no man presume on the youth of your bishop. The presbyters recognise his wisdom and obey him. He who deceives his bishop plays false with God (§ 3). You must be Christians in reality and not in name only. It is not honest to be always talking of the bishop and yet always acting without him (§ 4). All things come to an end. The choice is between death and life. There are two coinages—the stamp of the world and the stamp of God. We must die into Christ's passion, if we would live in His life (§ 5). Having met you through your representatives, I intreat you to act in concert with the bishop, the priests, and the deacons. Allow nothing to make divisions among you (§ 6). As Christ did nothing without the Father, so do ye nothing without your bishop and presbyters. Let there be one prayer, one mind, one hope. You have one temple even God, and one altar even Christ (§ 7). Go not astray after the antiquated tales of Judaism. The prophets themselves bore witness to Christ. They were inspired so as to convince the unbelievers that there is one God who manifested Himself through His incarnate Word (§ 8). If those who were brought up in the old ordinances forsook them for Christ, how can we live apart from Him, of whom the prophets themselves were disciples (§ 9)? Let us not despise His goodness, nor forsake our Christianity. Put ye away the sour leaven, and be ye salted in Him. Jesus Christ and Judaism cannot exist side by side (§ 10). I say this to warn you against the snares of false doctrine. Be ye fully convinced that Christ was born and died and rose again in reality; for this is your only hope (§ 11).'

'I am not worthy to be compared to you. I say this, knowing that my praise will not puff you up, but rather put you to shame (§ 12). Stand steadfast, one and all, in the teaching of the Lord and His Apostles. Be obedient to your bishop and to one another (§ 13). A brief exhortation will suffice.'

'Pray for me and for the Syrian Church. We need your united prayer (§ 14). The Ephesians send greeting from Smyrna whence I write. So does Polycarp. The other Churches salute you. Farewell, and be united in Christ (§ 15).'

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΙ.

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ πατρὸς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτῆρι [ἡμῶν],

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΙ] *ad illos qui in magnesia* Sev-Syr 2, 7; *τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς μαγνησίους* (being numbered γ) g*; *μαγνησιεῦσιν ἰγνάτιος* G; *ignatius magnesiis* L*; *ad magnesios* A. See the lower note for other authorities.

2 Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ] Lg; *ἰησοῦ χριστῷ* G; def. A. ἡμῶν] GL; om. g*; def. A.

πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ] The proper Greek adjective corresponding to Μαγνησία is neither Μαγνησιεύς (the form in the MS of the genuine epistles) nor Μαγνήσιος (the form in the MSS of the interpolated epistles), but Μάγνης, the feminine being sometimes Μαγνῆτις (e.g. *C. I. G.* 3381), sometimes Μάγνησσα (e.g. Theocr. xxii. 79), sometimes Μάγνησις (Parthenius in Steph. Byz.). This is equally the case whether the Magnesia intended be the town on the Mæander or its namesake under Sipylus. Steph. Byz. s. v. Μαγνησία says explicitly, *ὁ πολίτης* Μάγνης *ὁμωνύμως τῷ οἰκιστῇ*. This statement is confirmed by all ancient remains. The legend of the coins is universally ΜΑΓΝΗΤΕϹ or ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ: see Mionnet III. p. 142 sq, *Suppl.* VI. p. 231 sq, for the city on the Mæander, and Mionnet IV. p. 68 sq, *Suppl.* VII. p. 371 sq, for the city under Sipylus. The same is also the form which occurs in the inscriptions (*C. I. G.* 2913, 2919 b Appx., 2933; Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. ii. 3, 12). It alone is found in classical writers of all ages (e.g. Herod. iii. 90, Arist. *Pol.* iv. 3, Strabo xii. 8, p. 577, xiv. 1, p. 647 sq, Plut. *Vit. Themist.* 32, Appian. *Mithr.* 21, Paus. i. 20. 5, i. 26. 4, Julian *Orat.* vii. p. 210). Even in ecclesiastical writings down to a very late date I have not met with any other form: see e.g. Labb. *Conc.* III. p. 85 (ed. Colet.) *τῶν Μαγνήτων πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος ἦν ὀνόματι Μακάριος* (at the Oak Synod A.D. 403; a document in Photius *Bibl.* 59); *ib.* VII. p. 1072 *Πατρίκιος ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Μαγνήτων περὶ Μαίανδρον πόλεως τῆς Ἀσιανῶν ἐπαρχίας* (comp. *ib.* p. 1100; at the third Council of Constantinople, A.D. 680). In the *Parall. Rupef.* pp. 779, 785 (ed. Lequien), ascribed to John of Damascus, *πρὸς Μαγνησίους* occurs, but the present text of this collection of extracts elsewhere has also the impossible form *πρὸς Φιλαδελφίους*. The form Μαγνησίους also appears to underlie the Syriac translation of Timoth. Alex.

ἐν ᾧ ἀσπάζομαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ, καὶ εὔχομαι ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

2 *πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ*] *προσμεάνδρω* (sic) G. *ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ*] GL* (with a v. l.); *χριστῷ ἰησοῦ* (om. *ἐν*) [g]; al. A.

(Cureton *C. I.* p. 211). Nothing can be inferred from *Magnisoyē* in a quotation from the Syriac Version (Cureton *C. I.* p. 197; comp. p. 200), or from *Magnisiatzis* in the heading of the epistle in the Armenian Version, as these forms follow the analogy of the respective languages. The Greek translator of Jerome *Vir. Ill.* 16 has Μαγνησιανούς, but this simply is a transliteration of Jerome's Latin. The proper form in Latin is *Magnes*, following the Greek (e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 91, Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47), but Jerome writes *ad Magnesianos*. In an ancient inscription (Boeckh *C. I. G.* 3137), about B.C. 244, recording a treaty between the Smyrnæans and Magnesians (probably of the city *ad Sipylum;* see Boeckh p. 698), while the former are always Σμυρναῖοι, the latter are οἱ ἐν (written ἐμ) Μαγνησίᾳ or οἱ ἐκ (written also ἐγ or ἐκγ) Μαγνησίας or οἱ ἀπὸ Μαγνησίας. Similarly in two different passages of Severus of Antioch preserved in Syriac versions (Cureton *C. I.* p. 213, Land *Anecd. Syr.* I. p. 32) this epistle is entitled 'to those who (are) in Magnesia.' The fact is the more remarkable, because in quoting the other epistles he writes 'to the Ephesians,' 'to the Trallians,' etc. If therefore Ignatius or any early transcriber had prefixed a title to this epistle, he would probably have written either ΠΡΟC ΤΟΥC ΕΝ ΜΑΓΝΗCΙΑΙ or ΠΡΟC ΤΟΥC ΜΑΓΝΗΤΑC. At all events the facts alleged seem to show that the extant title *μαγνησιεῦσιν ἰγνάτιος* must date long after the time when the epistle (on any showing) was written.

'IGNATIUS, called also Theophorus, to the CHURCH OF MAGNESIA ON THE MÆANDER, blessed through the grace of God in Christ, hearty greeting in Christ.'

τῇ εὐλογημένῃ] sc. *ἐκκλησίᾳ*, but the form of the sentence is changed as it proceeds, and the missing substantive becomes the accusative to *ἀσπάζομαι*.

2. *τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ*] This city was called frequently *ἐπὶ* [*τῷ*] Μαιάνδρῳ, Arist. *Pol.* iv. 3, Strabo xiv. 1 (p. 647), Diod. Sic. x. 57, Athen. iv. p. 173, or *ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου*, Athen. *ib.*, but more commonly, as here, *πρὸς* [*τῷ*] Μαιάνδρῳ, *C. I. G.* 2910, 3137, Strabo xii. 8 (p. 577), Athen. xii. p. 525, Labb. *Conc.* VII. p. 1100, Ptol. v. 2. Sometimes it is simply Μαιάνδρου, Labb. *Conc.* III. p. 1088, IV. p. 506, 858, 894, VIII. p. 687; and occasionally *περὶ Μαίανδρον*, *ib.* VII. p. 1072, comp. [Æschines] *Epist.* x. 8. Herodotus describes it (iii. 122) as *ἡ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένη*. These designations were adopted to distinguish it from Magnesia in Thessaly, of which it was reported to be a colony, but more especially from its near neighbour under mount Sipylus, which was called Μαγνησία πρὸς Σιπύλῳ or ὑπὸ Σιπύλῳ or ὑπὸ Σιπύλου, and its inhabitants Μάγνητες ἀπὸ Σιπύλου (see *C. I. G.* 2933, 3381, Mionnet IV. p. 68 sq, *Suppl.* VII. p. 371 sq). The two places are mentioned in the same context, Liv. xxxvii. 44, 45, Ptol. v. 2. Wes-

I. *Γνοὺς ὑμῶν τὸ πολυεύτακτον τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπης, ἀγαλλιώμενος προειλάμην ἐν πίστει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσλαλῆσαι ὑμῖν. καταξιωθεὶς γὰρ ὀνόματος*

5 προειλάμην] g; προειλόμην G. 6 καταξιωθεὶς] G; ἀξιωθεὶς [g].

seling *Itin.* p. 658 states that it is called ἡ Πρωτομαιανδρούπολις; and the writer in Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.* s. v. says 'Later documents seem to imply that at one time it bore the name Mæandropolis.' Both quote as their authority 'Concil. Constantin. iii. p. 666.' This however is merely a corrupt text, πρωτομαιανδρουπόλεως for πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ πόλεως: see Labb. *Conc.* VII. p. 1100. The Mæandropolis mentioned by Pliny *N. H.* v. 29 is a different place, though identified with Magnesia by Spanheim *de Usu et Praest. Numm.* ix. p. 889. When Phlegon, as quoted by Steph. Byz. s. v., says Μαιανδρούπολις, Μαγνησίας πόλις, he means that it belonged to the territory of Magnesia. Our Magnesia is also designated ἡ Ἀσιανή (Thuc. i. 138), and its inhabitants are Μάγνητες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ (Herod. iii. 90), to distinguish them from their Thessalian namesakes. It is placed in Caria, Diosc. *Mat. Med.* v. 130 (131).

I. 'Knowing your orderly demeanour and godly love, I am desirous of conversing with you by letter. For decked out in these honorable chains, I sing the praises of the churches, and pray for their unity in the spirit and in the flesh, a unity consisting of faith and love, and centering in Jesus and in the Father. If we abide in Christ, we shall escape all the assaults of the Evil One and shall find God.'

4. Γνοὺς] '*Having learnt*,' i. e. probably from the reports of Damas their bishop and the other Magnesian delegates mentioned in § 2.

τὸ πολυεύτακτον] '*the abundant good order*'; comp. *Ephes.* 6 ὑπερεπαινεῖ ὑμῶν τὴν ἐν Θεῷ εὐταξίαν. I have not found an example of this word elsewhere; but comp. πολυεύσπλαγχνος Clem. Alex. *Quis div. salv.* 39 (p. 957). The Lexicons also give πολυευζωΐα, πολυευπρεπής, as late words. Here, as in other churches, it is the harmony and submission to authority in the Magnesians which secures the admiration of Ignatius: comp. *Ephes.* 6, 20, *Trall.* 1, 2, *Polyc.* 6, etc.

κατὰ Θεὸν] '*in the way of God*', a somewhat favourite Ignatian expression: comp. § 13, *Trall.* 1, *Philad.* 4, *Polyc.* 5. So too κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, § 8 below, *Philad.* 3. This is a favourite preposition with Ignatius in various connexions, e.g. in this epistle, § 3 κατὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκρισιν, § 4 κατ' ἐντολήν, § 6 κατὰ σάρκα, § 8 κατὰ ἰουδαϊσμόν, § 9 κατὰ κυριακήν, § 10 κατὰ χριστιανισμόν, §§ 8, 15, κατὰ πάντα.

5. προειλάμην] '*I determined*', as e.g. Prov. xxi. 25 (LXX) οὐ γὰρ προαιροῦνται αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν τι, 2 Cor. ix. 7. The ordinary sense of the substantive προαίρεσις, 'choice, purpose,' points to the meaning of the verb. The word does not imply any *preference* of the Magnesians over others, as some commentators explain it.

ἐν πίστει κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'as a Christian speaking to Christians, to converse with you (by letter).' For προσλαλεῖν of 'addressing' by letter comp. *Ephes.* 3.

6. ὀνόματος] What is this name? Is it, as some say, the name of Christ

θεοπρεπεστάτου, ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς ᾄδω τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς ἕνωσιν εὔχομαι σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἡμῶν ζῆν, πίστεώς τε

2 ἕνωσιν] ἕνοσιν G. 3 ἡμῶν] GA; ἡμᾶς (?) L*; al. g. τε] GL*; om. A [Antioch 1]; al. g. (but this must be a misprint or misreading). 4 ἧς] GLA; al. g; εἰς [Antioch] 7 τευξόμεθα] G (certainly);

(see the note on *Ephes.* 1)? The epithet θεοπρεπεστάτου would be hardly adequate here for this name of names, though in another connexion it is used of Christ Himself, Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 14. Or is it the designation of θεοφόρος, as Pearson (*V. I.* p. 523) and others after him (e.g. Hilgenfeld *A. V.* p. 193) maintain? This designation however seems to have been self-assumed, and not conferred upon him by others as a title of honour, as Pearson supposes. Or again is it the appellation of 'martyr', as Lipsius (*Aecht.* p. 90) and others believe? But elsewhere Ignatius shrinks from any such boastful title (see the note on *Trall.* 4). I think that the reference here is best supplied by the words which follow, ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς. Ignatius rejoices, as S. Paul had rejoiced before him, that he is δέσμιος Χριστοῦ (Ephes. iii. 1, iv. 1, Philem. 1, 9). This is his proudest distinction.

1. θεοπρεπεστάτου] The word occurs again, *Smyrn.* inscr., 11, 12, *Polyc.* 7. It is found as early as Diodorus (xi. 89, xvii. 75) and appears in Philo (*Vit. Moys.* ii. 3, p. 137). Compare the similar Ignatian words, θεοδρόμος, θεομακαριστός, θεοπρεσβύτης.

ἐν οἷς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς ἃ περιφέρω. He compares himself to some gay reveller; his fetters are his holiday decoration; the burden of his song is the praise of the churches. For this conception of his bonds see *Ephes.* 11 τὰ δεσμὰ περιφέρω, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς μαργαρίτας (with the note). See also the notes on Philem. 9, 13, for the corresponding idea in S. Paul. For the metaphor in ᾄδειν see *Ephes.* 4, *Rom.* 2, with the notes on both places. The words ἐν οἷς κ.τ.λ. are best taken with the following clause. Zahn has not improved the passage by his reading. In his earlier work (*I. v. A.* p. 569) he boldly alters the words thus, καταξιωθεὶς γὰρ δι' ὀνομάτων θεοπρεπεστάτων, ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς, ἰδεῖν τὰς ἐκκλησίας κ.τ.λ.; but in his subsequent text he contents himself with substituting ἰδὼν for ᾄδω, retaining the other words and explaining ὄνομα θεοπρεπέστατον to refer to Damas the bishop. The lively and characteristic image of Ignatius is thus obliterated.

2. ἕνωσιν κ.τ.λ.] '*I pray that there may be unity in their flesh and in their spirit, which are Jesus Christ's.*' It seems best so to explain the words, rather than '*union with the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ*,' or '*union in flesh and spirit with Jesus Christ*', because (among other reasons) we thus avoid an unmeaning and awkward repetition which otherwise arises out of the subsequent words, τὸ δὲ κυριώτερον, Ἰησοῦ κ.τ.λ. For ἕνωσιν σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος comp. *Rom.* inscr. κατὰ σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα ἡνωμένοις, and below § 13 ἵνα ἕνωσις ᾖ σαρκική τε καὶ πνευματική. These passages seem to show that σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος must refer to the

καὶ ἀγάπης, ἧς οὐδὲν προκέκριται, τὸ δὲ κυριώτερον, Ἰησοῦ καὶ πατρός· ἐν ᾧ ὑπομένοντες τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπήρειαν τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ διαφυγόντες Θεοῦ τευξόμεθα.

potimur L; *refugimus ad* (*confidimus in*) A (the word does not imply a different reading φευξόμεθα); al. g. The earlier edd. after Voss print φευξόμεθα. Voss gave φευξόμεθα as the reading of the MS, and offered τευξόμεθα as a conjecture.

churches and not to Christ. The flesh and the spirit denote the secular and the spiritual sides of life respectively.

On the frequency of these words ἑνοῦσθαι, etc. in Ignatius see the note on *Ephes.* 4. The difference between ἕνωσις and ἑνότης is the difference between 'union' and 'unity', between the process and the result. For the genitive Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, as I have taken it, comp. *Polyc.* 5 εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου (the correct reading), and see 1 Cor. vi. 20 (as read in the received text) δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὑμῶν, ἅτινά ἐστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. According to this construction ἕνωσις here takes three sets of genitives; (1) Of the subject, which possesses the unity, σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος: (2) Of the matter in which the unity shows itself, πίστεώς τε καὶ ἀγάπης: (3) Of the personal centre in which the unity resides, Ἰησοῦ καὶ πατρός. For this threefold reference comp. § 13 κατενοδωθῆτε σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι, πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ κ.τ.λ.

3. τοῦ διὰ παντὸς κ.τ.λ.] '*our never-failing life*'; comp. *Ephes.* 3 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν, *Smyrn.* 4 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν ζῆν. For this substantival use of ζῆν see the note on *Ephes.* 11. There is no sufficient reason for adopting the ill-supported reading ἡμᾶς here with Zahn (see *I. v. A.* p. 570), who compares *Ephes.* 20. The sense is rather injured than improved by the change, which introduces an irrelevant clause.

4. ἧς οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ.] '*than which* (i.e. love) *nothing is preferable*': comp. *Smyrn.* 6 πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη, ὧν οὐδὲν προκέκριται. For προκέκριται, comp. Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 3. 8, *Mem.* iii. 5. 19.

τὸ δὲ κυριώτερον κ.τ.λ.] '*and what is more important than all*, a union *in Jesus and the Father*—in Jesus, *in whom if we endure* etc.'; where ἐν ᾧ must be connected with Ἰησοῦ, as the sense requires. For ἕνωσις Ἰησοῦ καὶ πατρός comp. John xvii. 21.

5. τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπήρειαν] '*all outrage*.' For the emphatic position of the article preceding πᾶς, and thus denoting the whole range of possibility, comp. 1 Tim. i. 16 τὴν ἅπασαν μακροθυμίαν, Hermas *Mand.* v. 1 τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα, and see the note on Gal. v. 14. For ἐπήρειαν comp. *Apost. Const.* viii. 8 τῆς παγίδος τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν δαιμόνων (comp. *ib.* § 11), Lucian *Pro Laps. int. Salut.* 1 χαλεπὸν μέν, ἄνθρωπον ὄντα, δαίμονός τινος ἐπήρειαν διαφυγεῖν, Philostr. *Epist.* 18 (p. 349) ἀνοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπηρείᾳ δαιμόνων γενόμενα; and so it is used elsewhere of the wanton injury inflicted by superhuman agencies.

6. τοῦ ἄρχοντος κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 17.

Θεοῦ τευξόμεθα] The phrase τυγχάνειν Θεοῦ occurs again *Ephes.* 10,

II. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἠξιώθην ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ Δαμᾶ τοῦ ἀξιοθέου ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀξίων Βάσ-

1 Δαμᾶ] δάμα G. 2 ἀξίων] GLA; θεοῦ ἀξίων g.

Smyrn. 9. More common still is ἐπιτυγχάνειν Θεοῦ, below § 14, *Ephes.* 12, *Trall.* 12, 13, *Rom.* 1, 2, 4, 9, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 2, 7; and so also Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτυγχάνειν, *Rom.* 5.

II. 'I have seen you in the person of your bishop Damas, of your presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and of your deacon Zotion, whose submission to the bishop and the presbyters is a great joy to me.'

1. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἠξιώθην κ.τ.λ.] The sentence, thus commenced, is never completed. The protasis is lengthened out in recording the obedience of the deacon Zotion (οὗ ἐγὼ ...Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), and this record suggests a general injunction to the Magnesian Church at large (καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει κ.τ.λ.), which again branches off into subsidiary topics occupying three chapters (§§ 3, 4, 5), the apodosis being meanwhile forgotten. At the beginning of the 6th chapter the original protasis is again resumed, ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώποις κ.τ.λ., and the long-suspended apodosis follows, παραινῶ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ., doubtless modified in form and substance by the ideas which have intervened. For a similar sentence similarly broken see *Ephes.* 1 ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπλήθειαν κ.τ.λ.

ἠξιώθην] A favourite word of Ignatius when speaking of himself; *Ephes.* 9, 21, *Rom.* 1. The compound καταξιοῦσθαι also occurs several times in this connexion; see § 1 above, *Trall.* 12, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 1 (comp. *Ephes.* 20, *Rom.* 2). See also the note on *Ephes.* 2 ἐάνπερ ἄξιος ὦ.

διὰ] '*in the person of.*' For διὰ comp. *Ephes.* 2 δι' ὧν πάντας ὑμᾶς...εἶδον, *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 3, 4; and for the idea see the note on *Ephes.* 1 ἀπείληφα.

Δαμᾶ] This name occurs several times in the inscriptions, e.g. Boeckh *C.I.G.* 2880 Μάρκου Οὐλπίου [Φλα]βιανοῦ Δαμᾶ at Didymi; 2869 προφήτης Κλαύδιος Δαμᾶς also at Didymi; 3507 Μαρκοῦ Οὐλπίου Δαμᾶ παραδόξου καὶ Κανιδίας Βάσσης θυγατέρα at Thyatira; 3902 l τῷ ἀνδρὶ Δαμᾷ at Eumenia; 3983 Οὐάναξος Δαμᾶς τέκνῳ ἀῴ[ῳ] Δαμᾶ[δ]ι at Philomelium. See also nos. 284, 2562, 3860 and Wood's *Ephesus* iv. 3 (p. 6), *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* VII. p. 311. So too on Milesian coins in the time of Nero, ΕΠΙ . ΤΙ . ΔΑΜΑ, Mionnet III. p. 168, *Suppl.* VI. p. 272. In the inscriptions the name is commonly declined Δαμᾶς Δαμᾶ. [In one instance however (no. 3983, already given) it is declined Δαμᾶς Δαμᾶδος, if Keil and Franz are right (see Boeckh Vol. III. p. 1107); and in Latin inscriptions (*C.I.L.* v. 1636, XIV. 1349) we have a dative DAMATI.] On the other hand we find Δάμας Δάμαντος (like Θαύμας Θαύμαντος) in Suidas s.v. Ἀλκμάν. The two forms however seem to represent different names, as Zahn rightly supposes. Δαμᾶς (gen. Δαμᾶ) is probably a contracted name, like Ἐπαφρᾶς, Ζηνᾶς, etc. For these contracted names in ᾶς see the note on Col. iv. 15. Assuming this to be the account of the word, I have accentuated it Δαμᾶ, as it appears in the editions of interpolated epistles, rather than Δάμα, as it is written frequently, even by the same editors (e. g. Cureton, Dressel), in the genuine Ignatius.

σου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τοῦ συνδούλου μου διακόνου Ζωτίωνος, οὗ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπι-

3 Ἀπολλωνίου] ἀπολωνίου G (not ἀπολονίου, as given in Dressel).
4 Ζωτίωνος] Gg; *sotionem* A; *zononem* L* (an obvious miswriting for *zotionem*).

On this hypothesis, it is worth mentioning that among the names occurring on coins, inscriptions, etc., relating to Magnesia are Δημήτριος (Mionnet III. p. 143), Δημόνεικος (*ib.* III. p. 156, *Suppl.* VI. p. 252), Δημόστρατος (*ib.* III. p. 157; comp. p. 148), and Δημόχαρις (Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2911, of the date A. U. C. 850); that the name of the same person is written ΔΑΜΕΟΥ and ΔΗΜΕΟΥ on different coins of Magnesia (Mionnet *Suppl.* VI. p. 252); and that our Damas is called Δημᾶς in the spurious epistle *Antioch.* 13. The name Damas occurs also in Latin inscriptions; e.g. *C. I. L.* VI. 14991, 16722, X. 2263, 6164, XIV. 2061. It is probably therefore the same with the common slave-name Dama (Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 38, ii. 5. 18, 101, ii. 7. 54, Pers. *Sat.* v. 76, 79, *C. I. L.* II. 5042, V. 4087, etc), just as we have in Latin the forms Apella, Herma, Heracla, etc. Basil *Epist.* 252 (III. p. 388) mentions one Δάμας (Δαμᾶς?) as a famous martyr of a later date. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36, speaking of the Epistle to the Magnesians, refers to this passage, ἐπισκόπου Δαμᾶ μνήμην πεποίηται. Damas is mentioned twice in the spurious epistles, *Antioch.* 15, *Hero* 8.

2. ἀξιοθέου] Applied again to a bishop in *Smyrn.* 12. On the word generally see the note on *Trall.* inscr.

ἀξίων] Comp. *Ephes.* 4 πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄξιον.

Βάσσου κ.τ.λ.] Apparently not an uncommon name in these parts of Asia Minor; see e.g. Boeckh *C. I. G.* 3112, 3148, 3151, 3493, Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 1, 17 (pp. 34, 66). At least two Smyrnæans bearing the name appear in history; see Pape-Benseler *Wörterb. d. Griech. Eigennamen* s. v. At Magnesia itself this name appears on the coins as borne by two persons at different epochs, each at the time recorder (γραμματεύς), i. e. chief magistrate of the city (comp. Acts xix. 35 for the parallel case of Ephesus); ΕΠΙ . ΓΡ . ΦΛ . ΒΑCCOΥ . ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ under Caracalla (Mionnet III. p. 151), ΕΠΙ . ΓΡ . ΒΑCCOΥ . ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ under Maximinus (ib. *Suppl.* VI. p. 248). In a Samian inscription, *C. I. G.* 2248, the names Bassus and Apollonius occur together, as here. The latter is a frequent name in most places. One Apollonius a Magnesian appears in an Ephesian inscription, Wood's *Discoveries* Inscr. ii. 3 (p. 6) ἐπειδὴ Ἀπολλώνιος Κόνωνος Μάγνης κ.τ.λ.; and two others, also Magnesians, are named in a Trallian inscription, Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2919 b (p. 1123) Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου Μάγνης.

3. συνδούλου] Applied by Ignatius solely to deacons; see the note on *Ephes.* 2.

4. Ζωτίωνος] The name is not uncommon in inscriptions, where it is most frequently written Σωτίων, as in one authority here. In the same way in the inscriptions the same person is called Σώτιχος and Ζώτιχος, Boeckh *C. I. G.* 202, 205. There is some reason also for thinking that the Σωτᾶς of Euseb. *H. E.* v. 19 is the same with the Σωτικός of the preceding chapter. On the confusion

σκόπῳ ὡς χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

III. Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ συγχρᾶσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ

2 Χριστοῦ] For the addition in L see Appx.

of Σ and Z see the note on *Polyc.* inscr.

ὀναίμην] i. e. 'enjoy his company'; see the note on *Ephes.* 2.

1. χάριτι Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] The bishop is here regarded as the dispenser of blessings; the presbyters as the representatives and guardians of order. For νόμῳ comp. *Trall.* 13 ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ (with the note). The expression here does not mean that the presbyterate is itself an ordinance, an institution, of Christ, but that the presbyters order with the authority of Christ. For νόμῳ Χριστοῦ see the note on *Rom.* inscr. χριστόνομος; for πρεσβυτερίῳ, the note on *Ephes.* 2.

III. 'I exhort you all in like manner to respect the youth of your bishop. Follow the example of your presbyters, who regard not his age but his wisdom. Your duty towards God, the universal Bishop, requires you so to act. Whosoever fails in his obedience, deceives not the visible overseer, but the Invisible. His all-seeing eye nothing escapes.'

3. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ] 'you the laity of the Church, not less than the deacons.'

συγχρᾶσθαι] '*to presume upon*,' literally '*to treat familiarly*.' The word occurs in the N. T. once only, Joh. iv. 9 οὐ γὰρ συγχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρείταις. The word signifies either (1) 'to use together with another,' as perhaps in Polyb. vi. 3. 10 συμψεύδονται καὶ συγχρῶνται πάντες οἱ μόναρχοι τῷ τῆς βασιλείας ὀνόματι; or (2) 'to use constantly or fully or familiarly,' e.g. Epict. i. 2. 7 ταῖς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀξίαις συγχρώμεθα, Orig. *Ep. ad Afric.* 15 (I. p. 28) συγχρωμένους προφήτας προφητῶν λόγοις σχεδὸν αὐταῖς λέξεσι. In this latter signification it has a tendency to a bad sense, like καταχρῆσθαι, though not to the same extent. For the form -χρᾶσθαι, instead of -χρῆσθαι, see the notes on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 6 (pp. 195, 452), and comp. Herm. *Sim.* i. χρᾶσαι, though χρήσῃ occurs in the context. For the sense see 1 Tim. iv. 12 μηδείς σου τῆς νεότητος καταφρονείτω.

4. κατὰ δύναμιν κ.τ.λ.] i. e. 'having regard to the power conferred upon him by God the Father.'

5. ἀπονέμειν] '*to pay*', as his due; for this is the force of the preposition. So ἀπονέμειν τιμὴν, 1 Pet. iii. 7, Clem. Rom. 1, *Mart. Polyc.* 10.

6. οὐ προσειληφότας] '*not taking advantage of*'; comp. Demosth. *Olynth.* ii. p. 20 B τὴν ἑκάστων ἄνοιαν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῶν καὶ προσλαμβάνων οὕτως ηὐξήθη, Dion. Cass. lx. 2 καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο προσλαμβάνοντες (i.e. 'availing themselves of this weak point in his character') οὐκ ἐλάχιστα κατειργάζοντο (passages quoted in Steph. Thes. s. v., ed. Hase and Dindorf). The expression οὐ προσειληφότας has been commonly explained '*not regarding*,' i. e. '*overlooking*'; but the parallels quoted suggest the correct interpretation, as Uhlhorn (p. 329) and Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 303) have pointed out. For other untenable explanations of οὐ προσειληφότας see the next note.

νεωτερικὴν τάξιν] '*his youthful status* or *condition*,' a slightly awkward but intelligible expression. The uses

τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν Θεοῦ πατρὸς πᾶσαν
5 ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν, καθὼς ἔγνων καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους
πρεσβυτέρους οὐ προσειληφότας τὴν φαινομένην νεωτε-

4 δύναμιν] GLA; γνώμην g. πατρὸς] GLg; om. [A].

of τάξις elsewhere quite justify this interpretation; see esp. Aristot. *Magn. Mor.* i. 34 (p. 1194) ὅταν ἤδη λάβῃ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τάξιν, 'when he has now arrived at *man's estate*,' which is an exact parallel: comp. also *H. A.* ix. 7 (p. 612) τῇ περὶ τὸν πηλὸν ἀχυρώσει τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει τάξιν 'is of the same nature as,' *An. Gen.* iii. 11 (p. 761) βούλεται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς εἶναι τάξιν, *Magn. Mor.* i. 2 (p. 1183) ὅσα εἰς δυνάμεως τάξιν ἥκει 'pertain to the category of power,' Plato *Phileb.* 49 C τὴν τῶν γελοίων εἴληχε τάξιν τε καὶ φύσιν, Dion. Hal. *de Adm. Vi Dem.* 40 δεσμοῦ δέ τινος ἡ κόλλης τάξιν...παρεξομένας 'to take the place of,' 'to serve the purpose of,' Diod. Sic. i. 25 εἰς τὴν προϋπάρξασαν καθίστασθαι τάξιν, 'restored to their former condition (of health and soundness of limb).' Ignatius therefore says that, though *apparently* from his years Damas belongs to the category of youth, yet his godly wisdom takes him out of this category. This is substantially the interpretation adopted by the Ignatian interpolator, who paraphrases the words οὐ πρὸς τὴν φαινομένην ἀφορῶντας νεότητα, and of the Armenian translator, who renders them 'non spectant ad apparentem aetatem pueritiae ejus'; and it alone harmonizes with the preceding context, μὴ συγχρᾶσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. It must be noticed however that Ignatius says, not τὴν φαινομένην νεότητα, for his νεότης was a fact, but τὴν φαινομένην νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, for he was young without being youthful, and the νεωτερικὴ τάξις was therefore only a semblance. On the other hand Saumaise (*Appar. ad Libr. de Prim. Pap.* p. 57 sq, Lugd. Bat. 1645) gave a wholly different turn to the passage. He supposed that νεωτερικὴ τάξις meant 'the newly created order or institution of the episcopate,' and he rendered the sentence 'sicut cognovi presbyteros, non ut accipientes eam, quae nova videtur, institutionem, sed tanquam prudentes in Deo, cedentes ipsi.' In reply to Saumaise, Petau (*Theol. Dogm.* v. 8. 5, IV. p. 162, ed. Antv. 1700), while maintaining the antiquity of the episcopate against him, was nevertheless led astray by his misinterpretation of οὐ προσειληφότας, '*not recognising*' and so '*repudiating*,' and himself explained νεωτερικὴ τάξις '*novitia et recens ordinatio et institutio*.' He supposed that this new order of things which the presbyters repudiated was the substitution of appointment by superior standing for free election, or in other words, of *seniority* for *merit*. This however is a pure hypothesis, not resting on any historical basis. Both these interpretations of the sentence are refuted by Pearson (*V. I.* p. 5 sq), and have not been reproduced latterly. But, while rejecting the general interpretation of the passage as given by Saumaise, several recent writers have adopted his rendering of νεωτερικὴ τάξις, 'the newly-created office or order'; e.g. Rothe *Anfänge*, p. 436 sq, Uhlhorn p. 329 sq, Lipsius *Clem. Rom.* p. 27. Yet it is open to the most

ρικὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ὡς φρονίμῳ ἐν Θεῷ συγχωροῦντας αὐτῷ· οὐκ αὐτῷ δέ, ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ. εἰς τιμὴν οὖν ἐκείνου τοῦ θελήσαντος ὑμᾶς πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑπακούειν κατὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκρισιν·

1 φρονίμῳ] *sicut sapienti viro* (om. ἐν θεῷ) A; and so the paraphrase of g οὐ πρὸς τὴν φαινομένην ἀφορῶντας νεότητα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐν θεῷ φρόνησιν; φρονίμους GL. 3 ἐκείνου] GLA (which seems to have read τιμὴν οὖν ἐκείνου [αὐτοῦ] θελήσαντος); θεοῦ [Dam-Rup 5]; al. g. 4 ὑμᾶς] A, and so [g] πρέπον οὖν ἐστιν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπακούειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ.; ἡμᾶς GL Dam-Rup. ὑπακούειν] Dam-Rup [g]; *obedire* L; *audire* A; ἐπακούειν G: comp. *Ephes.* 2, where G reads ἐπιτασσόμενοι for ὑποτασσόμενοι. 5 οὐχ ὅτι] G; *non quod* A (less literally translated

serious objections. (1) It dislocates the connexion of thought. Obviously the words *καθὼς...καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πρεσβυτέρους κ.τ.λ.* imply that the example of the presbyters corresponds to the previous injunction, whereas this interpretation makes it refer to something quite different. (2) The words will not bear the meaning thus put upon them. Even though *τάξις* might stand for the 'institution' or 'order' of the episcopate, the epithet *νεωτερικὴ* cannot have the sense assigned to it. It denotes either 'juvenile' or 'revolutionary,' but never, so far as I am aware, 'recent'; nor indeed does the form *-ικός* admit this meaning; see Pearson *V. I.* p. 7 sq, Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 304. (3) It leaves *φαινομένην* unexplained, for there could be no question of *appearances* here, seeing that the age of the episcopal office must have been a matter of fact. Zahn (p. 304 sq) gives an explanation of *νεωτερικὴ τάξις*, which stands midway between that which I have adopted and that which Saumaise proposed, and interprets it 'the ordination of a young man.' He thus brings the expression into a nearer connexion with the preceding injunction, and gives a possible interpretation to *νεωτερική*. But his rendering strains the sense of both *νεωτερικὴ* and *τάξις*; and the combined result is an awkwardness of expression far greater than in the traditional interpretation which I have adopted. Zahn was anticipated in his explanation by Bingham *Ant.* ii. 10. 1, 'He calls his ordination *νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, a youthful ordination.*' An alternative rendering suggested by Cotelier '*recentem illius ordinationem*' is open to still greater objections. This account would not be complete without a reference to the interpretation by Bos *Exerc. Phil. in 2 Tim.* ii. 22 (p. 45), '*non adsumentes ea quae manifesto juvenis* (episcopi) *sunt munia.*'

1. φρονίμῳ] 1 Cor. iv. 10 *φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ*. The reading which I have adopted from the Armenian Version and which is supported by the interpolator's paraphrase seems to be required by the context. A reference is wanted to the prudence, not of the presbyters, but of Damas; comp. Socr. *H. E.* ii. 6 *ἄνδρα νέον μὲν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ προβεβηκότα δὲ ταῖς φρεσίν*, speaking of Paulus when appointed bishop of Constantinople.

2. τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ] See the note on *Rom.* 9. Somewhat similarly Polycarp *Phil.* 5 *διάκονοι...πορευό-*

ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον, οὐ πρὸς σάρκα ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν τὸν τὰ κρύφια εἰδότα.

IV. Πρέπον οὖν ἐστιν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστια-

nequaquam by Petermann); *nequaquam* L (this probably does not represent any other Greek than *οὐχ ὅτι*); *οὐχὶ* Dam-Rup; *οὐ γὰρ* [g]. 6 *τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται*] txt GL; add. *θεόν* [Dam-Rup]; add. *τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον κ.τ.λ.* g. A has simply *invisibilem* (omitting *παραλογίζεται*). *τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον*] GLg (which however has the form *τοιοῦτο*); *τῷ δὲ τοιούτῳ* Dam-Rup; al. A. 9 *καλεῖσθαι*] Gg Dam-Rup 5; *vocari* LA; *ἀκούειν* Dam-Rup 10.

μενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων. There is a reference here to the primary idea in *ἐπίσκοπος* 'to Him who *overseeth* all,' thus preparing the way for the closing words *τὸν τὰ κρύφια εἰδότα.*

3. *εἰς τιμὴν*] See the note on *Ephes.* 21.

θελήσαντος ὑμᾶς] '*who desired you*': comp. *Rom.* 6 *ἐκεῖνον θέλω*, whereas here the object is a person. For this sense of *θέλειν* see *ib.* 8 *θελήσατε ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς θεληθῆτε*, with the note.

4. *κατὰ μηδεμίαν κ.τ.λ.*] The thought is the same as in Ephes. vi. 6, Col. iii. 22.

5. *οὐχ ὅτι*] '*I will not say*'; an ellipsis for *οὐ λέγω ὅτι*: see Kühner § 525 (II. p. 800 sq), Winer § lxiv. p. 746. It is difficult to see why Zahn (*I. v. A.* 429 and *ad loc.*) should prefer *οὐχί* which is much less expressive. He speaks of *ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὅτι* as not Greek; but the presence of *ἐπεὶ* cannot in any way affect the correctness of the phrase *οὐχ ὅτι.*

6. *παραλογίζεται*] '*attempts to cheat*,' literally 'imposes upon with false reasoning'; see the note on Col. ii. 4. So [Clem. Rom.] ii. 17 *παραλογισαμένους τὰς ἐντολὰς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* In *Apost. Const.* viii. 11 God is invoked as *ἀπαραλόγιστε.*

τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον κ.τ.λ.] '*but in such a case he will have to reckon not with flesh but with God.*' For *τὸ τοιοῦτον* see the note on *Ephes.* 11 *ἓν τῶν δύο.* For the sense of *ὁ λόγος* and for the general tenour of the passage, see Heb. iv. 13 *πάντα δὲ γυμνὰ ... τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος*; comp. Liban. *Op.* I. p. 201 (ed. Morel.) *τοῖς δὲ ἀδίκως ἀπεκτονόσι καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους γίνεται ὁ λόγος*, and see Wetstein and Bleek on Heb. *l. c.* Similar is the expression *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν*, 'he will have to reckon with the god,' *C. I. G.* 3890, 3902 f, 3902 n, 3902 o, 3962 b, 3980; comp. 3902 a, 3963.

7. *τὸν τὰ κρύφια κ.τ.λ.*] Probably suggested by Ps. xliii (xliv). 22 *αὐτὸς γὰρ γινώσκει τὰ κρύφια τῆς καρδίας*: comp. *Ephes.* 15, *Philad.* 7. The exact form *κρύφιος* does not occur elsewhere in Ignatius, or in the N. T.

IV. 'It is not sufficient to bear the name of Christians without the reality; as some men profess respect for their bishop but act without regard to him. The consciences of such men are not upright; for they absent themselves from the public assemblies of the Church and thus disobey the commandment.'

9. *μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ.*]

νοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι· ὥσπερ καί τινες ἐπίσκοπον μὲν καλοῦσιν, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα πράσσουσιν. οἱ τοιοῦτοι [δὲ] οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοί μοι εἶναι φαίνονται διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐντολὴν συναθροίζεσθαι.

V. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, καὶ πρόκειται τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ, ὅ τε θάνατος καὶ ἡ ζωή, καὶ ἕκαστος 5

2 καλοῦσιν] G Dam-Rup 5; *vocant* L; λέγουσιν [g]; al. A. οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ] GL* (L_2, but om. δὲ L_1); *et qui sic cogitant* A; οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι [g]; οἱ τοιοῦτοι Dam-Rup. 3 εἶναι] GL[g]; om. Dam-Rup; dub. A. 5 καὶ] GLg; dub. A. Many editors omit it without authority for the sake of the grammar. πρόκειται] g (but 1 has *adjacet*); *proponuntur* L; *posita sunt* A; ἐπίκειται G: see the lower note. 8 ὃ μὲν...ὁ δὲ] L; ὁ μὲν...ὁ δὲ G; dub. A; al. g. 9 τοῦ κόσμου τούτου] GL; *principis mundi hujus* S_1A; τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς πονηρίας [g]. 10 χαρακτῆρα] GL; so also g, which sub-

Comp. *Rom.* 8 ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὑρεθῶ.

1. ἐπίσκοπον μὲν κ.τ.λ.] '*have the name of bishop always on their lips.*' But καλοῦσιν is an awkward expression, and we ought perhaps to adopt Zahn's conjecture λαλοῦσιν (*I. v. A.* p. 302). Scribes would be tempted thoughtlessly to assimilate it to the preceding καλεῖσθαι, though a false connexion is suggested thereby. For this use of λαλεῖν in Ignatius, see the note on *Ephes.* 6. Comp. Bishop of London's *Charge* 1866 (p. 12) 'Is it too much to hope that some at least of those, who...profess an almost inordinate respect for the Bishop's office in the abstract, will listen to that practical exercise of its functions which warns them of the danger of the course on which they have entered?'

3. εὐσυνείδητοι] The adjective occurs again *Philad.* 6; comp. *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1, *Apost. Const.* ii. 17, 49, Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 7, 12, 13 (pp. 858, 879, 882), M. Antonin. vi. 30. So εὐσυνειδήτως, Isidor. in Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 1 (p. 510), *Clem. Hom.* ii. 36, Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 13 (p. 882); εὐσυνειδησία, *Clem. Hom.* xvii. 11. So the opposite δυσσυνειδήτως, *Clem. Hom.* i. 5, ii. 38; δυσσυνειδησία, *Clem. Hom.* iii. 14.

4. βεβαίως] '*strictly, validly.*' It is explained by *Smyrn.* 8 ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα κ.τ.λ. The presence or the approval of the bishop was necessary for the *validity* of these gatherings. The persons here denounced held *unauthorised* meetings for sectarian purposes.

συναθροίζεσθαι] Great importance is attached in these epistles to frequent meeting together; comp. § 7 below, *Ephes.* 13, 20, *Polyc.* 4, and see the note on *Ephes.* 13. Such meetings were a symbol and a guarantee of harmony. The εὐχαριστία was the special bond of unity in these gatherings: see *Ephes.* 5, 20, *Philad.* 4, *Smyrn.* 6, 8.

V. 'All things come to an end. The great alternative of life and death awaits every man at last; and each goes to his own place. There

εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν· ὥσπερ γάρ ἐστιν νομίσματα δύο, ὃ μὲν Θεοῦ ὃ δὲ κόσμου, καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα ἐπικείμενον ἔχει, οἱ ἄπιστοι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ χαρακτῆρα Θεοῦ πατρὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐὰν μὴ αὐθαιρέτως

stitutes ἔκονα ἔχουσι, must have had the accusative. On the other hand S_1A translate *imago sunt dei patris*, as if they had read χαρακτήρ. 11 διὰ] GLS$_1$A; καὶ g. δι' οὗ] GLg (MSS, but l *propter quod*=δι' ὅ); δι' ὃν S$_1$ (*et si nolumus mori propter eum in passione eius*) A (*et si nolumus pati et mori propter nomen eius*). Perhaps δι' ὃν is the right reading. Even g introduces a reference to martyrdom by inserting words in the latter part of the sentence, τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας παθεῖν. In *Philad.* 7 there is a similar v. l. δι' ὃν (for ἐν ᾧ), where however it can hardly be correct.

are, as it were, two coinages of mankind; the unbelievers who have issued from the mint of this world, and the believers who are stamped with the image of God in Christ. We must first die to Christ's death, if we would rise with His life.'

5. Ἐπεὶ οὖν] The apodosis to this protasis is lost in the subordinate explanatory sentence, ὥσπερ γάρ ἐστιν κ.τ.λ. This explanatory sentence again is a protasis without an apodosis. On these anacolutha in the letters of Ignatius, see the note on *Ephes.* 1.

τὰ πράγματα] '*the business of life.*'

πρόκειται] The common reading ἐπίκειται would mean '*are at hand*,' '*are at the door*': comp. *Rom.* 6 ὁ τοκετός μοι ἐπίκειται. This reading however, as Zahn has seen, is the mechanical substitution of a scribe from below, where the word is used in a different sense. The life and death here mentioned are the spiritual, the eternal, life and death.

7. τὸν ἴδιον τόπον] So Acts i. 25, Hermas *Sim.* ix. 4, 5, 12, and similarly τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον, Clem. Rom. 5, Polyc. *Phil.* 9: see also the note on Clem. Rom. l. c.

8. νομίσματα] '*coinages.*' The image was perhaps suggested by our Lord's words in Matt. xxii. 19 ἐπιδείξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου κ.τ.λ. A similar contrast between the good coinage (ὀρθῶς κοπεῖσι καὶ κεκωδωνισμένοις) and the bad (χθές τε καὶ πρῴην κοπεῖσι τῷ κακίστῳ κόμματι) appears in a noble passage in Aristophanes, *Ran.* 717 sq: comp. *Acharn.* 517. See also Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 4 (p. 436) τό τε παρακεχαραγμένον καὶ τὸ δόκιμον χωρίζειν καὶ διακρίνειν, Philo *de Execr.* 6 (II. p. 433) παρακόψας τὸ νόμισμα τῆς εὐγενείας, Euseb. *L. C.* Prol. § 5. See also Jer. vi. 30 ἀργύριον ἀποδεδοκιμασμένον καλέσατε αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.

ὃ μὲν...ὃ δὲ] For τὸ μὲν...τὸ δὲ: see Winer § xviii. p. 130.

9. τοῦ κόσμου τούτου] sc. χαρακτῆρα ἔχουσιν. The reading of the Syriac, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, deserves consideration.

10. ἐν ἀγάπῃ] i.e. 'the faithful whose faith manifests itself in love'; comp. Gal. v. 6 πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη.

11. διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] Christ is Himself the χαρακτήρ (Heb. i. 3) of God, and this image is stamped upon

ἔχωμεν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώποις τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐθεώρησα ἐν πίστει καὶ ἠγάπησα,

1 ἔχωμεν] ἔχομεν G (not ἔχωμεν, as stated by Dressel). 3 προσώποις] GLg; add. *episcoporum scilicet et presbytcrorum et diaconorum* S_1. Similarly A translates *in eo quod antea scripsi de episcopo et presbyteris et diaconis*. 4 τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος] GLg; add. *vestrum* S_1A. ἠγάπησα] Gg* (but v.l. ἀγάπῃ); *dilectione* LS_1A. If any alteration were made, ἀγαπήσει would be better than ἀγάπῃ; but the versions are not of great weight in this case, where the alteration was obvious. 6 εἰς τύπον] εἰς τόπον GLg Sev-Syr 2;

the Christian by union with the Father through Him; comp. Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 86 (p. 988) ἐπὶ τοῦ προκομισθέντος νομίσματος ὁ Κύριος εἶπεν...τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή; οὕτως καὶ ὁ πιστὸς ἐπιγραφὴν μὲν ἔχει διὰ Χριστοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. On the Alexandrian interpretation of εἰκών, as the λόγος, the ἀρχέτυπον παράδειγμα, in Gen. i. 27 κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ, see the notes on Col. iii. 10.

αὐθαιρέτως] 2 Macc. vi. 19: so αὐθαίρετοι 2 Cor. viii. 3.

1. εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος] Comp. *Rom.* 6 ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, and see the note on *Ephes.* inscr. The language of Ignatius is moulded on that of S. Paul; comp. Rom. vi. 5, viii. 17, 29, 2 Cor. iv. 10, Phil. iii. 10, 2 Tim. ii. 11.

VI. 'Well then, since I have been permitted to see you all through your representatives, I exhort you to act together in harmony with the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons who are entrusted with the ministry of Christ the eternal Son of God incarnate. Conform yourselves to God, and love one another. Let no divisions arise among you.'

3. Ἐπεὶ οὖν κ.τ.λ.] The protasis which commenced with the beginning of § 2 Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἠξιώθην κ.τ.λ. is here resumed, and at length matched with its long suspended apodosis, παραινῶ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.

ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις κ.τ.λ.] '*in the persons* (or rather *representatives*) *already mentioned*' in § 2: see the note on *Ephes.* 1 Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν...ἀπείληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ. The word πρόσωπον here signifies more than a '*person*'; it is a '*personage*,' '*representative*'; comp. e. g. Polyb. v. 107. 3 ἐζήτουν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πρόσωπον ὡς ἱκανοὶ ὄντες βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, xxvii. 6. 4 προθέμενοι το τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένους πρόσωπον (with other passages given in Schweighæuser's Lexicon). So in Clem. Rom. 1, 47, it is applied to the 'ring-leaders' (see the note on the former passage). Again it was used in law-courts of the 'parties' to a suit; Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 380, and comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 47, 49, 51. In all these uses it retains something of its primary sense, and has not yet degenerated into the colourless meaning 'person.' See also Meyer on 2 Cor. i. 11.

4. ἠγάπησα] '*welcomed, embraced.*' The word here refers to external tokens of affection, according to its original meaning; see the note on *Polyc.* 2 τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ ἠγάπησας. Though the versions favour the

5 παραινῶ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν, προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τύπον Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τύπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ

בטופסא S (where the word thus transliterated into Syriac would naturally stand for *τύπος*, not for *τόπος*; see Payne Smith *Thes. Syr.* s. v.); *tanquam* A (thus taking the Syriac word to represent *τύπος*). The authorities are just the same, where the phrase recurs in the next line. See the lower note.

7 *συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων*] GLg Sev-Syr; *angelorum consilii* S_1; *tanquam angeli regis* A (an erroneous rendering of מלכא, which differently vocalized signifies *rex* or *consilium*).

reading *ἀγάπῃ*, no great stress can be laid on the fact, since there was every temptation to recur to the frequent Ignatian combination *πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ*.

5. *ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ*] '*in godly concord*'; comp. § 15, *Philad.* inscr., where the same expression occurs. So too *ἑνότης Θεοῦ*; see the note on *Philad.* 8.

6. *προκαθημένου*] So *προκαθέζεσθαι* is used of the bishop, *Clem. Hom.* Ep. Clem. 12, 16, iii. 64, 66, 70, 72. Comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 26 *ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος προκαθεζέσθω ὑμῶν ὡς Θεοῦ ἀξίᾳ τετιμημένος*, a passage obviously moulded after Ignatius (see the following notes). The same word *προκαθημένων* may well be understood with the following *τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*, as it is used of the presbyters just below; but with *τῶν διακόνων* it is necessary to supply some other word, such as *συμπαρόντων*, according to the sense. The clause *πεπιστευμένων κ.τ.λ.* is added by way of explanation, 'seeing that they have been entrusted etc.'

εἰς τύπον] So it seems best on the whole to read with Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 570 sq). See the parallel passage *Trall.* 3, where the right reading is *καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα τύπον τοῦ πατρός, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων*: comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 26 *ἡ δὲ διάκονος εἰς τύπον ἁγίου πνεύματος τετιμήσθω ὑμῖν...οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι εἰς τύπον ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων νενομίσθωσαν...αἵ τε χῆραι καὶ ὀρφανοὶ ὑμῶν εἰς τύπον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λελογίσθωσαν*. As the whole context in the *Constitutions* abounds in reminiscences of this passage of Ignatius (see the notes on *προκαθημένου* above, and on *ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς κ.τ.λ.* § 7), it is another very strong confirmation of the reading adopted (though the word *τόπον* also occurs in the context, § 28, as quoted in the next note). Zahn quotes Barnab. 19 *ὑποταγήσῃ κυρίοις ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ*. See also *Clem. Hom.* iii. 62, where the *μοναρχία* of the episcopate is represented as the counterpart to the *μοναρχία* of God, and the people are bidden to honour the bishop *ὡς εἰκόνα Θεοῦ*. In *Apost. Const.* l. c. the bishop is called *ὑμῶν ἐπίγειος θεὸς μετὰ Θεόν*, with more to the same effect: comp. *ib.* ii. 30. He is the highest earthly representative of the spiritual power.

7. *συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων*] This comparison exactly corresponds with the parallel passage already quoted, *Trall.* 3, where the presbyters are compared to 'the council of God and company (see the note on *σύνδεσμον*) of the Apostles.' Ignatius is

τῶν διακόνων τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς πρὸ αἰώνων παρὰ πατρὶ ἦν καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφάνη. πάντες οὖν ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ λαβόντες ἐντρέπεσθε ἀλλήλους, καὶ μηδεὶς κατὰ σάρκα βλεπέτω τὸν πλησίον, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀλλήλους 5

1 *διακόνων*] GLg; add. *εἰς τύπον τῶν ἀποστόλων* (במופסא דשליחא) S_1 (which does not continue the quotation further); add. *in formis apostolorum* A (where again טופסא is taken as standing for *τύπος*). Sev-Syr omits the clause *καὶ τῶν διακόνων τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων.* 2 *πρὸ αἰώνων*] G; *ante saecula* L; *πρὸ αἰῶνος* g (but *ante saecula* l); *perpetuus* A. Sev-Syr has a plural, but it depends on ribui. *πατρὶ*] G; *τῷ πατρὶ* g. 4 *ἐντρέπεσθε ἀλλήλους*] *ἐντρέπεσθε ἀλλήλοις* G; *veneremini adinvicem* L*; *ἀλλήλους ἐντρέπεσθε* Dam-Rup 9; al. g: see the lower note. 5 *τὸν*] g Dam-Rup; *τῷ* G. *Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ*] GS_4[A]; *χριστῷ ιησοῦ* g; *χριστῷ* Dam-Rup. *ἀλλήλους διὰ παντὸς ἀγαπᾶτε*] GL Dam-Rup; *estote inter vos omni tempore* S_4;

picturing to himself the gathering of the church, where the bishop and presbyters are seated on a dais, the bishop occupying the throne in the centre, and the presbyters sitting round (as in the Basilican arrangement) so as to form a corona; comp. § 13 below *ἀξιοπλόκου πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ὑμῶν* (with the note). See also the note on *Philad.* 8 *συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*, where again the reference is doubtless to the presbytery. Comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 28 *τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις... διπλῆ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀφοριζέσθω ἡ μοῖρα εἰς χάριν τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀποστόλων, ὧν καὶ τὸν τόπον φυλάσσουσιν...ἔστι γὰρ συνέδριον καὶ βουλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.* The presbytery are again compared to the Apostles, *Trall.* 2, *Smyrn.* 8. The text of the Syriac (followed by the Armenian) seems to have been altered deliberately, in order to produce what appeared to be a more suitable comparison.

2. *διακονίαν* Ἰ. Χ.] i.e. '*a service under Jesus Christ*,' as their *Κύριος*: comp. *Trall.* 2 *τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *Smyrn.* 10 *ὡς διακόνους* [*Χριστοῦ*] *Θεοῦ*, Polyc. *Phil.* 5 *ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι*; comp. 2 Cor. xi. 23, Col. i. 7, 1 Tim. iv. 6. This seems the most probable interpretation. Otherwise it might be explained 'a ministry in which Jesus Christ Himself served,' for He became *διάκονος πάντων* (Polyc. *Phil.* 5); comp. Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45. For the comparison of the deacon to Jesus Christ, which is involved in this latter interpretation, see the note on *Trall.* 3.

3. *ἐν τέλει*] Heb. i. 2 *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων*, ix. 26 *ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων*: comp. 1 Cor. x. 11 *εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκεν.* See also *Ephes.* 11 *ἔσχατοι καιροί* (with the note). Zahn quotes Iren. i. 10. 3 *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν καιρῶν ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ τέλει ἐφάνη ἡ ἀρχή.*

ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ] '*moral conformity with God*'; comp. *Polyc.* 1 *τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα κατὰ ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ λάλει* (with the note). This parallel passage shows the meaning of the expression here. It is not 'godly conformity among yourselves,' as Zahn takes it,

διὰ παντὸς ἀγαπᾶτε. μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ δυνήσεται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι, ἀλλ' ἑνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις εἰς τύπον καὶ διδαχὴν ἀφθαρσίας.

VII. Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν [ἡνωμένος ὤν], οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε διὰ τῶν

om. g (here, but it is represented in the context). A abridges the whole sentence ἀλλ' ἐν...ἀγαπᾶτε into *sed amore iesu christi.* 7 τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις] GLS$_1$ Dam-Rup 6; τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ προκαθημένῳ A; τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ g (omitting καὶ τοῖς προκ. and substituting ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ θεῷ κ.τ.λ.). 8 τύπον] G (but carelessly written) LS$_1$; τόπον Dam-Rup; al. g. The rendering of A *conspectum bonum* arises from a misunderstanding of the Syriac חיורא, which differently vocalized signifies *exemplar* and *obtutus.* 9 οὖν] GL* (but om. L$_1$) g Dam-Rup; δὲ S$_1$; *et* A. ὁ Κύριος] GLg; add. ἡμῶν Dam-Rup [S$_1$] [A]. 10 ἐποίησεν] GL[S$_1$] Dam-Rup; *faciebat* A; ποιεῖ [g]. ἡνωμένος ὤν] GL; om. S$_1$A [g] Dam-Rup.

and as the preceding ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ might suggest. See also μιμηταὶ Θεοῦ, *Ephes.* I, *Trall.* I.

4. ἀλλήλους] The reading ἀλλήλοις must be wrong, as ἐντρέπεσθαι takes a genitive or an accusative (in Ignatius only the latter), but never a dative. Though αἰσχύνεσθαι sometimes has a dative, it is with a different meaning, 'to be ashamed *at*,' or '*on account of*'; a sense which would be out of place here. There is a similar error in the Greek MS, *Trall.* 7 φυλάττεσθε οὖν τοῖς τοιούτοις.

κατὰ σάρκα] i.e. 'so as to love and hate his neighbour by turns, from merely human passion.' It is opposed to διὰ παντὸς ἀγαπᾶτε.

8. εἰς τύπον κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'both as an example and as a lesson of incorruptibility.' In Rom. vi. 17 we have εἰς τύπον διδαχῆς. The idea of ἀφθαρσία in Ignatius (*Ephes.* 17, *Philad.* 9; comp. *Polyc.* 2) is not merely immortality, but moral incorruption as carrying with it immortal life; see the note on *Ephes.* 17.

VII. 'As the Lord Jesus did nothing without the Father, so must ye do nothing without your bishop and presbyters. Let no man study any private ends; but let there be one common prayer, one common mind, one common hope. Jesus Christ is one; be ye therefore one. Gather yourselves together as to one Temple, even God; as to one Altar, even Jesus Christ, who came forth from One and is in One, and returned to One, even the Father.'

9. ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς κ.τ.λ.] See John viii. 28 ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ ποιῶ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἐδίδαξέν με ὁ πατήρ, ταῦτα λαλῶ (see § 8 κατὰ πάντα εὐηρέστησεν which is a reminiscence of the context of this same passage); comp. x. 37 εἰ οὐ ποιῶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρός μου κ.τ.λ. See also *Apost. Const.* ii. 26 ὡς ὁ Χριστός, ποιῶν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδέν, τὰ ἀρεστὰ ποιεῖ τῷ πατρὶ πάντοτε, ii. 30 ὡς γὰρ Χριστὸς ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ, οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ διάκονος ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου (passages referred to by Jacobson), where there is a reminiscence at once of these passages in Ignatius and of the sayings in S. John's Gospel on which they are founded.

10. ἡνωμένος ὤν] '*being united* with

ἀποστόλων, οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσετε· μηδὲ πειράσητε εὔλογόν τι φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχή, μία δέησις, εἷς νοῦς, μία ἐλπίς, ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἀμώμῳ, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, οὗ ἄμεινον 5

1 *καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*] GLA; om. Dam-Rup [g] (but g continues *μηδὲ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ διάκονος, μὴ λαϊκός*). 2 *πράσσετε*] *πράσσεται* G. 3 *φαίνεσθαι*] *φαίνεσθε* G. *ὑμῖν*] txt GLA Dam-Rup (but the quotation ends here); add. *seorsim ab episcopo* S_1 (an accidental repetition from the preceding sentence?); al. g. 5 *ὅς*] *quod* (the antecedent being *gaudio*) L; *ὅ* Antioch 1; *εἷς* G; al. Ag: see the lower note. *ἄμεινον οὐθέν ἐστιν*] GLAg (but *οὐδέν* for *οὐθέν*); *οὐδὲν θυμηδ-*

Him'; comp. *Smyrn.* 3 *πνευματικῶς ἡνωμένος τῷ πατρί*, said of Christ.

1. *οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς κ.τ.λ.*] *Apost. Const.* ii. 27 *οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε.* The precept occurs again *Trall.* 2, 7, *Philad.* 7, *Smyrn.* 8.

2. *μηδὲ πειράσητε κ.τ.λ.*] i.e. 'do not struggle to persuade yourselves that anything is right and proper which you do by and for yourselves.' For the word *εὔλογον* itself, compare *Smyrn.* 9; and for the sense, *Ephes.* 11 *χωρὶς τούτου μηδὲν ὑμῖν πρεπέτω.*

3. *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*] sc. *συνερχομένοις γινέσθω.* The sentence is studiously terse, the words being thrown down singly, and the reader left to supply the connecting links. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 345 sq, and *ad loc.*) would connect *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ* with the preceding words; but this does not appear to me so forcible. A similar alternative as to the connexion of *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ* with the preceding or following words presents itself in Acts ii. 47, iii. 1.

5. *τῇ χαρᾷ κ.τ.λ.*] See *Ephes.* inscr. *ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ.*

ὅς] I have ventured to substitute this reading, though there is no direct evidence in its favour, for two reasons. (1) It stands mid-way between the two extant readings, *ὅ* and *εἷς*, and explains both. For the confusion of *ὅ* and *ὅς* in the text of the Ignatian Epistles, see below § 10, *Trall.* 8, 11. (2) This attraction accords with the idiom of these epistles elsewhere; see below § 10 *μεταβάλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* (v. l.), § 15 *ἔρρωσθε ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον πνεῦμα, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*; comp. *Trall.* 11 *τοῦ Θεοῦ ἕνωσιν ἐπαγγελλομένου, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτός* (where however there is a various reading), *Ephes.* 9 *διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς... ὅς ἐστιν σταυρός* (with the note). The passages, § 15, *Trall.* 11, seem to show that the relative refers not to *τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἀμώμῳ*, but to the whole idea of the sentence, 'This perfect unity is Jesus Christ.' Compare the still stronger expression, *Ephes.* 14 *ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη· τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἑνότητι γενόμενα Θεός ἐστιν.* The reading *εἷς* is part of the confusion which extends over the following clauses in the existing Greek text.

6. *ὡς εἰς ἕνα κ.τ.λ.*] Looking at the authorities, there can be little doubt, I think, that the passage should be so read. (1) The word *ἕνα* slipped out of the extant Greek text of the genuine Ignatius in the first

οὐθέν ἐστιν. πάντες ὡς εἰς ἕνα ναὸν συντρέχετε †Θεοῦ†, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ἐπὶ ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀφ' ἑνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἕνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα.

ἕστερον [Antioch]. 6 οὐθέν] G (not οὐδέν as in Dressel). πάντες] txt LAg; add. οὖν G [Antioch]. εἰς] GLA; εἷς εἰς g. ἕνα] LA; τὸν [g]; om. G. συντρέχετε Θεοῦ] GL; θεοῦ συντρέχετε g. Θεοῦ] GL[g]; om. A. 7 ἐπὶ ἕν] G (ἐπὶ, not ἐπεὶ as suggested in Dressel's note). ἐπὶ ἕνα] g* (but v. l. ὡς ἐπὶ ἕνα); *in unum* L_1 (but L_2 *ut in unum*); ὡς ἐπὶ ἕνα G; om. A.

clause, owing to the combination of similar letters ωcεicενανδον, while the word εἷς found its way by a reduplication (ειcεic) into the text which the interpolator had before him. (2) The ὡς before ἐπὶ ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν must be rejected, as an obvious addition of the scribes in some copies both Greek and Latin, which the supposed parallelism of the clause would suggest, but which really destroys the meaning of the sentence. Jesus Christ Himself is compared to the one altar. I suspect however that a still further change ought to be made, and that Θεόν should be read for Θεοῦ '*as to one shrine*, even to *God*.' In this case the shrine (*ναός*) would be compared to God the Father, and the altar or court of the altar (*θυσιαστήριον*) to Jesus Christ. Thus the image gains in distinctness; for the *access* to the former is by and through the latter. Comp. Clem. Rom. § 41 *ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον*, and see the note on *Ephes.* 5. For the *θυσιαστήριον* in connexion with Christ see Heb. xiii. 10, where perhaps it signifies more definitely the Cross; and for the general complexion of the imagery Heb. ix. 6 sq. For the omission of εἰς before Θεόν (if this reading be adopted) comp. Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8. 5 *καθάπερ εἰς ἅγιόν τι τέμενος παραγίνονται τὸ δειπνητήριον*, *Clem. Hom.* v. 21 *ὥσπερ δι' ὀργάνων τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων εἰς τὰς τῶν νοητῶν φέρεται συνουσίας*, Athenag. *Suppl.* 31 *ὡς πρὸς στάθμην τὸν Θεὸν κανονίζεται*, Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 55 (I. p. 370) *ταῦτα προφητεύεσθαι ὡς περὶ ἑνὸς τοῦ ὅλου λαοῦ*, Macar. Magn. iii. 13 (p. 85) *ὡς εἰς μεγαλόπολιν κατακλίνας τὴν ἔρημον*: and, as regards classical writers, see Kühner § 451 (II. p. 479). The omission would assist the corruption of Θεόν into Θεοῦ.

8. *προελθόντα*] This refers not to the Divine generation of the Son, but to the mission on earth; for it corresponds to *χωρήσαντα*, as the setting out to the return; comp. John xiii. 3, xvi. 28 (quoted below), where ἐξελθεῖν answers to *προελθεῖν* here. See also the note on *προελθών* in § 8.

εἰς ἕνα ὄντα] For this preposition, as describing the absolute eternal union of the Son with the Father, comp. John i. 18 *ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός*. See also John i. 1 *ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*.

χωρήσαντα] sc. *εἰς ἕνα*. As at the commencement of His earthly ministry He came forth from One, as He is eternally with One, so also at the close of this earthly ministry He returned to One. See especially John xvi. 28 *ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον· πάλιν ἀφίημι τὸν κόσμον καὶ πορεύο-*

VIII. *Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις μηδὲ μυθεύμασιν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀνωφελέσιν οὖσιν· εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ ἰουδαϊσμὸν ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι. οἱ γὰρ θειότατοι προφῆται κατὰ Χριστὸν*

1 πλανᾶσθε] πλανᾶσθαι G. 3 ἰουδαϊσμὸν] *judaismum* L; νόμον ἰουδαϊσμόν G; *judaicam legem* A; νόμον ἰουδαϊκόν [g]. 4 Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν] GLA; ἰησοῦν χριστόν g Sev-Syr 2, 7. ἐνπνεόμενοι G. 6 ὑπὸ] G; ἀπὸ g. αὐτοῦ] GL Sev-Syr

μαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, comp. xiii. 3 *ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὑπάγει*; and for *χωρήσαντα* alone, see John xiv. 12, 28, *πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα*, xvi. 10, 16, 17, *ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα*.

VIII. 'Be not seduced by false doctrines and antiquated fables. If we still live after the manner of Judaism, we avow that we have not received grace. Yes, the holy prophets themselves lived a life after Christ. For this they were persecuted, being inspired by His grace, that so in the time to come unbelievers might be convinced that there is one God who manifested Himself through His Son Jesus Christ, His Word that issued forth from silence and did the will of the Father in all things.'

1. *μὴ πλανᾶσθε*] See the note on *Ephes.* 16.

ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις] So *ἑτεροδοξεῖν*, *Smyrn.* 6. The words are at least as old as Plato (*Theaet.* 190 E, 193 D), but do not occur in the LXX or N.T. These are perhaps the earliest examples in Christian writings, though *ἑτερόδοξος* occurs in Philo *de Sobr.* 13 (I. p. 403) and in Josephus *B. J.* ii. 8. 5.

μυθεύμασιν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 Tim. iv. 7 *γραώδεις μύθους παραιτοῦ*, Tit. I. 14 *μὴ προσέχοντες Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις*: and for *ἀνωφελέσιν* see Tit. iii. 9 *μωρὰς δὲ ζητήσεις καὶ γενεαλογίας καὶ ἔρεις καὶ μάχας νομικὰς περιΐστασο, εἰσὶν γὰρ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ μάταιοι.* These parallels are important because they serve to indicate the type of heresy which Ignatius has in his mind. It belongs to the same category with the heresy of the Colossian Church (see *Colossians* p. 73 sq), of the Pastoral Epistles, of the Apocalypse, of the Catholic Epistles, and of the Cerinthians. It is Judaism crossed with Gnosticism. The 'antiquated fables' are probably myths relating to cosmogony and angelology: see above, I. p. 360 sq, and *Colossians* pp. 89 sq, 101 sq, 109 sq. This account of the heresy here contemplated, which is suggested by the parallels above quoted from S. Paul, is also demanded by the context of Ignatius himself. He begins here with a warning against *ἑτεροδοξίαι*, and he concludes with a similar warning against *κενοδοξία* (§ 11). These two he connects closely together (§ 11 *ταῦτα δὲ...θέλω ὑμᾶς μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ ἄγκιστρα τῆς κενοδοξίας*), so that he unquestionably has the same foe before him from first to last. Yet in attacking this foe, he condemns two things: first (§§ 8—10), *Judaizing practices*, i.e. the doctrine of the permanent obligation of the Mosaic ritual, more especially the observance of sabbaths (§ 9); and secondly, *Docetic views*, which are directly met

5 Ἰησοῦν ἔζησαν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδιώχθησαν, ἐμπνεόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος [αὐτοῦ] εἰς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὅτι εἷς Θεός ἐστιν ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος

2; om. Ag. 8 λόγος] txt A Sev-Syr; add. ἀΐδιος οὐκ GL Tim-Syr 2; g paraphrases λόγος οὐ ῥητὸς ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρου φώνημα ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεϊκῆς οὐσία γεννητή: see the lower note.

in the words πεπληροφόρησθε ἐν τῇ γεννήσει καὶ τῷ πάθει κ.τ.λ. (§ 11), having been alluded to previously in § 9 ὅν (i.e. τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ) τινες ἀρνοῦνται. The foe in question therefore was *Doceto-judaism*. For the Docetic element see above, I. p. 363 sq, and on *Trall.* 9.

2. μέχρι νῦν] '*until now*,' i.e. when two or three generations have passed since the true doctrine of grace was revealed.

3. κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμόν] There cannot be much doubt about the reading here. The superfluous νόμον in the extant Greek text of Ignatius is an obvious gloss; and the substitution of the 'Jewish law' in the Armenian Version and in the interpolator's text is a not less obvious paraphrase. Zahn however reads κατὰ νόμον Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ζῶμεν and is disposed to take Ἰουδαϊσμὸν as a cognate accusative with ζῆν—a construction which Pearson (*ad loc.*) suggests only to reject. For Ἰουδαϊσμός, denoting conformity to the external rites of the Jews, see the notes on Gal. i. 13, ii. 14.

ὁμολογοῦμεν κ.τ.λ.] Ignatius doubtless had in his mind Gal. v. 4 κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε (comp. ii. 21 οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ). For χάρις, as the central point of the Gospel dispensation, see the note on Col. i. 6.

4. κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν] i.e. 'in expectation of a coming deliverer and a redemption.' So also *Philad.* 5 καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναμένειν (comp. *ib.* 9). See too below § 9 οἱ προφῆται μαθηταὶ ὄντες κ.τ.λ. For the expression κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ζῆν comp. *Philad.* 3 (with the note); and for the preposition see the note on § 1 above.

5. διὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.] The same idea which appears in Heb. xi. 16, 25, 26, 35 (and throughout this chapter generally): see also Clem. Rom. 17 ἐν δέρμασιν αἰγείοις καὶ μηλωταῖς περιεπάτησαν, κηρύσσοντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ἐδιώχθησαν] Zahn quotes Iren. iv. 33. 9 'similiter ut veteres prophetae sustinentes persecutionem etc,' a passage which closely resembles this.

ἐμπνεόμενοι κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 Pet. i. 10 sq προφῆται οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος προφητεύσαντες, ἐραυνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ...οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς ὑμῖν δὲ διηκόνουν αὐτά κ.τ.λ., where there are several ideas in common with this passage of Ignatius; see the note on § 9 παρὼν ἤγειρεν κ.τ.λ. Comp. also Barnab. 5 οἱ προφῆται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν.

6. τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας] Not the contemporaries of the prophets themselves, but disbelievers in later ages,

ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών, ὃς κατα πάντα εὐηρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν.

1 κατὰ πάντα εὐηρέστησεν] G; *secundum omnia beneplacuit* L; πάντα κατευαρέστησεν g (MSS); *in omnibus placuit* Tim-Syr Sev-Syr; *in omnibus gratus fuit* A.

who could test the prophecy by the fulfilment and thus convince themselves: see 1 Pet. l. c. For πληροφορεῖν, '*to convince*,' see the note on *Colossians* iv. 12.

8. λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών] This reading has been altogether neglected by editors (before Zahn), but deserves to be preferred to the common text, λόγος ἀΐδιος οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών, for the following reasons.

(1) It has higher authority than the other. It stands in the oldest extant form of the text, that of the Armenian Version, and in one of the earliest extant quotations, that of Severus (Cureton *C. I.* pp. 213, 245). Severus even comments on the expression; 'This (statement) that He proceeded from silence means that He was ineffably begotten by the Father etc.' It is clear therefore that he had this reading before him, and it may be inferred from his silence that he was not acquainted with any other. This fact is the more important as Severus elsewhere (*Rom.* 6) mentions a various reading in Ignatius and compares the ages of different MSS. The paraphrase of the interpolator leaves some doubt about his reading: but inasmuch as there is nothing corresponding to ἀΐδιος, which he is hardly likely to have omitted, I suppose that in his text also ἀΐδιος οὐκ were wanting. He seems after his wont to have substituted for the Ignatian language λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών, which savoured strongly of heresy, another expression which squared with his ideas of orthodoxy.

(2) This reading is better adapted to the context. It corresponds to the previous ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which it explains; and it aptly introduces the words which follow, εὐηρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν. It is also more consistent in itself; for σιγὴ and λόγος are correlative terms, λόγος implying a previous σιγή: comp. Iren. ii. 12. 5 'impossibile est Logo praesente Sigen esse, aut iterum Sige praesente Logon ostendi; haec enim consumtibilia sunt invicem etc.'

(3) It accords entirely with the language of Ignatius elsewhere, where the period before the Incarnation is described as God's silence; *Ephes.* 19 μυστήρια κραυγῆς ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπράχθη· πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη; (see the note there). There is the same contrast between the 'silence' and the 'manifestation' here.

(4) The insertion of the words ἀΐδιος οὐκ, if spurious, is much more easily explained than their omission, if genuine. A transcriber would be sorely tempted to alter a text which lent itself so readily to Gnostic and other heresies. The forced interpretation which Severus (as quoted above) is obliged to put on ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών shows how distasteful the expression would be to orthodox ears. The interpolation should, I think, be assigned to the fourth or fifth century. About the middle of the fourth century Marcellus propounded his doctrine, which was assailed by Eusebius as Sabellian. The attacks of Eusebius show that Marcellus expressed his views in language almost identical

with this statement of Ignatius: see e.g. *Eccl. Theol.* ii. 9 (p. 114) ἃ δὴ Μάρκελλος ἐτόλμα ὑποτίθεσθαι, πάλαι μὲν λέγων εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν καί τινα ἡσυχίαν ἅμα τῷ Θεῷ ὑπογράφων ἑαυτῷ, κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τῶν ἀθέων αἱρεσιωτῶν ἀρχηγόν (i.e. Simon Magus, as Pearson, *V. I.* p. 420, rightly supposes), ὃς τὰ ἄθεα δογματίζων ἀπεφαίνετο λέγων, Ἦν Θεὸς καὶ σιγή· μετὰ δὲ τὴν σιγὴν καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν προελθεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς κοσμοποιΐας δραστικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ κ.τ.λ. It seems probable indeed from this and other coincidences (see *Smyrn.* 3), that Marcellus was acquainted with the Ignatian Epistles. See also on this procession of the Logos from Silence the passages quoted from Marcellus, *c. Marcell.* ii. 2 (pp. 36, 41), *Eccl. Theol.* i. 20 (p. 100), ii. 8 sq (p. 112 sq), ii. 11 (p. 118), iii. 3 (pp. 163, 166). This mode of expression would thus be discredited, and the text altered in consequence. A parallel case is the insertion of ἀΐδιος μὲν with ἀρχιερεύς in Euseb. *Quaest. ad Steph. Op.* IV. p. 900 (comp. p. 965) to save the orthodoxy of the writer.

This reading was advocated by me as early as 1868 in the *Journal of Philology* I. p. 51 sq, and again later in the *Contemporary Review*, February 1875, p. 357 sq. It was adopted by Zahn in his edition (1876) quite independently, for he was unaware of what I had written (see p. 201). In his previous work (*I. v. A.* p. 471 sq, 1873) he had tacitly acquiesced in the vulgar text. The wonder is that a reading of such importance should have been so generally overlooked.

But if this be the correct reading, what is meant by it? Does this 'procession from silence' refer to the Divine generation of the Word or to the Incarnation? Severus takes the former view (Cureton *C. I.* pp. 213, 245). This sense would correspond to the use of similar expressions in various Gnostic systems, and it is recommended to a certain extent also by the parallels in Marcellus; comp. also Tatian *ad Graec.* 5 οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος προελθὼν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δυνάμεως. But nevertheless it does not suit the context, nor does it accord with the language of Ignatius elsewhere. As Logos implies the manifestation of Deity whether in His words or in His works, so Sige is the negation of this (see Iren. ii. 12. 5 quoted above). Hence the expression 'proceeding from silence' might be used at any point where there is a sudden transition from non-manifestation to manifestation; e.g. Wisd. xviii. 14, 15, ἡσύχου γὰρ σιγῆς περιεχούσης τὰ πάντα...ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος ἀπ' οὐρανῶν...εἰς μέσον τῆς ὀλεθρίας ἥλατο γῆς, where the reference is to the destruction of the first-born in Egypt. To the Incarnation, as the chief manifestation of God through the Word, this language would be especially applicable; comp. Rom. xvi. 25 κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου, φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν (with other passages quoted on *Ephes.* 19), and see also Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 1 (p. 9) ἵνα τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ φῶς, ὁ λόγος, τῶν προφητικῶν αἰνιγμάτων τὴν μυστικὴν ἀπολύσηται σιωπήν, εὐαγγέλιον γενόμενος. Since therefore the whole context here relates to the Incarnation and human life of Christ (ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτόν, τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν), it is natural to refer ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών to the same. See also the parallel passage *Ephes.* 19 (already quoted), which is strongly in favour of this interpretation; and comp. *Rom.* 8 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς...τὸ ἀψευδὲς στόμα ἐν ᾧ ὁ πατὴρ ἐλάλησεν ἀληθῶς. So too προελθεῖν has been used just before of the Incarnation, § 7. Ignatius however does not

IX. *Εἰ οὖν οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναστραφέντες εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον, μηκέτι σαββατί-*

1 *ἐν*] G; om. g* (the existing MSS). *πράγμασιν*] GLA; *γράμμασιν* g.

deny the pre-existence of the Word here, though he does not assert it. This was not the first time when the silence of God had been broken by the Word. Elsewhere this father asserts the eternity of the Son in the most explicit terms; e.g. § 6 above, *Polyc.* 3.

εὑηρέστησεν κ.τ.λ.] A reminiscence of John viii. 29.

IX. 'If then those who had lived under the old covenant attained to a new and higher hope by abandoning the observance of sabbaths and by keeping the Lord's day—the memorial of Christ's resurrection, whereby we have found life through His death, which some deny but which to us is the ground of our faith and the strength of our endurance; if, I say, this be so, how can *we* live without Him? Nay, even the prophets were His disciples, for in the Spirit they looked forward to Him as their teacher; and therefore, when He came, He raised them from the dead.'

1. *οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς κ.τ.λ.*] i.e. 'those who were brought up in the practices of Judaism.' If the Jewish converts gave up the observance of sabbaths, *a fortiori* ought Gentile converts not to barter Christ for Judaic rites. Hilgenfeld (*A. V.* p. 232) refers these words to the post-Mosaic prophets; but this, as Zahn truly says (*I. v. A.* p. 354), would be to outbid even the Pseudo-Barnabas, who with all his hostility to Judaism does not go nearly so far (§ 15). Such a statement would have been quite untrue in itself, and altogether discordant with the teaching of these epistles elsewhere. Moreover it is inconsistent with the language of the context; for (1) *μηκέτι* implies a *conversion* from the old to the new; and (2) the correct reading is unquestionably *κατὰ κυριακὴν* 'in the observance of the Lord's day,' which could not possibly have been predicted of the prophets. Hilgenfeld has taken the corrupt reading *κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωήν*.

πράγμασιν] See Orig. *de Princ.* iv. 3 (I. p. 160) *πάντων τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν πραγμάτων ἐν οἷς ἐσέμνυντο*, referred to by Zahn. There is a slight tinge of depreciation in this word. It points to the *vexatiousness* of the ordinances of Judaism. The reading of the interpolator's text, *γράμμασιν*, is tempting: comp. Rom. vii. 6 *κατηργήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου...ὥστε δουλεύειν [ἡμᾶς] ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος*, which passage may perhaps have suggested it. It must however be rejected for two distinct reasons: (1) The convergence of the best authorities is decidedly in favour of *πράγμασιν*: (2) The *γράμματα* in this case would naturally refer to the Old Testament Scriptures, and *παλαιά* must suggest the idea of '*antiquated*.' But this is not at all the language which meets us elsewhere in the Ignatian Epistles. The patriarchs and the lawgiver and the prophets are the forerunners of the Gospel; there is an absolute identity of interests between them and the Gospel (*Philad.* 5, 9, *Smyrn.* 7; and see also the mention of the prophets in this context). Moreover the only direct quotations in these epistles are from the Old Testament (Prov. iii. 34 in *Ephes.* 5; Prov. xviii. 17 in *Magn.* 12; Is. lii. 5 in *Trall.* 8), and in two out of three passages they are introduced

ζοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωη ἡμῶν

3 κυριακὴν] *dominicam* L; *dominicam diem sanctam et primam* [A]; κυριακὴν ζωήν G; al. g. See the speculations of Ussher *Works* XII. p. 584.

with the common form of authoritative citation, γέγραπται. The interchange of γράμμα and πρᾶγμα with scribes and critics is frequent: e.g. Plato *Soph.* 262 D, Polyb. ix. 40. 3, xi. 6. 3, xv. 26. 4, Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 1.

2. σαββατίζοντες] For the abrogation of the observance of the sabbaths see Col. ii. 16 (comp. Gal. iv. 10); and for opinions in the early church comp. Barnab. 15, *Ep. ad Diogn.* 4, Justin *Dial.* 12 sq (p. 229 sq), 19 (p. 236), 21 (p. 238), 23 (p. 240 sq), 29 (p. 246), Iren. iv. 16. 1, Tert. *adv. Jud.* 4. The word σαββατίζειν is not found in the New Testament, but occurs frequently in the LXX, where it bears a good sense; comp. σαββατισμός in Heb. iv. 9.

3. κατὰ κυριακὴν] sc. ἡμέραν. This 'living after the Lord's day' signifies not merely the observance of it, but the appropriation of all those ideas and associations which are involved in its observance. It symbolizes the hopes of the Christian, who rises with Christ's resurrection, as he dies with Christ's death. It implies the substitution of the spiritual for the formal in religion. It is a type and an earnest of the eternal rest in heaven. See esp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 12 (p. 877) οὗτος ἐντολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διαπραξάμενος κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ, ὅταν ἀποβάλλῃ φαῦλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων, comp. *ib.* vii. 10 (p. 866). Comp. also Barnab. 15 ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης...ὅ ἐστιν, ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν· διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν κ.τ.λ., Justin *Apol.* i. 67 (p. 99) ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη, *Dial.* 24 (p. 241) ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ ὀγδόη μυστήριόν τι εἶχε κηρυσσόμενον διὰ τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μᾶλλον τῆς ἑβδόμης κ.τ.λ. (comp. *ib.* 41, p. 260). So Irenæus states that the practice of not kneeling on the Lord's day dated from Apostolic times, and appears to have explained that it was σύμβολον τῆς ἀναστάσεως, δι' ἧς τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν τε ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τεθανατωμένου θανάτου ἠλευθερώθημεν (*Fragm.* 7, p. 828, ed. Stieren); comp. Tert. *de Cor.* 3 'die dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare.' Melito wrote a treatise περὶ κυριακῆς (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26) in which doubtless he drew out the symbolism of the day.

The day is commonly called μία [τῶν] σαββάτων in the New Testament. As late as the year 57 this designation occurs in S. Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 2), where we should certainly have expected κυριακή, if the word had then been commonly in use. Even in Rev. i. 10 ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ the interpretation is doubtful, and there are good, if not conclusive, reasons for interpreting it of the day of judgment; see Todd's *Discourses on Prophecies in the Apocalypse* pp. 59, 295 sq. If so, the passage before us is the earliest example of its occurrence in this sense, except perhaps *Doctr. Apost.* 14, where the expression is κυριακὴ Κυρίου. In Barnab. 15 it is called ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ ὀγδόη, where however the writer has a special reason for dwelling on the *eighth* day. With Justin writing to the heathen it is ἡ τοῦ

ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ὅν τινες ἀρνοῦνται· δι' οὗ μυστηρίου ἐλάβομεν τὸ πιστεύειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομένομεν, ἵνα εὑρεθῶμεν μαθηταὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μόνου διδασκάλου ἡμῶν· πῶς ἡμεῖς δυνη-

1 ὅν τινες] οἵτινες G; *quod quidam* (ὅ τινες) L. The paraphrase of g ὃν τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀπωλείας ἀπαρνοῦνται points to the reading ὅν τινες. A may represent either ὅ τινες or ὅν τινες; al. g. 2 δι' οὗ] GL; διὰ [A] (apparently). 3 ὑπομένομεν] LA; ὑπομένωμεν G; al. g. 5 οὗ] GLg Sev 1, 7 (Cramer's

ηλίου ἡμέρα (*Apol.* i. 67), but to the Jews, *ἡ μία τῶν σαββάτων* or *ἡ ὀγδόη ἡμέρα* (*Dial.* 24, 41). Melito's treatise on this day was designated *περὶ κυριακῆς* (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26); and Dionysius of Corinth also calls it by this name, *τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν*, as if it were the familiar title (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 23).

The insertion *ζωὴν* in the Greek text is condemned alike by the preponderance of authorities and by the following words *ἐν ᾗ κ.τ.λ.*

1. *ἀνέτειλεν*] For this metaphor comp. *Rom.* 2, where again it is applied to the resurrection from the dead.

ὅν] i.e. *τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ*. The allusion is to Docetism, which denied the reality of our Lord's passion. See the note on § 8 *μυθεύμασιν κ.τ.λ.* for the connexion of this error with Judaism here, and the note on *Trall.* 9 for the Docetism assailed in these epistles generally. In a parallel passage, *Smyrn.* 5 *ὅν τινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἀρνοῦνται*, the relative refers to 'Jesus Christ,' and so it might be connected with *αὐτοῦ* here; but the meaning would hardly be so distinct, though the allusion to Docetism would still remain. The same will also be the allusion, if for *ὅν* we read *ὅ*, as some authorities suggest. In this case *ὅ* may be referred either (1) to the whole sentence *ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.*, the denial of this truth being involved in the denial of the reality of the passion and resurrection; or (2) to the words *τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ* alone. For this latter use of *ὅ* see *Trall.* 8 *ἐν πίστει ὅ ἐστιν σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου*, *Rom.* 7 *ἄρτον Θεοῦ ...ὅ ἐστιν σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*; and comp. Col. iii. 14, Eph. v. 5. See also below § 10, where the common text has *νέαν ζύμην ὅ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*.

2. *δι' οὗ μυστηρίου*] Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 455) quotes Justin *Dial.* 91 (p. 318) *οἱ ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τούτου τοῦ μυστηρίου* (sc. *τοῦ σταυροῦ*) *εἰς τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐτράπησαν κ.τ.λ.*, *ib.* 131 (p. 360) *οἵτινες διὰ τοῦ ἐξουθενημένου καὶ ὀνείδους μεστοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ σταυροῦ κληθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.*

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.] This sentence as far as *διδασκάλου ἡμῶν* is parenthetical, and *διὰ τοῦτο* is perhaps best connected with the following *ἵνα* (see the note on *Ephes.* 17). The apodosis to *εἰ οὖν οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς κ.τ.λ.* at the opening of the section begins with *πῶς ἡμεῖς κ.τ.λ.*

3. *ὑπομένομεν*] i.e. '*we endure* persecution.' For this connexion between suffering and discipleship in the mind of Ignatius, see the note on *Ephes.* 1 *μαθητής*.

5. *χωρὶς αὐτοῦ*] This form of error was a separation from Christ in two ways; (1) In its Docetism it denied the reality of His death and resurrection, which are our true bond of union with Him; (2) In its Judaism

σόμεθα ζῆσαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ; οὗ καὶ οἱ προφῆται μαθηταὶ ὄντες τῷ πνεύματι ὡς διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν προσεδόκων. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὃν δικαίως ἀνέμενον, παρὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν.

Cat. in 1 Pet. iii. 19 sq; Land *Anecd.* I. 32); ὃν A. οἱ] Gg; om. Sev.
6 προσεδόκων] g Sev; προσεδόκουν G. 7 παρὼν] παρ ὧν (sic) G (not παρ' ὧν, as Dressel).

it substituted formal ordinances for God's grace, and so was a disavowal of any part in His redemption (see § 8 ὁμολογοῦμεν κ.τ.λ.).

6. τῷ πνεύματι] Zahn (comp. *I. v. A.* p. 462) attaches this to μαθηταὶ ὄντες; but the connexion with the following words seems more natural, as well as more consonant with 1 Pet. i. 11 ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, προμαρτυρόμενον κ.τ.λ.

ὡς διδάσκαλον κ.τ.λ.] For the sense in which the prophets expected Him as a teacher see the next note. The form προσεδόκων may be retained here, but προσεδόκουν will not alter the sense. I mention this, because Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 462) separates the two words, translating προσεδόκουν 'sie schienen ausserdem noch.' For προσδοκεῖν, as a later alternative form of προσδοκᾶν, see Dindorf in *Steph. Thes.* s. v.; and for the interchange of -εω and -αω generally in some early dialects, and in the later Greek, see Kühner § 251 (I. p. 606), Winer § xv. p. 104 (ed. Moulton), A. Buttmann pp. 38, 50.

7. δικαίως] '*rightly*,' not '*righteously*'; see the note on *Ephes.* 15.

παρὼν ἤγειρεν κ.τ.λ.] '*He came and raised them.*' This refers to the *descensus ad inferos*, which occupied a prominent place in the belief of the early Church. Here our Lord is assumed to have visited (παρὼν) the souls of the patriarchs and prophets in Hades, to have taught them (ὡς διδάσκαλον κ.τ.λ.) the truths of the Gospel, and to have raised them (ἤγειρεν) either to paradise or to heaven; see *Philad.* 9 αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς δι' ἧς εἰσέρχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ οἱ προφῆται κ.τ.λ., comp. *ib.* 5 ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες (sc. οἱ προφῆται) ἐσώθησαν, with the note. I have already pointed out (see the note on § 8 ἐμπνεόμενοι) that the functions assigned to the prophets by Ignatius strongly resemble the representations in S. Peter; and this reference to the descent into Hades also has its parallel in 1 Pet. iii. 19, iv. 6. Other passages in the N. T. which have been thought to refer to it are Ephes. iv. 9, Heb. xii. 23. This belief appears in various forms in early Christian writers. Justin *Dial.* 72 (p. 298) quotes a passage from Jeremiah, Ἐμνήσθη δὲ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ (l. ἅγιος with Iren.) Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ. He says that the Jews had cut out this passage from their copies; and it does not appear in extant MSS of the LXX. What may have been its history we cannot say; but Irenæus quotes it several times (once as from Isaiah, once as from Jeremiah, and in other passages anonymously) and applies it to the descent into Hades;

X. *Μὴ οὖν ἀναισθητῶμεν τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ. ἂν γὰρ ἡμᾶς μιμήσηται καθὰ πράσσομεν, οὐκέτι ἐσμέν. διὰ τοῦτο, μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι, μάθωμεν κατὰ χριστιανισμὸν ζῆν. ὃς γὰρ ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται πλέον*

1 ἀναισθητῶμεν] G; *non sentiamus* L; ἀναίσθητοι ὦμεν g; al. A. χρηστότητος] χριστότητος G. 2 ἂν γὰρ] G; ἐὰν (om. γὰρ) g; *si enim* L; al. A. ἡμᾶς μιμήσηται] ἡμᾶς μιμήσεται G; *nos persequatur* L; μιμήσηται ἡμᾶς g. πράσ-

see iii. 20. 4, iv. 22. 1, iv. 33. 1, 12, v. 31. 1. In the last passage he writes 'tribus diebus conversatus est ubi erant mortui, quemadmodum propheta ait de eo *Commemoratus est Dominus* etc.' He also relates (iv. 27. 2) a discourse which he had heard from an elder who had known personal disciples of the Lord, and who stated 'Dominum in ea quae sunt sub terra descendisse, evangelizantem et illis adventum suum, remissione peccatorum existente his qui credunt in eum: crediderunt autem in eum omnes qui sperabant in eum, id est, qui adventum ejus praenuntiaverunt...justi et prophetae et patriarchae etc.' So too Tertullian *de Anim.* 55 'descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic patriarchas et prophetas compotes sui faceret,' speaking of the three days between the death and the resurrection (comp. *ib.* § 7). Hermas makes the Apostles and first teachers of the Gospel preach to the souls in Hades, *Sim.* ix. 16 *οὗτοι οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ...ἐκήρυξαν καὶ τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις...ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προκεκοιμημένοι* κ.τ.λ. These *προκεκοιμημένοι* have been described before (§ 15) as the prophets and ministers of God, as well as the first two generations of mankind which preceded them. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* ii. 9 (p. 452), quoting this passage of Hermas, explains it as including righteous heathens as well as Jews; but Hermas himself gives no hint whether he contemplated this extended application or not. In a later passage, *Strom.* vi. 6 (p. 763), Clement refers back to his second book, as having shown there that 'the Apostles, following the Lord, preached the Gospel to those in Hades'; and he maintains that, as our Lord preached there to the Jews, so the Apostles addressed themselves to the righteous heathen, referring again to the passage in the Shepherd. Somewhat similarly Hippolytus *de Antichr.* 45 (p. 22, Lagarde) makes John the Baptist after his death preach to those in Hades, as a forerunner of Christ, *σημαίνειν μέλλων κἀκεῖσε κατελεύσεσθαι τὸν σωτῆρα λυτρούμενον τὰς ἁγίων ψυχὰς* κ.τ.λ.; and so too Origen *in Luc. Hom.* iv. (III. p. 917), *in Ioann.* ii. § 30 (IV. p. 91). Even Marcion accepted the descent of Christ into Hades, though (unless he is misrepresented) he maintained that the righteous men and prophets under the old dispensation, as being subjects of the Demiurge, refused to listen to His preaching, and that only such persons as Cain and the other wicked characters of the Old Testament listened and were saved: Iren. i. 27. 3, Theodt. *H. F.* i. 24; see Zahn *Der Hirt des Hermas* p. 425 sq. If this be so, it is a speaking testimony to the hold which the belief

τούτου, οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. ὑπέρθεσθε οὖν τὴν κακὴν ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν καὶ ἐνοξίσασαν, καὶ μεταβάλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

σομεν] g; πράσσωμεν G. 4 ὅς] Gg; ὅστις Dam-Rup 6. γὰρ] G Dam-Rup; add. ἂν g. πλέον] G; πλεῖον g Dam-Rup. 5 οὐκ] GL Dam-Rup; præf. οὗτος gA. 6 μεταβάλεσθε] G; μεταβάλλεσθε g. 7 ὅς] *qui* L; ὅ G; dub. A; al. g: see the lower note.

had on men's minds. For the opinion of the later fathers on this subject see Pearson *Exposition of the Creed* Art. 5. This belief was sometimes connected with the incident related in Matt. xxvii. 52 πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθησαν κ.τ.λ.; e.g. by Euseb. *Dem. Ev.* x. 8 (p. 501), and by Severus (Land *Anecd. Syr.* i. p. 33) commenting on this passage of Ignatius.

X. 'Let us not be insensible to His goodness. If He were to treat us, as we treat Him, we should indeed be lost. Therefore, as His disciples, let us learn to live Christian lives. He who is called by any other name than Christ's, is not of God. Put away the sour and stale leaven of Judaism, and replace it with the new leaven of Christ. Be ye salted in Him, that ye may escape corruption. It is monstrous to name the name of Christ and to follow Judaism. Christianity did not believe in Judaism, but Judaism in Christianity, wherein all nations and tongues were gathered unto God.'

1. ἀναισθητῶμεν] '*be insensible to.*' This verb not uncommonly takes a genitive; e.g. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5. 8, *B. J.* iv. 3. 10, Plut. *Mor.* p. 1062 C, Athenag. *Suppl.* 15. The word is at least as old as Epicurus, Plut. *Mor.* p. 1103 D.

τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ] The substitution of Judaism for Christianity was a rejection of God's χάρις, a denial of Christ's work; see above § 8.

2. ἂν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'if He should treat us with the same scorn and defiance with which we treat Him'; comp. 2 Sam. xxii. 26, 27 (Ps. xviii. 25, 26).

4. πλέον τούτου] '*beyond this*,' i.e. τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ. Or is it τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ? For πλέον see *Polyc.* 5.

5. ὑπέρθεσθε] '*dispense with*,' literally '*defer*', and so postpone *sine die*. The word is used somewhat similarly in Prov. xv. 22.

6. ζύμην κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. v. 7 ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην κ.τ.λ.; comp. *Clem. Hom.* viii. 17 ὁ Θεὸς αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ κακὴν ζύμην ἐξελεῖν ἐβούλετο. On the metaphor generally see the note *Galatians* v. 9.

παλαιωθεῖσαν] Not simply παλαιάν. See Heb. viii. 13 for this 'antiquation' of the Judaic law and ritual.

ἐνοξίσασαν] '*which has gone sour.*' No other instance of the word is given in the lexicons, though ὀξίζω and παροξίζω occur elsewhere.

7. ὅς] I have preferred this to ὅ, because it accords with the writer's idiom elsewhere in this epistle, § 15 ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; see also the note on § 7. On the other hand, ὅ might stand, and be referred to *νέαν ζύμην*. For this use of the neuter relative see the note on § 9. The Gospel is spoken of as leaven in the parable, Matt. xiii. 33, Luke xiii. 21.

ἁλίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ διαφθαρῇ τις ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς ἐλεγχθήσεσθε. ἄτοπόν ἐστιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λαλεῖν καὶ ἰουδαΐζειν. ὁ γὰρ χριστιανισμὸς οὐκ εἰς ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλ' ἰουδαϊσμὸς εἰς χριστιανισμόν, ᾧ πᾶσα γλῶσσα πιστεύσασα εἰς Θεὸν συνήχθη.

1 ἁλίσθητε] GL*; *conjungamini* (giving a wrong sense to the ambiguous ἁλισθῆτε) A; αὐλίσθητε g. τις] GL; τι A; al. g. 2 ὀσμῆς] *odore* L; *spiritu* (a confusion of the Syriac רוחא *spiritus* and ריחא *odor*) A; ὀρμῆς G; al. g. Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν] gLA; χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν G.
5 ᾧ...συνήχθη] *in quo omnis qui credidit ad deum congregatus est* S_2; *et omnis*

1. ἁλίσθητε] '*be ye salted.*' Here again is an allusion to another metaphor in the Gospel parables, Matt. v. 13, Mark ix. 50, Luke xiv. 34; see the note on Col. iv. 6. There is a possible reference to the injunction of the law, Lev. ii. 13 πᾶν δῶρον θυσίας ὑμῶν ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται. The metaphor is carried out in διαφθαρῇ 'putrefy,' as well as in ὀσμῆς.

2. τῆς ὀσμῆς] Comp. *Ephes.* 17 δυσωδίαν τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου with the note.

3. λαλεῖν] '*to profess.*' For the expression λαλεῖν Ἰ. Χ. see the note on *Ephes.* 6. For the whole sentiment of the contradiction between Jesus Christ and Judaism see *Philad.* 6.

ὁ γὰρ χριστιανισμὸς] The word occurs again *Rom.* 3 (v. l.), *Philad.* 6; see *Mart. Polyc.* 10, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 1 (p. 829). The word χριστιανός first arose at Antioch (Acts xi. 26), but at what date we are not told. About A.D. 60 it is represented as used by Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 28: and at the time of the Neronian persecution (A.D. 64) it was already a common designation of the believers; 1 Pet. iv. 16, Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44 'quos per flagitia invisos *vulgus Christianos appellabat*,' Suet. *Ner.* 16. The derived verb χριστιανίζειν, after the analogy of πυθαγορίζειν, ἰουδαΐζειν, etc., would be coined soon after as a matter of course, to designate the peculiarities of the new sect, and with it the substantive χριστιανισμός. But these epistles furnish the earliest extant example of its use. In the New Testament the word 'Christian' is still more or less a term of reproach; in the age of Ignatius it has become a title of honour: see above § 4, *Ephes.* 11, 14 (v. l.), *Rom.* 3, *Polyc.* 7 (comp. *Trall.* 6).

5. ᾧ] Governed by πιστεύσασα. This correction of the existing Greek text ὡς is required by the sense and justified by the authorities. On the other hand Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 429, and here) reads εἰς ὅν with the interpolator; but this reading must, I think, be regarded as a paraphrase of the interpolator after his usual manner.

πᾶσα γλῶσσα] i.e. 'not Jews only, but every race upon earth.' It was therefore a larger and better dispensation than Judaism; and it approved itself as the true fulfilment of the prophecy which declared that all nations and tongues should be gathered to God; Is. lxvi. 18 συναγαγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς γλώσσας (comp. xlv. 22, 23, Zach. viii. 23). The language of Ignatius is some-

XI. Ταῦτα δέ, ἀγαπητοί μου, οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνων τινὰς ἐξ ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' ὡς μικρότερος ὑμῶν θέλω προφυλάσσεσθαι ὑμᾶς μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ ἄγ-
10 κιστρα τῆς κενοδοξίας, ἀλλὰ πεπληροφόρησθε ἐν τῇ γεννήσει καὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ γενομένῃ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου· πραχθέντα

qui credit in eum ad deum congregatur A; ὡς...συνήχθη G; *ut...congregaretur* L*. In g the passage runs εἰς ὃν πᾶν ἔθνος πιστεῦσαν καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογησαμένη εἰς θεὸν συνήχθη. 7 ἐπεὶ ἔγνων] GLS$_4$A; ἐπέγνων g. 9 προφυλάσσεσθαι] προφυλάσσεσθε G. 10 πεπληροφόρησθε] g (app., but with vv. ll.); πεπληροφορεῖσθαι G; *ut certificemini* S$_4$; *corroborati-estote* A; *certificemini* L.

what hyperbolical as applied to his own time, but not more so than some expressions of S. Paul; e.g. Rom. i. 8, Col. i. 6, 23. Compare the language of Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 117, p. 345), and of Irenæus (i. 10. 2), regarding the spread of the Church in their own times respectively.

XI. 'I say this, not because I know that you have already fallen into error, but because I wish you to be forewarned against the wiles of heresy. Have a firm belief in the Incarnation, the Passion, the Resurrection of Christ. These things are no delusive phantoms, but real facts. Let no one divert you from your hope.'

7. Ταῦτα δέ] sc. λέγω. For the ellipsis and the sentiment alike comp. *Trall.* 8 Οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνων κ.τ.λ., where still more is left to be understood. It would be possible to treat the sentence here as complete, by making ταῦτα the accusative after προφυλάσσεσθαι; but the antithesis of the clauses would thus be destroyed. For the sentiment see also *Smyrn.* 4. Comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 11 'Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis vel audivi.'

8. ὡς μικρότερος ὑμῶν] i.e. 'as one who has no right to dictate to you'; comp. *Ephes.* 3 (with the note). For other expressions of self-depreciation see the note on *Ephes.* 21 τῶν ἐκεῖ.

9. προφυλάσσεσθαι] '*should be on your guard beforehand.*' So the active προφυλάσσω ὑμᾶς, *Trall.* 8, *Smyrn.* 4. Similarly ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς *Philad.* 5.

10. κενοδοξίας] '*foolish opinion.*' The word has two senses (1) 'vain-glory,' as in Phil. ii. 3 (comp. κενόδοξος, Gal. v. 26), Clem. Rom. 35, *Philad.* 1, and so most frequently; (2) 'vain opinion,' 'error,' as Wisd. xiv. 14, Clem. Al. *Protr.* 5 (p. 55) φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὴν κενοδοξίας ἕνεκεν ἀνειδωλοποιοῦσαν τὴν ὕλην, and so here. This latter sense is commonly overlooked in the lexicons.

πεπληροφόρησθε] '*be ye fully persuaded,*' the imperative. For this sense of the word, and for the construction πληροφορεῖσθαι ἐν 'to be convinced *of* a thing,' see the note *Colossians* iv. 12.

τῇ γεννήσει] On the Docetism which denied the reality of the human body of our Lord, and therefore of His Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection, see the note on *Trall.* 9.

12. Ποντίου Πιλάτου] So again *Trall.* 9, *Smyrn.* 1. In all these places the specification of the date is in-

ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἧς ἐκτραπῆναι μηδενὶ ὑμῶν γένοιτο.

XII. Ὀναίμην ὑμῶν κατὰ πάντα, ε�άνπερ ἄξιος ὦ. εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι, πρὸς ἕνα τῶν λελυμένων ὑμῶν οὐκ εἰμί. οἶδα ὅτι οὐ φυσιοῦσθε· Ἰησοῦν γὰρ Χριστὸν ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅταν ἐπαινῶ ὑμᾶς, οἶδα

2 ὑμῶν] GL; ἡμῶν Ag* (but with a v. l.). γένοιτο] G; γένηται g. 3 Ὀναίμην] ὠναίμην G. 5 Χριστὸν] GLA; om. g. 7 γέγραπται ὅτι] GLA; γέγραπται (om. ὅτι) g. ὁ] G; om. g. 9 σπουδάζετε] G; σπουδά-

tended to emphasize the reality of the occurrence. The chief motive for the insertion of the name in the Apostles' Creed was probably the same; see Pearson *On the Creed* Art. iv. p. 371 (ed. Chevallier). The mention of 'Pontius Pilate' in connexion with the crucifixion in early Christian writings is of constant occurrence, e.g. 1 Tim. vi. 13, Justin *Apol.* i. 13 (p. 60), *Dial.* 30 (p. 247); and probably we owe to the prominence thus given to the name among the Christians themselves the fact that he is so mentioned also by Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 44.

πραχθέντα] '*things done.*' The accusative may be regarded as standing in apposition with the object involved in the preceding words, which are equivalent to ἐν τῷ γεννηθῆναι καὶ παθεῖν κ.τ.λ. For various loose constructions of the accusative participle, see Kühner II. pp. 646 sq, 667 sq, Winer § xxxii. p. 290, lix. p. 669. The participle, thus isolated, emphasizes the reality of the events.

1. ἀληθῶς] See the note on *Trall.* 9.

τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν] As in *Trall.* inscr., 2. So also 1 Tim. i. 1. Comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 8 προσκαρτερῶμεν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν...ὅς ἐστιν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς. For the longer expression ἡ κοινὴ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν see the note on *Ephes.* 1.

XII. 'May I have comfort in you, if I am found worthy. For although I am bound, I do not compare myself with any of you who are free. I know that ye are not puffed up: for ye have Jesus Christ in you. Nay, my praise will only fill you with shame, for *The righteous man is his own accuser.*'

3. ὀναίμην κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 2, where the whole clause occurs, as here.

4. εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι] i.e. 'notwithstanding the dignity conferred on me by my bonds.' See the note on *Ephes.* 3, where the same phrase occurs.

πρὸς ἕνα κ.τ.λ.] '*I am not comparable to one of you who are free from bonds.*' For this sense of πρὸς see Kühner § 441 (II. p. 450); comp. e.g. Herod. ii. 35 ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώρην (i.e. 'in comparison with any country'), Plat. *Prot.* 328 C οἱ Πολυκλείτου υἱεῖς... οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰσί, Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 52 μηδαμοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι πρὸς ἑαυτόν, Demosth. *Symm.* p. 185 ἐν ταύτῃ χρήματ' ἔνεστιν...πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς ἄλλας...πόλεις.

5. φυσιοῦσθε] *Trall.* 4, 7, *Smyrn.* 6, *Polyc.* 4. So too 1 Cor. iv. 6, 18, 19, v. 2, viii. 1, xiii. 4, Col. ii. 18; comp. φυσίωσις 2 Cor. xii. 20. The word

ὅτι ἐντρέπεσθε· ὡς γέγραπται ὅτι ὁ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟΣ.

XIII. Σπουδάζετε οὖν βεβαιωθῆναι ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἵνα ΠΑΝΤΑ ὅΣΑ ΠΟΙΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΤΕΥΟΔΩΘΗΤΕ σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι, πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν πνεύματι, ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ

σατε g. 11 ποιεῖτε] g; ποιῆτε G. κατευοδωθῆτε] G; κατευοδωθήσεται g*; *prosperentur* L; *spendeatis* A (תצמחון *splendeatis* for תצלחון *prosperemini*; see Petermann). σαρκὶ] txt G[L][A]; add. τε g. For L see the note on *Trall.* 9. 12 ἐν πνεύματι] GL* (but add. *sancto* L_2); add. ἁγίῳ A; def. g.

is confined to S. Paul in the N.T.

Ἰησοῦν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. xiii. 5 Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν, εἰ μή τι ἀδόκιμοί ἐστε. They were χριστοφόροι (*Ephes.* 9). Thus bearing Christ, they bore the mind of Christ, which was ταπεινοφροσύνη (comp. Phil. ii. 5 sq).

7. δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX of Prov. xviii. 17. In the Hebrew however the sense is quite different; 'The first man is upright in his suit; then cometh his neighbour and searcheth him out.' In other words it is necessary to hear both sides of a case (see Delitzsch *ad loc.*). In the LXX the subject and predicate of the first clause are transposed, and it is rendered Δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορος ἐν πρωτολογίᾳ.

XIII. 'Stand fast therefore in the ordinances of the Lord and His Apostles, that ye may be prosperous in all things, with your bishop, presbyters, and deacons. Submit yourselves to your bishop and to one another, as Jesus Christ submitted to the Father, and the Apostles to Jesus Christ and the Father, that there may be unity of flesh and spirit.'

9. τοῖς δόγμασιν] '*precepts*,' i.e. 'authoritative sayings': see the note on *Colossians* ii. 14. For one half of the phrase comp. Barnab. 1 τρία οὖν δόγματά ἐστιν Κυρίου, and for the other Acts xvi. 4 τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων.

11. κατευοδωθῆτε] '*ye may be prospered*,' an adapted quotation from Psalm i. 3 πάντα ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ κατευοδωθήσεται, where this prosperity is promised to those who take pleasure ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Κυρίου. The compound κατευοδοῦν is not uncommon in the LXX, and the simple word εὐοδοῦν occurs four times in the N. T. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 434, and here) reads κατευοδωθῇ after the Latin version *prosperentur*; but I suspect that the Latin translator had κατευοδωθῆται in his text, which (overlooking the itacism) he carelessly rendered in this way, as if it were κατευοδωθῇ. The reminiscence of the Psalm in the Vulgate, which runs *omnia quaecunque faciet prosperabuntur*, and after which he has modelled the rest of the quotation, would assist his mistake. Zahn objects to the accusative after κατευοδοῦσθαι, but the Hebrew shows that this is most probably the construction in the Psalm: comp. also 1 Cor. xvi. 2 θησαυρίζων ὅ τι ἂν εὐοδῶται.

σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι] See the note on *Ephes.* 10.

12. ἐν υἱῷ κ.τ.λ.] The order is the same as in 2 Cor. xiii. 13. It is moreover a natural sequence. Through

ἐν τέλει, μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἀξιοπλόκου πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν διακόνων. ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ [κατὰ σάρκα] καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῷ πατρί, ἵνα ἕνωσις ᾖ σαρκική τε καὶ πνευματική.

XIV. Εἰδὼς ὅτι Θεοῦ γέμετε, συντόμως παρεκά-

2 ἀξιοπλόκου] txt GL; ἀξιοπλόκου καὶ g; om. A. 4 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς] GLA; ὁ χριστὸς [g]. 5 κατὰ σάρκα] GL; om. A[g] (but g also omits several words which follow, app. owing to the homœoteleuton τῷ πατρὶ): see the lower note. τῷ Χριστῷ] GL; *iesu christo* A; def. g. καὶ τῷ πατρὶ] txt A; add. καὶ τῷ πνεύματι GL: def. g (if the lacuna in g is owing to homœoteleuton, it is evidence against καὶ τῷ πνεύματι). 7 συντόμως GLg; *cum*

the *Son* is the way to the *Father* (Joh. xiv. 6): this union with the Father through the Son is a communion in the *Spirit*.

1. ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου] See the note on *Rom.* inscr.

2. στεφάνου] Like the Latin 'corona,' of an encircling attendance; comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 28, where the presbyters are called σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στέφανος. In the primitive assemblies of the Christians the bishop would sit in the centre, surrounded by his presbyters; see the note on § 6 συνέδριον. This sense of στέφανος may be illustrated by such passages as e.g. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 736 πάντη γάρ σε περὶ στέφανος πολέμοιο δέδηεν, Plut. *Mor.* 228 E πόλιν ἥτις ἀνδράσι καὶ οὐ πλίνθοις ἐστεφάνωται, 'which has its crown, its circlet, not of towers, but of men.' The epithet ἀξιόπλοκος, 'worthily-woven,' carries out the metaphor of στέφανος, for πλέκειν στέφανον is a common expression, e.g. Matt. xxvii. 29, etc.

3. κατὰ Θεὸν] See the note on § 1 above.

τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. v. 5 νεώτεροι ὑποτάγητε πρεσβυτέροις, πάντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις, Ephes. v. 21 ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις: comp. Clem. Rom. 38.

5. κατὰ σάρκα] These words, if genuine, would expressly limit the subordination of the Son to His human nature; see Rothe *Anfänge* p. 754. But their absence in some authorities seems to show that they are no part of the original text.

καὶ τῷ πατρί] I have struck out the addition καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, which appears in the common texts, as suspicious in itself, and as wanting in one important authority. It would easily be suggested by the previous mention of the three Persons of the Trinity, ἐν υἱῷ κ.τ.λ. On the other hand its omission might be accounted for by a homœoteleuton $\overline{\text{πρι}}$ and $\overline{\text{πνι}}$, which are constantly confused: see note on *Smyrn.* 13.

6. σαρκική τε κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 10. Comp. Ephes. iv. 4 ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα.

XIV. 'I am brief in my exhortations, for I know that ye are full of God. Remember me in your prayers, as also the Syrian Church. I have need of your united aid, that the Church in Syria may be refreshed

λεσα ὑμᾶς. μνημονεύετέ μου ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν, ἵνα Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, καὶ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ὅθεν οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι καλεῖσθαι. ἐπιδέομαι γὰρ τῆς ἡνωμένης ὑμῶν ἐν Θεῷ προσευχῆς καὶ ἀγάπης εἰς τὸ ἀξιωθῆναι τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τῆς ἐκτενείας ὑμῶν δροσισθῆναι.

XV. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Ἐφέσιοι ἀπὸ Σμύρνης, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, παρόντες εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ

fiducia (συντόνως?) A. παρεκάλεσα] g; *deprecatus sum* L; *peto* A; παρεκέλευσα G. 10 καλεῖσθαι] καλεῖσθε G. 12 ἐκτενείας] see below; ἐκκλησίας GL; εὐταξίας [g]. In A the sentence runs *digna fiat et ecclesia syriae ut stillent in ea preces vestrae et firmitas.*

by your fervent supplications.'

7. Θεοῦ γέμετε] They are θεοφόροι in the fullest sense: comp. *Ephes.* 8 ὅλοι ὄντες Θεοῦ. So Virgil's 'plena deo.'

παρεκάλεσα] A common word in Ignatius, more especially in the same connexion as here, e.g. *Trall.* 6, *Polyc.* 7, etc. On the other hand παρακελεύειν does not occur elsewhere in this writer or in the N. T.

9. Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω] On this phrase see the note § 1 above.

τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας] See the note on *Ephes.* 21 προσεύχεσθε.

ὅθεν οὐκ ἄξιός κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 21 τῶν ἐκεῖ.

12. ἐκτενείας] '*fervency, urgency.*' I have ventured on this emendation for ἐκκλησίας, as it is suggested by the Armenian Version. The interpolator's εὐταξίας may be explained as the substitution of a simple for a difficult or illegible word, according to his common practice. For the connexion of ἐκτενής, ἐκτενῶς, ἐκτένεια, with prayer comp. Joel i. 14, Jonah iii. 8, Judith iv. 9, 12, Luke xxii. 44, Acts xii. 5, xxvi. 7, Clem. Rom. 34, 59, Ps-Ign. *Ephes.* 10. For the supplication called ἐκτενής in the Greek ritual see *Clement of Rome* p. 270. See esp. Ps-Ign. *Philipp.* 14 αἱ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ἐκταθείησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἐκκλησίαν ὅθεν κ.τ.λ., which would seem to be taken from this passage. The confusion between ΕΚΤΕΝΕΙΑC and ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑC would be easy, where ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑΝ had almost immediately preceded. The purists condemned these words ἐκτενῶς, ἐκτένεια, etc.: see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 311.

δροσισθῆναι] Pearson compares Clem. Al. *Paed.* ii. 10 (p. 232) πόα ἡμεῖς οἱ τῇ χάριτι δρυσιζόμενοι τοῦ Θεοῦ. The metaphor of course is much older; Deut. xxxii. 2, Prov. xix. 12, etc.

XV. 'Greeting from the Ephesians who are in Smyrna. Like your own delegates, they have refreshed me greatly. Polycarp joins in the greeting. So also do the other churches. Farewell; be of one mind; be steadfast in spirit; for this is Jesus Christ Himself.'

13. Ἔφέσιοι] For these Ephesian delegates who were with Ignatius, see *Ephes.* 1, 2 (with the notes).

14. εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ] So too *Rom.* 10; comp. *Ephes.* 13, *Polyc.* 4. A more common expression in Ignatius is εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ; see the note on *Ephes.* 21.

ὑμεῖς, οἳ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσαν, ἅμα Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σμυρναίων. καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι ἐν τιμῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς. ἔρρωσθε ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ, κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον πνεῦμα, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. 5

1 ἀνέπαυσαν] GLA; ἀνεπαύσατε g. 2 ἐπισκόπῳ Σμυρναίων] GLA; om. g. 4 Θεοῦ] GLA; om. g. ἀδιάκριτον] gLA (the order being πνεῦμα κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον in g); διάκριτον G. 5 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός] txt GL; al. g; add. *valete fratres; amen* A.

For the subscription of G see the title to Philadelphians. LA have no subscription. For g see the Appx.

ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς] sc. πάρεστε. The Magnesians were present in the persons of their representatives mentioned above, § 2.

1. κατὰ πάντα κ.τ.λ.] For this favourite Ignatian phrase see the note on *Ephes.* 2.

ἅμα Πολυκάρπῳ] These words are perhaps better taken with ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς, than with the clause immediately preceding; comp. *Trall.* 13 ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη Σμυρναίων καὶ Ἐφεσίων.

2. αἱ λοιπαὶ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. through their representatives, who also were with him: comp. *Trall.* 12 ἅμα ταῖς συμπαρούσαις μοι ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ. The Trallians would be included among αἱ λοιπαὶ here; comp. *Trall.* 1.

ἐν τιμῇ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'not the honour which is implied in the ordinary greetings of men, but the honour which belongs to the sphere of, which springs from, Jesus Christ.' Thus it is a fuller phrase for ἀσπάζεσθαι ἐν Κυρίῳ (e.g. 1 Cor. xvi. 19).

3. ἔρρωσθε] See the note *Ephes.* 21.

ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ] See above § 6 (note).

4. ἀδιάκριτον] '*unwavering, steadfast*'; comp. *Trall.* 1 ἄμωμον διάνοιαν καὶ ἀδιάκριτον, and see the note on *Ephes.* 3.

ὅς ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] See above § 7 (according to the reading adopted), and compare the still stronger expressions, *Trall.* 11 τοῦ Θεοῦ ἕνωσιν ἐπαγγελλομένου, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτός, *Ephes.* 14 τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἑνότητι γενόμενα Θεός ἐστιν. These parallels seem to show that the antecedent to ὅς is not ἀδιάκριτον πνεῦμα, but the whole sentence, more especially the exhortation to concord; since unity is the prominent idea in all these passages.

3.

TO THE TRALLIANS.

3.

TO THE TRALLIANS.

'AFTER leaving Magnesia the road leads to Tralles,' writes Strabo (xiv. 1, p. 648). Here again the route of the geographer accords with the sequence of the Ignatian letters (see above pp. 2, 97). As we have followed him from Ephesus to Magnesia, so now we follow him from Magnesia to Tralles. Magnesia is nearly equidistant between the two, being about fifteen miles from Ephesus, and about seventeen or eighteen from Tralles (Artemidorus in Strabo xiv. 2, p. 663, εἰς Τράλλεις ...εἶτ' εἰς Μαγνησίαν ἑκατὸν τετταράκοντα [στάδιοι], εἰς Ἔφεσον δ' ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, εἰς δὲ Σμύρναν τριακόσιοι εἴκοσιν). The road between Magnesia and Tralles runs from west to east on the right bank of the Mæander, having the mountain range of Messogis to the north, and the river and plain to the south; 'a broiling and dusty journey,' 'aestuosa et pulverulenta via,' as it is described by Cicero (*ad Att.* v. 14) who travelled along it in the latter part of July, on his way to his province —about the same time of the year (*Rom.* 10) when the delegates of the churches must have been traversing it in the opposite direction to pay their respects to Ignatius. It is described by Artemidorus as 'a high-road trodden by all who make the journey from Ephesus to the East' (Strabo xiv. 2, p. 663, κοινή τις ὁδὸς τέτριπται ἅπασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἐξ Ἐφέσου). For a description of this road see Hamilton *Asia Minor* I. p. 533 sq.

The ancient city of Tralles was situated on the right bank of the river, at some distance from it, and occupied a square or oblong plateau with steep sides, a prolongation of the hills which jut out from the main range of Messogis. It thus formed a strong natural fortress (Strabo xiv. 1, p. 648, ἵδρυται δ' ἡ μὲν τῶν Τραλλιανῶν πόλις ἐπὶ τραπεζίου τινὸς ἄκραν ἔχοντος ἐρυμνὴν καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ δ' ἱκανῶς εὐερκῆ). It

is said to have owed its origin and its name to a colony of the Thracian Trallians (Strabo *l. c.* p. 649). Its modern representative is Güzel-Hissar or the Beautiful Castle, also designated Aidin from the province of which it is the capital, to distinguish it from other places which have the same name. Aidin Güzel-Hissar, which lies on the lower ground at the foot of the ancient city, is a large and flourishing town with a population variously estimated at from thirty-five or forty to sixty thousand people. It is the terminus of the Smyrna railway, and stands in the centre of a very fertile district, which has been described as the orchard of Asia Minor. Among its chief products now, as in ancient times (Athen. iii. p. 80), are figs and raisins for the Smyrna market.

Owing to its natural advantages Tralles was always a wealthy place. Attalus, the Pergamene king, whose magnificence passed into a proverb (Hor. *Carm.* i. 1. 12), had a famous palace here (Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 49; see also the inscription on a coin, ΤΡΑΛ . ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ, Mionnet *Suppl.* VII. p. 460), which under the Romans became the official residence of the high-priest of Tralles for the time being (Vitruv. ii. 8; comp. Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2934 [ἀρ]χιερατεύοντος). Somewhat later Cicero, in his defence of Flaccus, describes this city as 'gravis locuples ornata civitas.' Denouncing an obscure person, one Mæandrius, who claimed to represent the Trallians in their complaints against his client, he asks what had become of the illustrious names among their citizens; 'Ubi erant illi Pythodori[1], Aetideni, Lepisones, ceteri homines apud nos noti, inter suos nobiles? ubi illa magnifica et gloriosa ostentatio civitatis?' If they are content to put forward such a mean representative, he adds, then let them abate their pride, 'remittant spiritus, comprimant animos suos, sedent arrogantiam' (*pro Flacc.* 22, 23). Some years later Strabo speaks of Tralles as surpassed by no other city of Asia in the opulence of its principal inhabitants (*l. c.* συνοικεῖται καλῶς εἴ τις ἄλλη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ εὐπόρων ἀνθρώπων), and in illustration of this fact he mentions that the Asiarchs or Presidents of the Games, who incurred great expenses in maintaining the splendour of their position, were constantly taken from its citizens. At the martyrdom of Polycarp the Asiarch Philippus, who presided, was a Trallian (*Mart. Polyc.* 12, 21). At the same time, while the chief citizens thus enjoyed high distinction at home, the lower population contributed to swell

[1] This Pythodorus is mentioned also by Strabo (xiv. 1, p. 649). He had amassed a 'princely fortune' (βασιλικὴν οὐσίαν) of more than 2000 talents, but unfortunately espoused the cause of Pompeius. Julius Cæsar stripped him of his wealth in consequence, but he succeeded in again amassing as large a fortune as he had thus lost. His daughter was Queen of Pontus when Strabo wrote.

the flood of greedy adventurers who sought their fortunes in the metropolis of the world and threatened to sweep away everything that was Roman in Rome (Juv. iii. 70). Altogether Tralles seems to have been a busy, thriving, purse-proud place, much given to display, and not altogether free from vulgarity. Cicero is not always as complimentary to this city, as it suited his purpose to be, when he was defending Flaccus[1].

When Cæsar landed in Asia after the battle of Pharsalia, the Trallians were not slow to pay their homage to success. A miracle sealed their allegiance. A statue of Cæsar had been erected in the temple of Victory at Tralles. A palm-tree shot up through the hard pavement at the base of the statue; and it is even said that the goddess herself turned round and looked upon the effigy of the conqueror (Caes. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 105, Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 47, Dion. Cass. xli. 61, Val. Max. i. 6. 12). Under Augustus, whom it regarded as its 'founder' (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* x. p. 516), the city took the name of Cæsarea. A boastful inscription speaks of it as 'the most splendid city of the Cæsarean Trallians' (Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2929 ἡ λαμπροτάτη Καισαρέων Τραλλιανῶν πόλις; comp. Lebas et Waddington *Inscr.* 600 a, *Papers of American School at Athens* I. pp. 94, 113, *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* x. p. 517). From this time forward till the end of the first Christian century the coins commonly bear the legend ΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩΝ . ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ, and sometimes even ΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩΝ alone (Mionnet IV. p. 181 sq, *Suppl.* VII. p. 462 sq; comp. Eckhel *Doctr. Num.* III. p. 125). This loyalty to the emperors brought its return to the Trallians. During the reign of Augustus (about B.C. 26—24) the city was visited by an earthquake, a catastrophe to which this region was and is especially liable. The earthquakes at Tralles play a prominent part in the Sibylline Oracles (iii. 459, v. 287). On this occasion the destruction which it caused was very considerable (Strabo xii. p. 579 τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ ἄλλα μέρη συνέπεσεν: Agathias ii. 17, p. 101, ἐσείσθη τε ἅπασα καὶ ἀνετράπη καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ὅ τι ἐσέσωστο: comp. *C. I. G.* 2923). The emperor however came to its relief and contributed largely to the rebuilding. It seems to have recovered rapidly from the effects of this calamity; for under Tiberius we find the Trallians competing with other great cities of Asia for the honour of erecting a temple to the emperor and senate, but they were passed over as *parum validi* (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 55)[2].

[1] 3 *Philipp.* 6 'Aricina mater. Trallianam aut Ephesiam putes dicere.' In the eyes of a Roman a small country-town like Aricia was far nobler than the most flourishing cities of Asia Minor, such as Tralles or Ephesus.

[2] The expression is commonly supposed to mean insufficient wealth, but

The patron deity of the city was Zeus (*C. I. G.* 2926 τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως...ἱερᾶς τοῦ Διός; comp. *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* x. p. 516) surnamed Larasius (Mionnet IV. pp. 179, 183, *Suppl.* VII. pp. 462, 465, etc., *Amer. School at Athens* I. pp. 110, 112; comp. *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* III. p. 468; comp. Waddington *Inscr.* 604), written also Larisius or Larisæus by Strabo (ix. p. 440, xiv. p. 649)—these latter modes of spelling being adopted apparently with a reference to tradition or the theory that Tralles was colonized from the Thessalian Larissa (Strabo ix. *l. c.* ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ Λαρίσιος Ζεὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπωνόμασται); and the high-priest already mentioned (p. 144) was doubtless the functionary of this god (Strabo xiv. *l. c.* ἔχων τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρισαίου). But besides Zeus, we read also of the worship of Demeter (*C. I. G.* 2937 ἱέρεια Δήμητρος), of Dionysus (*C. I. G.* 2919 Διονύσῳ Βακχίῳ τῷ δημοσίῳ; comp. *ib.* 2934), and of Æsculapius (Vitruv. vii. 1). Among the games celebrated at Tralles in honour of different deities are mentioned the Pythia (*C. I. G.* 2932, 2935, Mionnet IV. pp. 181, 192, 194; see Waddington *Inscr.* 598) and the Olympia (Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 14, 20, pp. 60, 70, Mionnet *ll. cc.* etc.), as well as those bearing the name of Hercules (*C. I. G.* 2936 εἰν ἀέθλοισιν ἀταρβέ[ος] Ἡρακλῆος; comp. *Amer. School at Athens* I. p. 110). The city boasted of several buildings, of whose architectural character notices have been preserved (Vitruv. ii. 8, v. 9, vii. 1, 4). Nor was it without distinction as the mother of famous men. Of orators, it boasted Dionysocles and Damasus who was nicknamed σκόμβρος (Strabo xiv. p. 649), both doubtless representatives of the affected and florid Asiatic style, for which indeed this city was famous (Cic. *Orator* 234 'quasi vero Trallianus fuerit Demosthenes'). It had also an illustrious school of physicians, of whom two are mentioned by name, Philippus and Thessalus (Galen *Op.* XIII. p. 105, XIV. p. 684; comp. *C. I. L.* I. 1256). At the time when Ignatius wrote, Tralles was represented in literature by a living writer, Phlegon, the freedman of Hadrian, whose works have partially survived the wreck of time (Müller *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* III. p. 603 sq), but whose fame

this interpretation may, I think, be questioned. When we read just below 'paulum addubitatum, quod Halicarnassii mille et ducentos per annos *nullo motu terrae* mutavisse sedes suas, *vivoque in saxo fundamenta templi* adseveraverant,' we are led to suspect that *parum validi* refers to the insecurity of the ground owing to earthquakes. Laodicea, which was also set aside on this occasion for the same reason as Tralles, is elsewhere commemorated for its wealth (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27, see *Colossians* pp. 6 sq, 43 sq); and Tralles itself must have been very flourishing at this time. On the other hand both localities were a prey to earthquakes.

chiefly rests on the fact that he is quoted by Christian writers as a heathen witness to the præternatural darkness which shrouded the Crucifixion (Müller *l. c.* p. 606 sq). At a much later date Tralles gave birth to an illustrious son, who has left to posterity a far more impressive memorial of himself than these third-rate literary efforts, Anthemius, the architect of S. Sophia at Constantinople (Procop. *de Ædif.* i. 1, p. 174 ed. Bonn.). Altogether Tralles was invested with sufficient interest in herself and her history to induce two authors at different times, Apollonius of the neighbouring Aphrodisias (Müller *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv. p. 310 Περὶ Τραλλέων) and Christodorus of the Egyptian Coptos (*ib.* p. 360 Πάτρια Τραλλέων), to take it as the subject of their writings.

Of the evangelization of Tralles no record is preserved[1]; but the hypothetical account which has been given of the foundation of the Church in Magnesia (p. 102) will probably hold good for this neighbouring city also. We can hardly doubt that it owed its first knowledge of the Gospel to the disciples of S. Paul. Lying on the high-road between Ephesus and Laodicea, where flourishing churches were established through the agency of this Apostle almost half a century before Ignatius wrote, Tralles would not have been allowed for any long time to remain ignorant of the Gospel. This epistle however contains the earliest notice of Christianity in connexion with Tralles.

'Sub idem fere tempus,' writes Livy, describing the Roman conquest of these regions (xxxvii. 45), 'et ab Trallibus et a Magnesia quae super Maeandrum est et ab Epheso legati...venerunt.' The words would apply equally well to the incidents of the Christian conquest. These same three cities sent their delegates to meet Ignatius at Smyrna; but, while Ephesus and Magnesia were each represented by several persons (see above pp. 15, 102), Tralles, as being more distant, was content with sending a single representative, its bishop Polybius (§ 1). At least no mention is made of any other name. The Epistle to the Trallians is written by the saint in grateful recognition of the attention thus shown to him through their bishop, whose grave and gentle demeanour he praises (§§ 1, 3).

The main purport of the letter is a warning against the poison of Docetism (§§ 6—11). As an antidote he recommends here, as else-

[1] The Greek books (Oct. 11) represent Philip the Evangelist, whom they identify with the Apostle, as the founder and first bishop of the Church of Tralles (Τράλλη, Menæa). The story has this slender foundation in fact, that a Philip, more probably however the Apostle than the Evangelist, resided in proconsular Asia; see *Colossians* p. 45 sq.

where, union among themselves, and submission to the bishop and other officers of the Church (§§ 2, 3, 7, 11, 12, 13). The denunciation of Docetism is fuller and more explicit in this than in any other of his letters. On the other hand no allusion is made to the Judaic side of the heresy; but a comparison with his language elsewhere shows these false teachers to have been Judaizers also (see the notes, *Magn.* 8, 9, 11, *Philad.* inscr., 5, 8, *Trall.* 9). He acquits the Trallians indeed of any complicity in this heresy hitherto, but he writes to put them on their guard (§ 8). Nor would the caution be unneeded. We might safely have assumed that in a busy thriving city like Tralles, situated in a district where Jews abounded (see *Colossians* p. 19 sq), there would be a considerable Jewish population which would act as a conductor to this heretical teaching, even if we had no direct information of the fact. A document published by Josephus however (*Ant.* xiv. 10. 20) mentions the opposition of the Trallians to an ordinance of the Roman governor giving permission to the Jews to keep their sabbaths and to celebrate other sacred rites without interruption; and, whether this document be genuine or not, it is satisfactory evidence of their presence in Tralles in considerable numbers before the age of Ignatius. The interest moreover which the Sibylline Oracles take in Tralles (see above p. 145) points in the same direction[1].

Tralles does not occupy any prominent place in the subsequent history of Christianity; but like Magnesia, it is represented from time to time at the great synods of the Church. At the Council of Ephesus the bishop of Tralles records his assent to the orthodox doctrine in explicit terms (Labb. *Conc.* III. p. 1024 sq, ed. Colet). He signs his name in a way which furnishes an instructive parallel to the opening of the Ignatian letters; Ἡρακλέων, ὁ καὶ Θεόφιλος, ἐπέγραψα (*ib.* p. 1080; comp. p. 1222, where the second name is written in Latin *Theophanius:* elsewhere he gives his first name only, III. pp. 996, 1024, IV. p. 1135). At a later meeting held at Ephesus, the notorious Robbers' Synod, A.D. 449, Maximus bishop of Tralles commits himself to the opinions of the majority and to the heresy of Eutyches (IV. p. 894, 1117, 1178, 1187); but he appears afterwards to have recanted, for his assent to the decrees of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) is attested in his absence by his metropolitan, the bishop of Ephesus (IV. p. 1503).

[1] May not the unidentified טרלוסא (Tarlusa or Tralusa), which is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud *Taanith* iv. 8, be our Tralles? The incident which took place at Tarlusa is elsewhere placed at לוד. May not this Lud be Lydia, rather than Lydda as Neubauer (*Géogr. du Talm.* pp. 80, 268) takes it? Tralles is sometimes spoken of as a Lydian city by classical writers.

Amongst the letters of remonstrance addressed to Peter the Fuller, and purporting to have been written a few years after the Council of Chalcedon, is one bearing the name of Asclepiades bishop of Tralles (v. p. 241 sq). At later Councils of the Church also bishops of Tralles were present.

The following is an *analysis* of the epistle.

'IGNATIUS to the CHURCH OF TRALLES, which has peace through the Passion of Christ, an apostolic and hearty greeting.'

'Polybius your bishop informed me of your blameless disposition. Seeing him, I seemed to see you all, and I glorified God for your kindness in sending him (§ 1). Be obedient to your bishop, if you would live after Christ. Submit also to the presbyters. The deacons too must strive to please all men and avoid offence (§ 2). Let all reverence the deacons in turn, as also the bishop and the presbyters. I am persuaded you do so; for I have received a token of your love in your bishop, whose gravity and gentleness must command the respect of all (§ 3). I fear lest I should fall through spiritual pride. I wish to suffer, but I know not whether I am worthy. I lack gentleness (§ 4). Though I could reveal the mysteries of the heavens, yet I forbear for your sakes. Notwithstanding my fetters and my knowledge of heavenly things, I am not yet a disciple (§ 5). I beseech you, touch not the rank weeds of heresy. The cup of poison is sweetened with honey to deceive you (§ 6). Shun these false teachers and cling to Christ and to your bishop. Whosoever stands aloof from the altar is not pure (§ 7). I say this by way of warning. Strengthen yourselves with faith and love, which are Christ's flesh and blood. Give no occasion to the heathen to blaspheme (§ 8). Turn a deaf ear to the seducer. Christ was truly born, truly lived, truly died, and truly rose again, even as He will truly raise us (§ 9). If all this had been mere semblance, as these men say, why am I in bonds? Why am I ready to fight with wild beasts (§ 10)? Avoid these rank growths which are not of the Father's planting. They are no true branches of the Cross. The head cannot exist without the members (§ 11).'

'I greet you from Smyrna. I appeal to you by my bonds; be united and submit to your bishop and presbyters. Pray for me that I may attain my desire (§ 12). The Smyrnæans and Ephesians greet you. Pray for the Church in Syria. Once more, be obedient to your bishop and presbyters. I am devoted to you. I am in peril now, but God will answer my prayer. May you be found blameless in Him (§ 13).'

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΥΣ.

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἠγαπημένῃ Θεῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐκκλησίᾳ ἁγίᾳ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Τράλλεσιν

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΥΣ] *τραλιανοῖς ἰγνάτιος* G (not written *τραλλιανοῖς*, as given by Dressel); *ignatius tralesiis* L*; *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τραλλησίους* (with the number *β* in the marg.) g* (but l has the form *ad trallianos*); *ad trallianos* A.

1 Θεῷ...Χριστοῦ] GL; *παρὰ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ* g; *a deo patre et*

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΥΣ] Steph. Byz. s. v. says of this city *τὸ ἐθνικὸν* Τραλλιανός, and the statement is fully confirmed by evidence of all kinds. It is the only form on the coins, even to the latest date (Mionnet IV. p. 178 sq, *Suppl.* VII. p. 439 sq). It alone occurs in inscriptions, whether Greek (*C.I.G.* 2926, 2929, 2935) or Latin (Orell. *Inscr.* 5298, 6232); nor does any other form appear to be found in any classical writer, either Greek or Latin. Boeckh indeed supposes that there was also a form Τραλλεῖς (*C.I.G.* II. p. 584, comp. III. p. 30), but his own data do not bear him out. The form Τραλλεῖς is indeed found elsewhere (see Schmidt-Alberti Hesych. *Lex.* IV. p. 168), but it refers to a Thracian people. So again Τράλλιοι occurs (see Steph. Byz. s. v. Τραλλία), but it denotes the inhabitants of the Bithynian town Trallium. Pearson again (*ad loc.*) is wrong in saying 'Cives etiam ab antiquis Latinis Tralles dicebantur, ut a Varrone apud Apuleium': Varro personifies the city Tralles itself, Apul. *Apol.* 42 'Trallibus de eventu Mithridatici belli magica percontatione consulentibus.' The word is most commonly spelled Τραλλιανός, but it occurs sometimes with a single λ; e.g. Mionnet IV. p. 187, *Suppl.* VII. p. 472. In the edict of Diocletian it is written indifferently Τραλλιανός and Τραλιανός, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* III. pp. 1191, 1193.

On the other hand there is the greatest variety in the title of this Ignatian Epistle. The Greek of the genuine Ignatius and the Latin of the interpolator have the common form Τραλιανοί, *Tralliani*; while conversely the Greek of the interpolator and the Latin of the genuine Ignatius read instead Τραλλήσιοι, *Tralesii*. Jerome again refers to it as *ad Trallenses* (*Vir. Ill.* 16); in the *Parall. Rupef.*, ascribed wrongly to John of Damascus (*Op.* II. p. 772, Lequien), it is entitled *πρὸς Τραλλαεῖς*; and in the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistle *Antioch.* 13 the form seems to be Τραλλαῖοι. Generally however the correct form is given. So for instance Theodt. *Dial.* I (IV. p. 51 ed. Schulze), *Chron. Pasch.* I. p. 417 (ed. Bonn.), Sever. Ant. *Fragm.* (preserv-

τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐκλεκτῇ καὶ ἀξιοθέῳ, εἰρηνευούσῃ ἐν σαρκὶ

domini nostri iesu christi A (where *et* seems to be the commencement of a correction, preparatory to substituting the commoner form *et domino nostro* etc., but not carried out). 2 Τράλλεσιν] g; τράλεσιν G; *tralesiis* L; *in tralliano* (from a nom. *trallianus*) A. 3 τῆς Ἀσίας] GL; *urbe asiae* A; om. g.

ed in the Syriac; see I. p. 171). So too the Greek translator of Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* l. c.). It is clearly also the form which underlies the Armenian title of the epistle. On the other hand the fragments of the Syriac Version (see III. pp. 678, 682) give ܛܝܛܠܝ, ܛܝܛܠܝ, 'Titiliyu.' These words are obviously corrupt; but possibly they stand for ܛܪܠܝ 'Tralliyu,' which cannot have been derived from Τραλλιανοί and might represent Τράλλιοι, but probably was invented by the Syriac transcriber or translator himself. These facts show that the present heading of the Greek Ignatius, Τραλλιανοῖς Ἰγνάτιος, is very much later than the epistle itself, and has no authority whatever. I have therefore substituted a title which conforms to the others.

IGNATIUS, called also Theophorus, to the CHURCH OF THE TRALLIANS, beloved of God, and having peace through the passion of Christ, hearty greeting after the Apostolic fashion.

1. Θεῷ πατρὶ] On this dative, which stands for ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πατρός but does not, like it, directly describe the agent, so much as the person interested, see Winer *Gramm.* § lxxxi. p. 274 (ed. Moulton), Kühner § 423 (II. p. 368 sq); comp. Neh. xiii. 26 ἀγαπώμενος τῷ Θεῷ.

2. ἐν Τράλλεσιν] The plural form Τράλλεις is by far the most common name of this city, not only in Greek, but also in Latin (e.g. Juv. *Sat.* iii. 70; Orell. *Inscr.* 321, quoted below; *C. I. L.* III. 144). Very rarely however the singular Τράλλις is found: e.g. *C. I. G.* 2936 πόλιος δ' ἐγέρηρέ με δῆμος Τράλλεος εἰν ἀέθλοισιν κ.τ.λ., Inscr. in Agath. *Hist.* ii. 17 (p. 102, ed. Bonn.) ὤρθωσε Τράλλιν τὰν τότε κεκλιμέναν, *Orac. Sib.* iii. 459 Τράλλις δ' ἡ γείτων Ἐφέσου, *ib.* v. 289 πολυήρατε Τράλλις (see *C. I. G.* II. pp. 557, 1119), comp. Bekker *Anecd.* p. 1193 Τράλλις, Τράλλιος: and so in Latin, Plin. *N. H.* v. 29.

3. τῆς Ἀσίας] The Roman province of 'Asia' is meant; comp. Orell. *Inscr.* 132 'Natus in egregiis Trallibus ex Asia,' Agath. *Hist.* ii. 17 (p. 100) Τράλλεις ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ νῦν καλουμένῃ χώρᾳ; comp. Strabo xiv. 1 (p. 649). It is therefore a political designation. Ethnographically or topographically, Tralles was assigned sometimes to Lydia (Steph. Byz. s. v.), sometimes to Caria (Plin. *N. H.* v. 29, Ptol. v. 2), sometimes to Ionia (Diod. Sic. xiv. 36, Mionnet *Suppl.* VII. p. 477). Probably this last was the designation which the Trallians most affected, as neither Lydians nor Carians stood in very high repute (Cic. *pro Flacc.* 27). For similar instances of various ethnological attributions in the case of towns in this neighbourhood see *Colossians* p. 17 sq. The addition τῆς Ἀσίας is not quite so superfluous here as in other cases (e.g. *Ephes.* inscr.; see the note there), since there were other places bearing similar or identical names, e.g. Τράλλης in Phrygia, Τράλλις in Caria, Τραλλία or Τράλλεις in Illyria; see Benseler-Pape *Wörterb. d. Griech. Eigenn.* s. vv. But our Tralles was far the most important of them all.

ἐκλεκτῇ] Used probably, as here, of

καὶ πνεύματι τῷ πάθει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναστάσει· ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτῆρι, καὶ εὔχομαι πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

1 πνεύματι] g; αἵματι GLA; see the lower note. τῷ πάθει] G; *et passione* L; ἐν πάθει [g] (the context being much altered); om. A.
5 ἀδιάκριτον] GL[A]; ἀνυπόκριτον g. 6 κατὰ φύσιν] GL; κατὰ

churches in 1 Pet. v. 13 (συνεκλεκτή), 2 Joh. 1, 13. So also ἐκλεκτοί, ἐκλεκτὸν γένος, of Christians generally, 1 Pet. i. 1, ii. 9. On this meaning of 'election,' as distinguished from its more restricted sense, see the note on *Colossians* iii. 12.

ἀξιωθέῳ] Like other compounds of ἄξιος, a favourite word with Ignatius; *Magn.* 2, *Rom.* inscr., 1, *Smyrn.* 12. In *Rom.* inscr. it is applied to a church as here; in all the other examples, to individuals.

ἐν σαρκὶ κ.τ.λ.] The existing Greek text ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι τῷ πάθει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ. can hardly stand; and I have thought it best to adopt from the interpolator's text πνεύματι for αἵματι. There is the same confusion of πνεύματι and αἵματι in the authorities in *Smyrn.* 3. With this reading we have the common Ignatian combination 'flesh and spirit'; see the note on *Ephes.* 10, and comp. especially the opening addresses in *Magn.* 1 ἕνωσιν εὔχομαι σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, *Rom.* inscr. κατὰ σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα ἡνωμένοις κ.τ.λ., *Smyrn.* 1 καθηλωμένους ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ...σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι.

The alternative would be to omit τῷ πάθει, as a gloss. To this mode of remedy the Armenian Version gives countenance. In this case the passage might be compared especially with *Philad.* inscr. ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Smyrn.* 1 ἡδρασμένους ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ αἵματι Χριστοῦ. The sentence would then be directed against Docetic error, and would signify 'reposing peacefully in the belief in and union with a truly incarnate Christ'; comp. *Smyrn.* 3 κραθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ αἵματι (v. l.).

1. τῷ πάθει] '*through the passion.*' For the prominence given to the work of the Passion in these epistles, see the note on *Ephes.* inscr. ἡνωμένῃ καὶ ἐκλελεγμένῃ ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ.

τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν] See the note on *Magn.* 11.

2. ἐν τῇ κ.τ.λ.] To be connected closely with τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν. These words define *wherein* Jesus Christ is the Christian's hope.

ἐν τῷ πληρώματι] '*in the pleroma,*' the sphere of the Divine graces. It is no mundane salutation which the writer sends; see the note on *Magn.* 15 ἐν τιμῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. For the sense of πλήρωμα see the note on *Ephes.* inscr. Other explanations, such as 'in the whole body of the Trallian Church' (Smith *ad loc.*), or 'in the plenitude of Apostolic power' (Bunsen *Br.* p. 139, interpreting it by what follows), or 'in the fulness of Christian good wishes' (Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 416), seem to be excluded by the use of the word or by the grammar of the sentence.

3. ἐν ἀποστολικῷ κ.τ.λ.] '*after the manner of the Apostles.*' It is a salutation which followed the precedent set in the Apostolic epistles. Another interpretation is 'in my Apostolic character or office' e.g. Vedel. *ad*

I. Ἄμωμον διάνοιαν καὶ ἀδιάκριτον ἐν ὑπομονῇ ἔγνων ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας, οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν· καθὼς ἐδήλωσέν μοι Πολύβιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῶν, ὃς παρεγένετο θελήματι Θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν

κτῆσιν g; *sagaci sapientia* A. 7 μοι] GLA; om. g* (MSS, but ins. l). 8 Θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GL; *domini nostri iesu christi* A; θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰ. Χ. κ.τ.λ. g.

loc. p. 18, Bunsen *Br.* p. 139, Lipsius *Aecht.* p. 56; but this would make the writer contradict himself, as Zahn has pointed out (*I. v. A.* p. 415); for just below, § 3, he disclaims giving them orders ὡς ἀπόστολος. On the other hand see *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 1 ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀποστολικός, but this is not his own estimate of himself.

I. 'I know how blameless and steadfast ye are naturally. This knowledge I have obtained from your bishop Polybius, who is with me in Smyrna, and has so warmly sympathized with my bonds that in seeing him I have seemed to see you all. I heartily welcome your kindly interest as manifested through him, and I am full of thanksgiving that ye show yourselves thus followers of God.'

5. Ἄμωμον κ.τ.λ.] See the eulogy of the Trallians in Apoll. Tyan. *Ep.* 69 (Philostr. *Op.* II. p. 364, ed. Kayser) εἰς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι προκρῖναι Τραλλιανῶν ὑμῶν οὐ Λυδούς, οὐκ Ἀχαιούς, οὐκ Ἴωνας κ.τ.λ....νῦν δὲ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν καιρὸς ἄνδρας τε τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν, ὡς πολὺ κρείττους τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις ἀρετῇ καὶ λόγῳ κ.τ.λ.

ἀδιάκριτον κ.τ.λ.] '*unwavering, steadfast, in patient endurance.*' For ἀδιάκριτον see the note on *Ephes.* 3. Here it is closely connected with ἐν ὑπομονῇ, which probably refers to some persecutions undergone by the Trallian Church.

6. οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν κ.τ.λ.] '*not from habit but by nature*'; comp. *Ephes.* 1 ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει...τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον, Barnab. 1 οὕτως ἔμφυτον δωρεᾶς πνευματικῆς χάριν εἰλήφατε, *ib.* 9 ὁ τὴν ἔμφυτον δωρεὰν τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ὑμῖν. See Cope's note on *Aristot. Rhet.* i. 7. 33. For the opposition of φύσις and χρῆσις see Plut. *Mor.* 1115 F, 1116 A; comp. the passages in Jahn's *Methodius* p. 124. The same contrast is represented elsewhere as between φύσις and ἄσκησις (Plut. *Mor.* 226 A); between φύσις and παιδεία (Plut. *Vit. Them.* 2); between φύσις and ἔθος (e.g. Arist. *Rhet.* i. 11, p. 1370, Plut. *Mor.* 132 A); between φύσις and τροφή (Plat. *Tim.* 20 A, *Legg.* 961 B); between φύσις and θέσις (Macar. Magn. iii. 13, iv. 26); etc. This is one of those passages in which the language of Ignatius takes a Gnostic tinge; see Iren. i. 6. 4 ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἐν χρήσει τὴν χάριν λαμβάνειν λέγουσι...αὐτοὺς δὲ ἰδιόκτητον...ἔχειν τὴν χάριν: comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 3 (p. 433). The interpolator has κτῆσιν, where φύσιν stands in the text of the genuine Ignatius, and the passage of Irenæus might seem to favour this. But the alteration was doubtless made to obtain the commoner antithesis of χρῆσις and κτῆσις (e.g. Philo *Leg. ad Cai.* 2, II. p. 547), 'temporary occupation' and 'absolute possession,' '*usus*' and '*mancipium*'; comp. Cic. *Fam.* vii. 29 'sum χρήσει μὲν tuus, κτήσει δὲ

Σμύρνῃ, καὶ οὕτως μοι συνεχάρη δεδεμένῳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὥστε με τὸ πᾶν πλήθος ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρῆσαι. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν εὔνοιαν δι' αὐτοῦ, ἐδόξασα εὑρὼν ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἔγνων, μιμητὰς ὄντας Θεοῦ.

II. Ὅταν γὰρ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσησθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῶντες,

1 Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ] LAg; *Ιησοῦ χριστῷ* G. 2 θεωρῆσαι] g; *θεωρῆσθε* G; *speculer* L; *vidi* A: see the lower note. 3 εὔνοιαν] GL; *ὑμῶν εὔνοιαν* g; *bonam mentem vestram* A. 4 ἐδόξασα] *gloriatus sum* L; *glorificavi dominum meum iesum christum* A; ἔδοξα Gg*. ὡς ἔγνων] GL; *quomodo et didicistis* A; om. g. 5 ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] GLS$_1$A Sev-Syr 2; *ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ* [g]; om. Dam-Rup 5. 6 κατὰ ἀνθρώπους] *secundum homines* L; *sicut homines* Sev-Syr 2; *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* Gg Dam-Rup; *in corpore* S$_1$A: see the lower note.

Attici nostri: ergo fructus est tuus, mancipium illius.' At the same time the substitution of *κτῆσις* for *φύσις* would recommend itself as getting rid of a questionable doctrine.

1. *συνεχάρη δεδεμένῳ*] '*he rejoiced with*,' or perhaps, '*congratulated me in my bonds*.' For *συγχαρῆναι* comp. *Ephes.* 9, *Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11, and see note on *Philippians* ii. 17.

2. *ἐν αὐτῷ*] i.e. as being the representative of the whole body. For this use of the preposition comp. *Magn.* 6 *ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώποις*, *Ephes.* 1 *ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ*.

θεωρῆσαι] This reading is to be preferred. There seems to be no good authority for the middle *θεωρεῖσθαι*, though it appears in some corrupt texts of classical authors; see Dindorf and Hase *Steph. Thes.* s. v.

3. *ἀποδεξάμενος*] Apoll. Tyan. *Epist.* 69 addressing the Trallians says, *τίς οὖν αἰτία, δι' ἣν ἀποδέχομαι μὲν ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ.*

κατὰ Θεὸν] On this Ignatian phrase see the note *Magn.* 1.

εὔνοιαν] sc. *ὑμῶν*, which the interpolator inserts for clearness. The Trallians appear to have sent some substantial proofs of their goodwill by the hands of Polybius.

4. *ἐδόξασα*] '*I gave glory* to God.' For this absolute use comp. *Polyc.* 1 *Ἀποδεχόμενός σου τὴν ἐν Θεῷ γνώμην...ὑπερδοξάζω*, and see also Ecclus. xliii. 28 *δοξάζοντες ποῦ ἰσχύσωμεν*; The reading *ἔδοξα* is self-condemned, independently of authority.

ὡς ἔγνων] '*as I had been informed*,' referring back to the foregoing *ἔγνων*.

μιμητὰς κ.τ.λ.] See the note *Ephes.* 1.

II. 'When ye submit to your bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye live after Jesus Christ, who died that you through faith in His death might yourselves escape death. Do nothing without your bishop; and be obedient also to the presbyters as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ. The deacons likewise must study to satisfy all men; for they are ministers of Christ's mysteries, not of meats and drinks. Therefore it is their duty to shun all blame,

ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντα ἵνα πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἐκφύγητε. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ποιεῖτε, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς [τοῖς] ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ διάγοντες [ἐν αὐτῷ]

7 ἡμᾶς] GS_1Ag Dam-Rup Sev-Syr; *vos* L. 8 πιστεύσαντες] G; πιστεύοντες g; *credentes* L; *quando creditis* S_1A Sev-Syr. 9 ὥσπερ] GLS_1A; ὅσαπερ g. 10 πράσσειν] G; πράττειν g. ὑποτάσσεσθε] GS_1A; ὑποτάσσεσθαι L [Antioch 14]; the authorities for g* vary. 11 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ] GL*g Antioch; *presbyteris* S_1; *sacerdotibus* A (see below on § 7). τοῖς] G; om. g Antioch. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GLS_1g Antioch; χριστοῦ A. 12 ἐν αὐτῷ] gS_1 (see the next note); om. GL; al. A.

as they would shun the fire.'

6. *κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῶντες*] So too *Rom.* 8. See also *Ephes.* 9 *κατ' ἀνθρώπων βίον* (according to the reading proposed). S. Paul uses the singular *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* (see the note on *Galatians* iii. 15); and the reminiscence of S. Paul has doubtless led to the substitution of *ἄνθρωπον* for *ἀνθρώπους* in some texts here.

8. *ἵνα πιστεύσαντες κ.τ.λ.*] Comp. *Magn.* 5 *ἐὰν μὴ αὐθαιρέτως ἔχωμεν το ἀποθανεῖν κ.τ.λ.*

9. *ὥσπερ ποιεῖτε*] Comp. *Ephes.* 4, with the note.

ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κ.τ.λ.] See *Magn.* 7 with the note.

11. *τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ*] See the note on *Ephes.* 2.

ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις κ.τ.λ.] They stand in the same relation to the bishop, as the Apostles stood to Jesus Christ. So again *Smyrn.* 8; comp. *Magn.* 6 *τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τύπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων* (with the notes), and below § 3. Conversely the Apostles are called *πρεσβυτέριον ἐκκλησίας* in *Philad.* 5.

12. *ἐν ᾧ κ.τ.λ.*] i.e. 'if we live in Him now, we shall be found in Him hereafter.' But in order to get this sense it seems necessary to insert *ἐν αὐτῷ*, which appears in the interpolator's text. The words without this addition can hardly have this meaning, since *ἐν ᾧ* cannot well be made to do double duty. If, intending this sense, Ignatius omitted *ἐν αὐτῷ*, we must regard this as an illustration of the hasty writing in which these epistles abound and which is explained by the circumstances of the writer (see above, pp. 28, 110, 159). An alternative would be to read the conjunctive, *ἐν ᾧ διάγοντες εὑρεθησώμεθα* 'in whom may we be found living'; but the existence of a future conjunctive is very questionable (see Winer *Gramm.* xiii. p. 89), and our Greek authorities here do not countenance it. So too in *Rom.* 4 *ἵνα... εὑρεθήσομαι* (not *ἵνα...εὑρεθήσωμαι*) is substituted by the interpolator for *ἵνα...γένωμαι* of Ignatius. In 1 Cor. xiii. 3 the authorities show that the alternative is between the fut. indic. *ἵνα καυθήσομαι* (not *ἵνα καυθήσωμαι*) and the conj. aor. *ἵνα καυχήσωμαι.*

εὑρεθησόμεθα. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν· οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσιν διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ-

1 εὑρεθησόμεθα] Gg* (MSS, but l has *inveniamur*); *inveniamur* L (= εὑρεθησώμεθα, if it be not a slip of a Latin scribe). The Oriental Versions are; *ita ut inveniamur quod in ipso* (בה כך בה = *eodem*) *vivimus* S_1 (which seems certainly to have read ἐν αὐτῷ and perhaps εὑρεθησώμεθα); *ut inveniatur vita vestra cum iis* A (a corrupt text of a loose rendering of the Syriac). μυστηρίων] g; μυστήριον G. The versions, which all have the genitive, are as follows; *diaconos ministros existentes mysteriorum* L_1 (*ministros* being supplied to assist the sense); *diaconos qui sunt filii mysterii* S_1; *diaconis qui sunt participes mysteriorum* A. 2 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GLS_1A; χριστοῦ ἰησοῦ g. πᾶσιν] GLS_1 Antioch 14; *deo et hominibus* A; om. g. 3 βρωμάτων] G Antioch; *ciborum* L; βρωτῶν g. 4 ὑπηρέται] GLg Antioch; om. S_1A. οὖν] GLg Antioch; et *propterea* A; om. S_1. αὐτοὺς] GS_1Ag^* (but l *praecepta eorum observare*) Antioch; *vos* L (MSS, doubtless a scribe's error for *eos*). φυλάσσεσθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα] G (φυλάσσεσθε, but corrected by a later hand) L Antioch; τὰ ἐγκλήματα φυλάττεσθαι g. 6 Ὁμοίως] G Antioch; *similiter et* L; *et ita* S_1; *et* (om. ὁμοίως) A; al. g. τοὺς διακόνους... πατρός] τοὺς διακόνους ὡς ἰησοῦν χριστόν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ πατρός G; *diaconos ut mandatum iesu christi, et episcopum ut iesum christum*

1. δεῖ δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.] This is not an injunction of obedience due to the deacons, as the preceding sentence might suggest, but a statement of requirements from them, as the following words clearly show. Not their claims, but their duties, are enforced. τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας κ.τ.λ.] '*those who are deacons* (*ministers*) *of the mysteries of Jesus Christ.*' This assertion is justified by what follows, οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων κ.τ.λ. The reference here is to the deacons, and not (as some have supposed) to the presbyters. See *Smyrn.* 10 ὡς διακόνους Θεοῦ [Χριστοῦ], Polyc. *Phil.* 5 ὁμοίως διάκονοι ἄμεμπτοι...ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων. Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 1 ὡς ὑπηρέτας Χριστοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων Θεοῦ, which passage seems to have influenced the expressions here. In a later writer διακόνους μυστηρίων would probably refer to their attendance on the priest when officiating at the eucharist. But such a restriction of μυστηρίων would be an anachronism in Ignatius. He apparently uses the word in the same wide sense in which it is used by S. Paul, 'revealed truths.'

2. κατὰ πάντα] According to S. Paul's example, 1 Cor. x. 33 καθὼς κἀγὼ πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω.

3. βρωμάτων κ.τ.λ.] See Rom. xiv. 17, Col. ii. 16, Heb. ix. 10. The diaconate was originally instituted διακονεῖν τραπέζαις (Acts vi. 2); and these less spiritual duties of the office, such as the distribution of alms, the arrangement of the agape, and the like, tended to engross the interests of the deacon (1 Tim. iii. 8 sq). He needed therefore to be reminded that the diaconate had a higher aspect also. The mode of expression here may have been suggested by Rom. xiv. 17.

κλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρέται· δέον οὖν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσεσθαι
5 τὰ ἐγκλήματα ὡς πῦρ.

III. Ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα τύπον

existentem filium patris L; *a diaconis sicut a iesu christo et ab episcopo qui est in forma* (בטופסא) *patris* S_1 (for טופסא see the note on *Magn.* 6); *a diaconis sicut a iesu christo et ab episcopo sicut a patre deo* A; αὐτοὺς [i.e. τοὺς διακόνους] ὡς χριστὸν ἰησοῦν, οὗ φύλακές εἰσιν τοῦ τόπου, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων τύπος ὑπάρχει g; τοὺς διακόνους ὡς ἰησοῦν χριστὸν καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὡς τὸν πατέρα Antioch. Comparing these authorities we arrive at these results. (1) In the first clause we must reject the reading of L ὡς ἐντολὴν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, as standing alone against all the others (GS_1Ag Antioch) which support the simple ὡς ἰησοῦν χριστὸν (g however transposing and reading χριστὸν ἰησοῦν, but *dominum iesum christum* l). (2) In the second clause the corrupt υἱὸν of GL must certainly be rejected in favour of τύπον, which appears in Sg and is loosely paraphrased in A Antioch. (3) The second ὡς is somewhat awkward, and the sentence would gain by its rejection or transposition, καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὡς ὄντα τύπον κ.τ.λ. (or in this case we might perhaps read ὡς ἔντυπον for ὡς ὄντα υἱὸν, as nearer to the traces of the MS); but it appears in this place in Gg, while on the other hand the versions are not of much account in such a case. It ought probably therefore to be retained, as it is capable of explanation. (4) For an account of the anomalous reading of L in both clauses see the lower note.

4. αὐτοὺς φυλάσσεσθαι κ.τ.λ.] It is S. Paul's injunction also, that the deacons should be ἀνέγκλητοι, 1 Tim. iii. 10; comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 5, *Apost. Const.* ii. 10, viii. 18. The reading αὐτῶν is condemned by the authorities even in the interpolator's text, and it interferes with the sense.

III. 'At the same time let the laity pay respect to the deacons as to Jesus Christ, while they reverence the bishop as the type of God the Father and the presbyters as the representatives of the Apostles. Without these three orders no body of men deserves the name of a Church. This rule, I am persuaded, you follow; for I have with me a pattern of your love in the person of your bishop, whose gentle demeanour is in itself a powerful lesson. Even the godless heathen must reverence him. I spare you for the love I have towards you. Though I might have written more strongly, I forbear; nor do I venture, being a convict, to command you as if I were an Apostle.'

6. Ὁμοίως] As the deacons are required to consult the wishes of the laity, so *in like manner* must the laity pay respect to the deacons. For this *reciprocation* introduced by ὁμοίως, even where the duty is not identical, comp. 1 Pet. iii. 7. The πάντες here corresponds to the πᾶσιν of the preceding sentence. As the deacons have duties *towards all*, so they claim respect *from all*.

7. ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν] This startling comparison of the deacon to Jesus Christ rests on the assumption that the relations of the deacon to the bishop are analogous to those

τοῦ πατρός, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ καὶ [ὡς] σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων· χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. περὶ ὧν πέπεισμαι ὑμᾶς οὕτως ἔχειν· τὸ

2 καὶ ὡς] G Antioch; καὶ (om. ὡς) LS_1A [g]. σύνδεσμον] *conjunctionem* L; δεσμὸν Antioch; σύνδεσμος G; g also has σύνδεσμος, but as a nominative, the

of Christ to the Father; comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 26 ὁ δὲ διάκονος τούτῳ [τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ] παριστάσθω...καὶ λειτουργείτω αὐτῷ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμέμπτως, ὡς ὁ Χριστός, ποιῶν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδέν, τὰ ἀρεστὰ ποιεῖ τῷ πατρὶ πάντοτε, *ib.* 30 ὡς γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ, οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ διάκονος ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 44 πάντα μὲν ὁ διάκονος τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀναφερέτω, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί κ.τ.λ. See also the note on *Magn.* 6.

The preponderance of authority seems to show very decidedly that this is the original text. But if so, how can we account for the reading of the Latin translator? It is probably to be explained as having arisen from a combination of two readings, τοὺς διακόνους ὡς ἐντολὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. The former of these was probably in the first instance a marginal illustration taken from another passage, *Smyrn.* 8 τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν, or an emendation suggested by this parallel. It would then displace the original reading ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν in the text; and this latter would be inserted just below, where it seemed to be required, the corrupt reading ὄντα υἱὸν (for ὄντα τύπον) having set the transcriber on the wrong track.

ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.] The sentence would be rendered much smoother, if ὡς were transposed and placed before ὄντα τύπον. As the text of this epistle here and in the immediate neighbourhood (see below ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ.) has been much tumbled about, such a change would perhaps be justifiable. I have preferred however to retain it in the place where it is found in most authorities, because it thus introduces the *analogy* of the relation between Jesus Christ and the Father as explaining the previous injunction.

τύπον τοῦ πατρός] See the note on *Magn.* 6 εἰς τύπον Θεοῦ.

1. ὡς συνέδριον κ.τ.λ.] '*as the council of God and (as) the band of the Apostles.*' As the bishop sits in the place of God, so too the corona of presbyters (*Magn.* 13) is compared to the company of the Apostles, seated, as it were, on thrones encircling the Eternal Throne. The terrestrial hierarchy is thus a copy of the celestial; comp. Rev. iv. 4 κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου θρόνοι εἴκοσι τέσσαρες· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους εἴκοσι τέσσαρας πρεσβυτέρους καθημένους (comp. vii. 11). The συνέδριον τοῦ Θεοῦ is defined by σύνδεσμον τῶν ἀποστόλων; and the second ὡς, which is discredited by external authority, interferes somewhat with the sense. On this comparison of the presbyters to the Apostles, and on the arrangement in the early Church which suggested it, see the notes on *Magn.* 6 συνέδριον τῶν ἀποστόλων, *ib.* 13 στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου. For this concrete sense of σύνδεσμος, signifying an aggregate and so either 'a bundle' of letters or 'a band' of persons, see the note on *Colossians* iii. 14. It occurs with

γὰρ ἐξεμπλάριον τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔχω μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν, οὗ αὐτὸ τὸ κατάστημα μεγάλη μαθητεία, ἡ δὲ πραότης αὐτοῦ δύναμις·

construction having been changed. 4 ὑμῶν] GLA; om. g (MSS, but add. *vestrae* l). 5 μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ] G; μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ g (edd., but see the Appx).

much the same meaning as here, though in a bad sense 'a confederacy, a conspiracy,' in 2 Kings xi. 14, xii. 20, Jer. xi. 9.

It will thus appear that both the comparison of the deacons to Jesus Christ and that of the presbyters to the Apostles flow naturally, though in separate channels, from the idea of the bishop as the type of God. But the combined result is incongruous, for the presbyters are made to occupy a lower place in the comparison than the deacons. We may suppose therefore that the last clause τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους κ.τ.λ. was added as an afterthought by Ignatius, without noticing the incongruity. This is only one among many indications of extreme haste, to be explained by the circumstances under which these letters were written (*Rom.* 5).

2. χωρὶς τούτων κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'Without these three orders no church has a title to the name, deserves to be called a church'. This seems to be the meaning of οὐ καλεῖται, 'is not spoken of', 'is not recognised', as in Heb. iii. 13 ἄχρις οὗ τὸ σήμερον καλεῖται; comp. *Polyc.* 7 ὃς δυνήσεται θεοδρόμος καλεῖσθαι, *Magn.* 14 ὅθεν οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι καλεῖσθαι.

3. περὶ ὧν] '*concerning which things*', not referring to τούτων, but to the general injunctions of the preceding sentence.

4. ἐξεμπλάριον] See the note on *Ephes.* 2.

τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν] This is treated by Jacobson as a mere complimentary form of address, like 'dilectio vestra,' ἡ εὐσέβεια ὑμῶν, 'your grace,' 'your holiness,' and the like. Pearson explains § 13 ἡ ἀγάπη Σμυρναίων and *Smyrn.* 12 ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν (comp. *Philad.* 11) similarly. Any such usage however would be an anachronism here. For ἡ ἀγάπη ὑμῶν comp. *Rom.* 1, 9. Polybius was an illustration of their *affection* for the martyr.

5. ἑαυτοῦ] For ἐμαυτοῦ; see Winer *Gramm.* xxii. p. 188.

κατάστημα] '*demeanour*'; comp. Plut. *Vit. Marcell.* 23 οὔτε φόβῳ τὴν δίκην οὔτε θυμῷ πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους τοῦ συνήθους μεταβαλὼν καταστήματος, ἀλλὰ πράως πάνυ καὶ κοσμίως τὸ τῆς δίκης τέλος ἐκδεχόμενος. The derivation suggests, though it does not require, the idea of '*composure*,' '*quietude*,' '*staidness*' (comp. Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 80 τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς εὐσταθὲς κατάστημα); and hence καταστηματικός signifies 'of calm demeanour,' as in Plut. *Vit. Tib. Gracch.* 2 ἰδέᾳ προσώπου καὶ βλέμματι καὶ κινήματι πρᾶος καὶ καταστηματικὸς ἦν. See Wetstein on Tit. ii. 3, where κατάστημα occurs. The view of Hammond (on Tit. ii. 3), that κατάστημα signifies *rank, office* (from καθιστάναι 'to appoint,' Acts vi. 3, Tit. i. 5), is destitute of support from usage.

6. μεγάλη μαθητεία] 1 Pet. iii. 1 ἵνα...διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀναστροφῆς ἄνευ λόγου κερδηθήσονται. See also the language which Ignatius uses respecting Onesimus of Ephesus (*Ephes.* 6) and Damas of Magnesia (*Magn.* 3).

ὃν λογίζομαι καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους ἐντρέπεσθαι. ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς οὕτως φείδομαι, συντονώτερον δυνάμενος γράφειν ὑπὲρ τούτου· [ἀλλ' οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἑαυτὸν] εἰς τοῦτο ᾠήθην, ἵνα ὢν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι. 5

1 ὃν] GLg*. There is a plural in A, which probably therefore read ὧν. This is a possible reading, but ἐντρέπεσθαι elsewhere in Ignatius takes an accus. (see the note on *Magn.* 6). ἀγαπῶν...ᾠήθην κ.τ.λ.] ἀγαπῶντας ὡς οὐ φείδομαι ἑαυτὸν πότερον δυνάμενος γράφειν ὑπὲρ τούτου εἰς τοῦτο ᾠήθην κ.τ.λ. G; *diligentes quod non parco ipsum aliqualem potens scribere pro illo, in hoc existimer ut* etc. L; *etiam quoniam amo vos, parco vobis scribere vehementer et glorificare; sed et non sum sufficiens sicut apostolus praecipere vobis, quoniam vir aliquis condemnatus sum* A; ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς φείδομαι συντονώτερον ἐπιστεῖλαι, ἵνα μὴ δόξω τισὶν εἶναι προσάντης ἢ ἐπιδεής κ.τ.λ. g. Here the text of GL is seriously corrupt. In attempting to restore the reading we may observe as follows: (1) The agreement of A and g establishes one unquestionable emendation; ἑαυτὸν πότερον is a corruption of συντονώτερον: see the lower note. (2) The coincidence of the same authorities shows that ἀγαπῶν is correct, and that the corruption is in -τας ὡς οὐ. Having regard to the sense as given in Ag,

1. τοὺς ἀθέους] i.e. '*the heathen*,' who were ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, Eph. ii. 12. See also *Clem. Hom.* xv. 4, Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4 (p. 52), *Paed.* iii. 11 (p. 300). Origen (*c. Cels.* i. 1, iii. 73) speaks of ἡ ἄθεος πολυθεότης; comp. *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 8. On the other hand, the Christians themselves were denounced by the heathen as ἄθεοι, because they had no images or shrines or visible representations of deity; *Mart. Polyc.* 9 (comp. *ib.* 3), where the cry against Polycarp is αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, which he himself, looking εἰς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τῶν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν, catches up and repeats. See also Justin *Apol.* i. 6 (p. 56), *ib.* 13 (p. 60), Athenag. *Suppl.* 3, 4, 30, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 1 (p. 828 sq), Minuc. *Octav.* 8, Tertull. *Apol.* 10 sq; comp. *Clement of Rome* 1. p. 34. Below, § 10, the epithet ἄθεοι seems to be applied to the Docetic teachers (see the note there).

2. συντονώτερον] '*more urgently*'; comp. *Polyc.* 7 ὑμῶν τὸ σύντονον τῆς ἀληθείας. This emendation is much less violent than it seems at first sight, CYNTONωTEPON for EAYTO ΠOTEPON (see the note on ἀλλ' οὐχ κ.τ.λ. just below). At all events the interpolator's text leaves no doubt about its correctness, as Pearson saw long ago.

3. ὑπὲρ τούτου] i.e. τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν, or possibly 'on this matter.'

ἀλλ' οὐχ κ.τ.λ.] The state of the text in the immediate neighbourhood (e.g. at the beginning of this chapter; see also § 4 οἱ γὰρ λέγοντες κ.τ.λ. and § 6 οἳ καὶ ἰῷ κ.τ.λ.) shows that the archetypal MS of GL must have been much worn and probably mutilated in this part. Accordingly I have sought to remedy the text here on the hypothesis that some words have dropped out. For ἑαυτὸν see the note on ἑαυτοῦ above. I have chosen this form (rather than ἐμαυτὸν) here, because it better explains the corruption of συντονώτερον just

IV. *Πολλὰ φρονῶ ἐν Θεῷ· ἀλλ' ἐμαυτὸν μετρῶ, ἵνα μὴ ἐν καυχήσει ἀπόλωμαι· νῦν γάρ με δεῖ πλέον φοβεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς φυσιοῦσίν με· οἱ γὰρ λέγοντές μοι μαστιγοῦσίν με. ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ*

I have substituted *ὑμᾶς οὕτως*. (3) These two authorities also seem to indicate that some words have dropped out, probably between *ὑπὲρ τούτου* and *εἰς τοῦτο*. What these were it is impossible to say, owing to the capricious changes in g and the habitual laxity and constant omissions of A. I have hazarded a conjecture in accordance with the general sense of A. Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXI. p. 541 sq) has his own conjectural reading, but he does not seem to me to be on the right track. 4 *διατάσσομαι*] *praecipiam* L; *διατάσσομαι* Gg (but in the latter the form of the sentence is altered, *οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι*). 6 *Πολλὰ φρονῶ ἐν Θεῷ*] GLΣ Dam-Vat 3; *multa cogito in divinis* A; om. g. This and the following chapter appear at the close of the Epistle to the Romans in Σ. 7 *με δεῖ πλέον*] G; *me oportet plus* L* (but *oportet me plus* L_1); *πλεῖόν με δεῖ* [g] Dam-Vat 2 (but quoted by Max, *πλέον με δεῖ*). 8 *μὴ*] GLΣAg (but om. Max Dam-Vat). *οἱ γὰρ λέγοντές μοι μαστιγοῦσίν με*] GL; *οἱ γάρ με ἐπαινοῦντες μαστιγοῦσιν* g (but Max Dam-Vat quote it *ἐπαινοῦντες γάρ με μαστιγοῦσι[ν]*); *illi enim qui dicunt mihi talia flagellant me* Σ; def. A: see the lower note.

before. For the construction of *ἵνα* comp. Luke i. 43 *πόθεν μοι τοῦτο ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτηρ κ.τ.λ.*, 1 Cor. iv. 3 *εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ*, 1 Joh. iv. 17.

4. *ὢν κατάκριτος κ.τ.λ.*] His position as a condemned criminal is taken as a type of his unworthiness in the sight of God. See the note on *Rom.* 4, where he uses similar language of his relation to the Apostles. For *διατάσσομαι* comp. also *Ephes.* 3 *οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ὤν τι* (with the note).

IV. 'I have many deep thoughts in Christ. Yet I put restraints upon myself, lest my boasting should be my ruin. I have need to tremble. The praise of these men is a stumbling-block and a torture to me. For indeed I earnestly desire martyrdom, but I know not whether I am worthy of it. The envy of the devil fights against me all the more, because it is unseen by many. So then I have every need of a gentle spirit, which defeats the prince of this world.'

6. *Πολλὰ φρονῶ*] Comp. Herod. ix. 16 *πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν*. Similarly Barnab. 1 *συνειδὼς ἐμαυτῷ ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν λαλήσας πολλὰ ἐπίσταμαι κ.τ.λ.*

ἐμαυτὸν μετρῶ] '*I take the measure of myself*', 'I do not exceed my proper bounds'; a reminiscence of S. Paul, 2 Cor. x. 12, 13, *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς μετροῦντες...ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα καυχησόμεθα*.

7. *πλέον φοβεῖσθαι*] So *Philad.* 5 *δεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον, ὡς ὢν ἀναπάρτιστος*.

8. *οἱ γὰρ λέγοντές μοι*] This can hardly be correct as it stands, and probably some words have fallen out: see the note, § 3 *ἀλλ' οὐχ κ.τ.λ.*, on the mutilated state of the archetypal MS in these parts. It is generally supposed that Ignatius suppresses some words addressed to

παθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι· τὸ γὰρ ζῆλος πολλοῖς μὲν οὐ φαίνεται, ἐμὲ δὲ [πλέον] πολεμεῖ. χρῄζω οὖν πραότητος, ἐν ᾗ καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.

1 τὸ] Gg (but the latter with a v. l. ὁ). 2 πλέον] GL; om. ΣAg. It was perhaps interpolated from πλέον φοβεῖσθαι above. 3 πραότητος] Gg Dam-Vat 4 Dam-Rup 6; πραΰτητος Anton 9. ἐν ᾗ] GLg Anton; ἐν ᾧ Dam-Vat-Rup; dub. ΣA. 4 τούτου] txt GLΣA; add. ὁ διάβολος g; add. διάβολος Dam-Vat-Rup Anton (but these writers may be quoting the interpolator's text, not the genuine Ignatius). 5 Μὴ οὐ] G; *nonne* L; μὴ γὰρ οὐκ g; om. ΣA. δύναμαι] GLΣA; ἐβουλόμην [g] (but l has *poteram*). ὑμῖν] LΣA [g]; om. G. 6 νηπίοις οὖσιν] GLg; om. ΣA. παραθῶ] G; παραθῶμαι g. 7 συγγνωμονεῖτε] G; σύγγνωτε g. The converse change is made in *Rom.* 6.

him such as μάρτυς ἔσῃ (Smith *ad loc.*, Uhlhorn p. 23, Zahn *I. v. A.* pp. 416, 572 sq); but there is no adequate reason for the suppression. With more probability Bunsen (*Br.* p. 121) supposes that the word μάρτυς has accidentally dropped out owing to the following μαστιγοῦσιν. It seems probable that the title here disclaimed by Ignatius would be that of a martyr or witness: comp. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 2 (quoted by the commentators here) εἴποτέ τις ἡμῶν δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἢ διὰ λόγου μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς προσεῖπεν, ἐπέπλησσον πικρῶς· ἠδέως γὰρ παρεχώρουν τὴν τῆς μαρτυρίας προσηγορίαν τῷ Χριστῷ τῷ πιστῷ καὶ ἀληθινῷ μάρτυρι κ.τ.λ. Hilgenfeld (*A. V.* p. 204) suggests that the writer may refer to the name θεοφόρος; but as this name implies obligation rather than renown, and as the writer of these epistles boldly claims it elsewhere, this suggestion has little to recommend it. Possibly the Syriac Version may preserve the true text, and we have only to add τοιαῦτα. Comp. *Smyrn.* 5 τί γάρ [με] ὠφελεῖ, εἰ ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖ τις, with the note.

1. τὸ γὰρ ζῆλος κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'the jealous opposition of Satan, who attempts to rob me of the crown of martyrdom'; comp. *Rom.* 5 μηθέν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω, i.e. 'may no power of man or devil interpose through envy to prevent my finding Christ by martyrdom'. As these are the only places in Ignatius where ζῆλος, ζηλοῦν, occur, it seems natural to explain the one passage by the other. The interpolator therefore correctly interprets the sense, when he adds τοῦ ἐχθροῦ after ζῆλος. For the allusion see the next note. Other interpretations are; (1) 'My passionate desire, my excessive ambition, for martyrdom', as e.g. Voss p. 287, Smith p. 88, Jacobson *ad loc.*, Dressel *ad loc.*; but the language of Ignatius elsewhere throughout suggests that he would consider such a passion as the reverse of blameworthy; (2) 'The opposition and ill-treatment from my guards' (*Rom.* 5), Nirschl p. 101; but I do not see how the connexion involved in γὰρ can be explained on this hypothesis.

2. πολλοῖς μὲν οὐ φαίνεται] i.e. 'many fail to see this jealousy of Satan in its true colours, and so unconsciously abet him.' Ignatius is alluding, as I suppose, more es-

V. *Μὴ οὐ δύναμαι ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια γράψαι; ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι μὴ νηπίοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν βλάβην παραθῶ. καὶ συγγνωμονεῖτέ μοι, μήποτε οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι στραγγαλωθῆτε. καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ καθότι δέδεμαι καὶ*

μήποτε] GL; *μὴ* g; *cautus enim sum ne forte* Σ; *et caveo* [A] (omitting the remaining words of the sentence). The insertion in Σ is probably a translator's device to ease the awkwardness of the negatives. 8 *στραγγαλωθῆτε*] g; *strangulemini* L; *implicemini* Σ; *στράγγαλον θῆτε* G; def. A. *ἐγώ*] txt $GLS_1\Sigma Ag$; add. *λέγω* (?) Sev-Syr 4c (but om. Sev-Syr 7): see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 180, *Ign. et Pol. Ep.* p. 355. *καθότι*] The rendering of L *secundum quodcumque* seems to represent *καθ' ὅ τι*, not *καθ' ὁτιοῦν*, as Zahn supposes. *καί*] $GS_1\Sigma Ag$ Sev-Syr 4c, 7 (but om. Sev-Syr 7 v. l.); *sed* L.

pecially to those Roman Christians who were desirous of obtaining a reversal of his sentence, and whose interposition he strongly deprecates in the letter to the Roman Church. He describes this interposition sometimes as a *ζῆλος* 'jealousy' (*Rom.* 5, quoted in the last note), sometimes as a *βασκανία* 'envy' (*Rom.* 7 *βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικείτω*: comp. *ib.* 3 *οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί*). It is a device of the devil who would effect his ruin, and he entreats the Christians of Rome not to ally themselves with the Evil One (*Rom.* 7 *ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαρπάσαι με βούλεται... μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθείτω αὐτῷ*).

πλέον] i. e. 'all the more because it eludes the notice of others', if the word be genuine.

πολεμεῖ] '*wars against me*'. For this construction of *πολεμεῖν* with an accusative, which is common in Polybius, Diodorus, and later writers, see Wesseling on Diod. iv. 61: comp. *Clem. Hom.* xix. 20, Hippol. p. 166 Lagarde. On this tendency of the later language to substitute the accusative for other cases, see the notes on *Galatians* v. 7, 26.

3. *καταλύεται κ. τ. λ.*] *Ephes.* 13 *καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ καὶ λύεται ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ*; comp. John xii. 31, xvi. 11, 1 Joh. iii. 8.

ὁ ἄρχων κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 17.

V. 'Am I not able to write about heavenly things? Yet I fear lest such strong meat should not be suited for you babes. Forgive me, I would not have you suffocated. Nay, I myself, though I am privileged to be Christ's prisoner and though I could unfold all the mysteries of the celestial hierarchy, yet do not therefore hold myself to be already a disciple. We want much, in order that God may not be wanting to us.'

6. *μὴ νηπίοις κ.τ.λ.*] Suggested by 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2, *οὐκ ἠδυνήθην λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν ὡς πνευματικοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς σαρκίνοις, ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ· γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα· οὔπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε.*

7. *συγγνωμονεῖτέ μοι*] '*bear with me*', i.e. 'when I refuse to give you this strong meat': comp. *Rom.* 6 *σύγγνωτέ μοι*. On the form *συγγνωμονεῖν* see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 382.

χωρῆσαι] '*to take it in.*' The word is used transitively again *Smyrn.* 6.

8. *στραγγαλωθῆτε*] '*be choked*'. The word occurs Tobit ii. 3. Other forms are *στραγγαλάω*, *στραγγαλίζω*.

δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς καὶ τὰς συστάσεις τὰς ἀρχοντικάς, ὁρατά

1 *δύναμαι νοεῖν*] $gS_1\Sigma A$ Sev-Syr (twice); *δυνάμενος* (om. *νοεῖν*) GL* (not *potens scire*, as it is commonly read). The consensus of authorities excludes the supposition that *νοεῖν* is a gloss: see the lower note. 2 *καὶ*] GLS_1[A][g] Sev-Syr 4c; om. Sev-Syr 7. 3 *ἤδη*] G (written *εἰ δη*) Lg Sev-Syr (twice); om. $S_1\Sigma A$. *μαθητής εἰμι*] GLΣ (*discipulus sum mihi*) A g Sev-Syr (twice); *discipuli estis mihi* S_1 (doubtless an error of transcription in the Syriac, הויתון for הוית). 4 *ἡμῖν*] GS_1 Sev-Syr 4c; *vobis* L (the MSS, but doubtless a scribe's error for *nobis*); *μοι* [g]. For ΣA, which have a singular, see the next note.

For the metaphor see Hieron. *Epist.* 84 (I. p. 525) 'ne parvuli atque lactentes solidioris cibi edulio suffocemur', *Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom.* xxxviii (Chrysost. *Op.* VI. p. clxi) 'sicut enim infanti si dederis fragmentum panis, quoniam angustas habet fauces, offocatur magis quam nutritur; sic et homini imperfecto in fide et puero sensibus si altiora mysteria sapientiae volueris dicere, angustam habens fidem et sensum magis scandalizatur quam aedificatur' (comp. xlix, *ib.* p. ccv), passages quoted by Pearson (*V. I.* p. 517, and *ad loc.*).

οὐ καθότι δέδεμαι] Comp. *Ephes.* 3 *εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, οὔπω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι.* On the manner in which Ignatius regards his bonds, see the note there.

1. *δύναμαι νοεῖν*] '*am competent to understand*'. For this expression comp. Hermas *Sim.* ix. 9, 14; so Eph. iii. 4 *δύνασθε...νοῆσαι.* Pearson saw that this must be substituted for *δυνάμενος*; and his opinion has been confirmed beyond question by the versions and citations discovered since. The change is not great; ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΕΙ for ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟC (*δύναμαι* being written *δύναμε*).

τὰς τοποθεσίας κ.τ.λ.] '*the dispositions of the angels*', i.e. their distribution in their several ranks or in the several celestial spheres: comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 2 (p. 833) *ἡ μακαρία ἀγγελοθεσία καὶ δὴ μέχρις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἄλλοι ὑπ' ἄλλοις ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ δι' ἑνὸς σωζόμενοί τε καὶ σώζοντες διατετάχαται.* For *τοποθεσία* 'a topographical description' see Cic. *ad Att.* i. 13, 16. Just such a *τοποθεσία* of the celestial hierarchy is given in the *Test. Duod. Patr.* Levi 3, where the different ranks of angels with their several names are distributed through the seven heavens. The large space which angelology occupied in Jewish and Christian speculation in the Apostolic age, appears from the incidental language of S. Paul; e.g. Ephes. i. 20, 21 *ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου κ.τ.λ.*, Col. i. 16 *τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι*, and the condemnation of *θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων* Col. ii. 18. On this whole subject see the notes *Colossians* i. 16, ii. 18; and to the references there given add Papias (Routh *Rel. Sacr.* I. p. 14), Hermas *Vis.* iii. 4, and (for Jewish angelology) Gfrörer *Jahrh. des Heils* I. p. 357 sq, Eisenmenger *Entd. Judenth.* II. p. 374, Edersheim *Life and Times of Jesus* II. p. 748 sq. See also the discussion about angels in Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 30 sq, especially c. 40, where Celsus brings this charge against the Christians, *ἑωρακέναι παρά τισι*

τε καὶ ἀόρατα, παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητής εἰμι· πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει, ἵνα Θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα.

VI. Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη

λειπώμεθα] GLS$_1$ Sev-Syr; ἀπολειφθῶ [g]. The whole sentence πολλὰ... λειπώμεθα is thus translated in the Oriental versions; *multum enim deficimus ne a deo destituamur* S$_1$; *multum enim deficiens sum a perfectione quae digna est deo* Σ; *sed quod valde deficiens sum a similitudine dei* A. Thus ΣA seem to give loose paraphrases of the original Syriac rendering, which is preserved in S$_1$. After this sentence Σ has *estote incolumes perfecte in patientia iesu christi dei nostri*, which forms the conclusion of the Epistle to the Romans (see on *Rom.* 10). 5 ἡ ἀγάπη] GLS$_1$Ag; ἡ χάρις Dam-Rup 1 (see 1 Cor. xv. 10).

πρεσβυτέροις τῆς ἡμετέρας δόξης τυγχάνουσι βιβλία βάρβαρα δαιμόνων ὀνόματα ἔχοντα καὶ τερατείας. For the passage here comp. *Smyrn.* 6 τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὁρατοί τε καὶ ἀόρατοι.

2. τὰς συστάσεις κ.τ.λ.] '*the assemblages, musterings, of the heavenly rulers*'; comp. ἐθνικαὶ συστάσεις, Polyb. xxiv. 1. 3, xxx. 10. 6. The ἄρχοντες here, like the ἀρχαί in S. Paul, are angelic beings: comp. Justin *Dial.* 36 (p. 255) οἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄρχοντες (quoted by Jacobson on *Smyrn.* 6). For ἀρχοντικὸς see Celsus in Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 27 ἑτέρων δὲ τῶν λεγομένων ἀρχοντικῶν κ.τ.λ. (comp. § 33), from which it appears that in some systems of angelology ἀρχοντικοὶ denoted a particular class of the celestial hierarchy. Jacobson would translate συστάσεις 'the conflicts', comparing *Ephes.* 13 πόλεμος ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων, but such an idea seems to be quite inappropriate to this context. The word occurs again *Rom.* 5.

ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα] The knowledge previously mentioned (τὰ ἐπουράνια) has reference to the things invisible; but ὁρατὰ are also named here (after the precedent of S. Paul, Col. i. 16) for the sake of including all things which fall within the range of cognisance. So again in *Smyrn.* 6 (see the note). For ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα see also *Rom.* 5.

3. παρὰ τοῦτο] '*on this account*': see *Rom.* 5 (with the note).

μαθητής εἰμι] See the notes on *Ephes.* 1, 3.

4. πολλὰ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'we still lack much, that we may not be left behind by God, may not fail in finding God', where λείπεσθαι Θεοῦ is the negative of ἐπιτυχεῖν Θεοῦ, a favourite Ignatian phrase (see the note on *Magn.* 1). For the construction here comp. Hermas *Vis.* iii. 1 σοὶ δὲ πολλὰ λείπει ἵνα κ.τ.λ.; and for the characteristic Ignatian play on λείπει, λειπώμεθα, see the note on *Smyrn.* 5 μᾶλλον δὲ κ.τ.λ.

ἡμῖν] i.e. 'you and myself alike.'

VI. 'I therefore entreat you—yet not I but the love of Christ—to eat only the wholesome food of Christianity and to abstain from the noxious herbs of heresy. These false teachers mix poison with Jesus Christ; they impose upon men with their plausible professions; and the deadly drug, thus disguised with a sweet flavour, is thoughtlessly taken, though death is its consequence.'

5. Παρακαλῶ οὖν κ.τ.λ.] The form of the sentence is here suggested by 1 Cor. vii. 10 παραγγέλλω, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ Κύριος.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μόνῃ τῇ Χριστιανῇ τροφῇ χρῆσθε, ἀλλοτρίας δὲ βοτάνης ἀπέχεσθε, ἥτις ἐστὶν αἵρεσις·

1 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GLS$_1$g; *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν* Ἰ. Χ. A Dam-Rup. Χριστιανῇ] GL; *χριστιανικῇ* Dam-Rup; *christianismi* A; *gratiarum actionis* (*εὐχαριστικῇ*?) S$_1$; al. g. *χρῆσθε...ἀπέχεσθε*] LS$_1$A; *χρῆσθαι...ἀπέχεσθαι* G Dam-Rup; al. g: see the lower note. 3 *οἱ καὶ ἰῷ παρεμπλέκουσιν*] *οἱ καιροὶ παρεμπλέκουσιν* G; *καὶ παρεμπλέκουσιν* Dam-Rup; *quae et inquinatis implicat* L; *καὶ τὸν ἰὸν προσπλέκοντες τῆς πλάνης τῇ γλυκείᾳ προσηγορίᾳ* g. The renderings of the passage in the Oriental Versions are: *eorum qui commiscent semetipsos in* (*cum*) *jesu christo* S$_1$; *jam commiscent semetipsos cum jesu christo* A. They may have had simply *οἱ καὶ παρεμπλέκουσιν* and supplied the *semetipsos* to make sense. The rendering of L perhaps arises from a further corruption of the corrupt text of G, *οικαιροιπαρεμπλεκουσιν* being read *οἱ καὶ ῥυπαρ' ἐμπλέκουσιν*;

1. *τροφῇ*] Comp. *Rom.* 7 *οὐχ ἥδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς.*

χρῆσθε] The imperatives, besides being better supported than the infinitives, are more in the manner of Ignatius, who prefers this mood with *παρακαλεῖν*; see below § 12 *παρακαλεῖ ...διαμένετε*, *Rom.* 4 *παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ...γένησθε*, *Philad.* 8 *παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν πράσσετε* (where the infinitive *πράσσειν* has been substituted in some copies). So too *παραινῶ* with an imperative in *Magn.* 6. The exception is *Polyc.* 1 *παρακαλῶ σε προσθεῖναι κ.τ.λ.*

2. *βοτάνης*] Heresy or error is called *βοτάνη*, a rank weed, a noxious herb, again in *Ephes.* 10, *Philad.* 3. For the meaning of *βοτάνη* see the note on the former passage. In the Gospel of the Egyptians our Lord was reported as having said *πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάνην, τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσαν μὴ φάγῃς*, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 9 (p. 541).

3. *οἱ καὶ ἰῷ*] This emendation involves a very simple change, καιιωι for καιροι. For the construction *οἱ* (i.e. *οἱ αἱρετικοί* understood from the preceding *αἵρεσις*) comp. e.g. Thucyd. vi. 80 *ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρεσομένης ὠφελείας, οἱ τῶνδε κρείσσους εἰσὶ τὸ παράπαν*, and see Kühner § 356, II. p. 49 sq., Matthiæ § 435. For the metaphor of *ἰός*, as used here, comp. Hermas *Sim.* ix. 26, *Clem. Hom.* x. 14. See also *Clem. Hom.* xix. 15 *οὐχ ἑρπετῶν ὁ ἰὸς εἰργάζετο, οὐ τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν αἱ ἐνέργειαι*, for the same connexion of words as here. Zahn refers to Iren. i. 27. 4 'Christi quidem Jesu nomen tanquam irritamentum proferentes, Simonis autem impietatem varie introducentes, mortificant multos...per dulcedinem et decorem nominis amarum et malignum principis apostasiae serpentis venenum porrigentes eis.'

παρεμπλέκουσιν] '*infuse*'. An objection has been raised to such an emendation as the one adopted on the ground that it 'vitio incongruae metaphorae laborat' (Churton in Pearson *V. I.* p. 103). If indeed the derivation of the word be scrutinized, we have in this expression 'interweave poison' a combination of metaphors as violent as e.g. in 1 Tim. vi. 19 *ἀποθησαυρίζοντας θεμέλιον*. A liberty however might well be conceded to an inexperienced writer like Ignatius, which the greatest of modern poets has asserted, when he speaks of 'taking *arms* against a *sea* of troubles'. But usage entirely justifies the combination. It appears

οἳ καὶ ἰῷ παρεμπλέκουσιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καταξιοπιστευόμενοι, ὥσπερ θανάσιμον φάρμακον διδόντες μετὰ

comp. *Ephes.* 16, where ῥυπαρὸς is rendered *inquinatus* (the only passage where the word occurs in Ignatius). The paraphrase of g points to the true reading. Voss first suggested οἳ καὶ ἰοῖς, which some later editors have accepted. I have substituted ἰῷ for ἰοῖς, as nearer to the traces of G, as corresponding to the singular in g, and as more natural in itself: see the lower note.

καταξιοπιστευόμενοι] Dam-Rup (see the note on *Ephes.* 16 κακοδιδασκαλίᾳ); κατ' ἀξίαν πιστευόμενοι G; om. L (perhaps because the translator could make nothing of the unusual word); *ut simplices credere faciant* A; *ita ut credatur-iis* (*credantur*) S_1; al. g. The renderings of AS_1 are paraphrases of καταξιοπιστευόμενοι.

that the words παρεμπλέκειν, παρεμπλοκή, were employed especially in this connexion, as medicinal or culinary terms; e.g. by the physician Diphilus of Siphnus in Athen. ii. p. 57 C οἱ στρόβιλοι...θώρακος καθαρτικοὶ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν παρεμπεπλεγμένον τὸ ῥητινῶδες, Agatharchides in Photius *Bibl.* ccl. 12 τούτου [τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ παλιούρου] συμμιγέντος κολλῶδες μὲν τὸ πᾶν πολὺ μᾶλλον γίνεται, δοκεῖ δ' οἷον ἡδύσματος ἢ παρεμπλοκῆς τάξιν ἔχειν. The more common words however in this sense in medical writers are the single compounds, παραπλέκειν, παραπλοκή; e.g. Galen *Op.* XIV. p. 168 (ed. Kühn) ἱερᾶς βοτάνης μικρόν τι παραπλέκων, *ib.* p. 367 δέονται τῆς τῶν στυφόντων παραπλοκῆς ...παραπλέκειν τι τῶν στυφόντων, *ib.* p. 398 στύρακα τὴν ὑγρὰν μίξας ἐλαίῳ παράπλεκε, Sext. Empir. *Pyrrh.* i. 102 χυμῶν τινῶν παραπλοκή, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 1 (p. 325) οἷον ἥδυσμά ἐστιν παραπεπλεγμένον ἀθλητοῦ βρώματι. See also Macar. Magn. iii. 37 (p. 133) συμπλέξαντες...ἵν' ἡ συμπλοκὴ τοῦ διαβεβλημένου φαρμάκου δοθεῖσα κ.τ.λ.; comp. *ib.* iv. 25 τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ συμπλακὲν τοῖς ὕδασι. Thus the language here will have a parallel in the somewhat elaborate medical metaphor of *Polyc.* 2. The verb παρεμπλέκειν occurs in other connexions in *Clem. Hom.* vi. 19 and *ib.* Ep. Clem. 5.

καταξιοπιστευόμενοι] '*imposing by their professions of honesty*'; comp. Polyb. xii. 17. 1 ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξωμεν τῶν τηλικούτων ἀνδρῶν καταξιοπιστεύεσθαι, μνησθησόμεθα μιᾶς παρατάξεως κ.τ.λ. For the bad sense of ἀξιόπιστος, 'specious, plausible', and so 'an impostor,' see the parallel passage *Philad.* 2 πολλοὶ γὰρ λύκοι ἀξιόπιστοι ἡδονῇ κακῇ αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν τοὺς θεοδρόμους (with the note). From this comes the verb ἀξιοπιστεύεσθαι, which on the analogy of ἀσωτεύεσθαι, διαλεκτικεύεσθαι, περπερεύεσθαι, παραβολεύεσθαι, etc. (see the note on *Philippians* ii. 30), signifies 'to play the ἀξιόπιστος', 'to make loud professions of honesty'. It does not appear to occur in extant standard writers, but is recognised by Hesychius s. v. βρενθύεσθαι, θυμοῦσθαι, ὀργίζεσθαι, ἀξιοπιστεύεσθαι, and by Suidas s. v. ἀναπειστηρίαν, ἀξιοπιστεύονται δὲ οἱ διδάσκαλοι λέγοντες κ.τ.λ. (from the scholiast on Arist. *Nub.* 866). Hence the compound καταξιοπιστεύεσθαι, 'to overpower, or impose upon, by playing the part of an ἀξιόπιστος', on the analogy of καταλαζονεύεσθαι, κατανεανιεύεσθαι, κατασοβαρεύεσθαι, κατασωτεύεσθαι, κατειρωνεύεσθαι, κατεμβριθεύεσθαι, κατισχυρεύεσθαι, etc. There can be no doubt about the reading here, though

οἰνομέλιτος, ὅπερ ὁ ἀγνοῶν ἀδεῶς λαμβάνει ἐν ἡδονῇ κακῇ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν.

VII. Φυλάττεσθε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους. τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν μὴ φυσιουμένοις καὶ οὖσιν ἀχωρίστοις [Θεοῦ]

1 ὅπερ...τὸ ἀποθανεῖν] see the lower note; ὅπερ ὁ ἀγνοῶν ἡδέως λαμβάνει ἐν ἡδονῇ· κακεῖ (so written and punctuated) τὸ ἀποθανεῖν G; ὅπερ ὁ ἀγνοῶν ἡδέως λαμβάνει, ἐν ἡδονῇ κακῇ τὸ ἀποθάνειν Dam-Rup; *quod qui ignorat delectabiliter accipit et in delectatione mala mori* L (where *et* is added to help out what seemed to be a defective construction); *ita ut is qui non novit in voluntate mortem accipiat* S_1; *ut ii quos non cognoscunt cum voluptate mortem accipiant* A. 3 τοὺς τοιούτους] Dam-Rup [g] (but in g the verb is ἀσφαλίζεσθε); τοῖς τοιούτοις G. 4 Θεοῦ]

it depends solely on the quotation in the *Parall. Rupef.*

1. οἰνομέλιτος] '*wine mixed with honey*'; comp. Polyb. xii. 2. 7. Dioscorides (*Mat. Med.* v. 16) explains wherein it differs from οἶνος μελιτίτης, how it is made, and what are its medicinal qualities. For the idea in the text comp. Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 12 καθάπερ φάρμακόν τι δηλητήριον συγκραθὲν μέλιτι ἢ οἴνῳ ἢ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τὸ πᾶν ποιεῖ βλαβερὸν κ.τ.λ., *Anon. adv. Marc.* i. 85 (Tertull. *Op.* II. p. 783, Oehler) 'dulcique cruentum circumfert miseris mixtum cum melle venenum', Lactant. *D. I.* v. 1 'incautos animos facile irretire possunt suavitate sermonis...mella sunt haec venenum tegentia...circumlinatur modo poculum caelesti melle sapientiae', Ephrem Syrus *Op. Syr.* II. p. 554 A 'et propinavit simplicibus amaritudines (venena) dulcedine commixtas' (speaking of the hymns of the heretic Bardesanes). Thus these impostors were mimicking genuine physicians, who disguised their curative drugs in the same way: Plut. *Mor.* p. 13 D ἰατροὶ τὰ πικρὰ τῶν φαρμάκων τοῖς γλυκέσι χυμοῖς καταμιγνύντες τὴν τέρψιν ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον πάροδον εὗρον, Julian *Caesar.* p. 314 οὐκ οἶσθα, ὦ Πρόβε, ὅτι τὰ πικρὰ φάρμακα μιγνύντες οἱ ἰατροὶ τῷ μελικράτῳ προσφέρουσι; ὅπερ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Clem. Hom.* x. 12 οὐ γάρ, εἴ τις προσλάβοι θανασίμου φαρμάκου ἀγνοῶν, οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει.

ἀδεῶς] '*without apprehension*', as e.g. Plut. *Mor.* p. 477 ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀνυπόπτως. I venture on this conjecture, which is suggested by the interpolator's paraphrase ἵνα ὁ πίνων, τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ κλαπεὶς ποιότητι τὴν γευστικὴν αἴσθησιν, ἀφυλάκτως τῷ θανάτῳ περιπαρῇ. The alternative would be to eject ἡδέως altogether, as a gloss of ἐν ἡδονῇ. At the close of the sentence the reading of the Greek MS κἀκεῖ το ἀποθανεῖν is tempting; but the parallel passage *Philad.* 2 (quoted above on καταξιοπιστευόμενοι) is decisive in favour of κακῇ (rather than κἀκεῖ), and this is also supported by the great preponderance of authorities.

VII. 'Therefore be on your guard against such men. Your best security is to shun pride and self-sufficiency, and to hold fast to Jesus Christ, to your bishop, and to the ordinances of the Apostles. He only is pure, who is within the pale of the altar. In other words, he that acts apart from the bishop and presbyters and deacons is not pure in conscience.'

3. τοὺς τοιούτους] This correction is necessary, as φυλάσσεσθαι does not take a dative. A similar cor-

5 *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων τῶν ἀποστόλων. ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν καθαρός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν οὐ καθαρός ἐστιν· τουτέσ-*

GL; om. A. It seems however to have been in the text used by the interpolator (either with or without Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), for g has *εἶναι ἀχωρίστους θεοῦ...αἰδεῖσθε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν ὡς χριστόν, καθὰ ὑμῖν οἱ μακάριοι διετάξαντο ἀπόστολοι.* See the lower note. 7 *ὁ δὲ...ὢν οὐ καθαρός ἐστιν*] *qui vero extra altare est non mundus est* L; om. G (doubtless owing to homœoteleuton). The clause is recognised in g, where the sentence is abridged *ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς ὢν οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χωρὶς κ.τ.λ.* For the whole sentence *ὁ δὲ ἐκτός...τουτέστιν* A has merely *et*: the translator perhaps had before him a text with the same omission as in G and, finding nothing to explain *τουτέστιν*, struck it out and substituted a connecting particle in its place.

rection was required in the MS, *Magn.* 6 *ἐντρέπεσθε ἀλλήλοις.*

4. *μὴ φυσιουμένοις*] Comp. *Magn.* 12 *οἶδα ὅτι οὐ φυσιοῦσθε.* In both passages Ignatius refers to the pride of self-assertion, which rebels against lawful authority.

Θεοῦ] Probably this word should be omitted with the Armenian Version. Though Ignatius frequently speaks of Jesus Christ as God, it may be questioned whether he ever so styles Him without some explanatory or qualifying phrase; see the note on *Ephes.* inscr. *τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.* Hence the awkwardness of the expression is at once apparent. For other doubtful cases see *Smyrn.* 6, 10, with the notes. If *Θεοῦ* be retained, it should perhaps be separated from *Χριστοῦ*, 'of God, of Jesus Christ, and of the bishop, etc.'; but the absence of the connecting particle is hardly consistent with the genius of the Greek language. Instances of such omission occur indeed in the existing Greek text of Ignatius; § 12 *εἰς τιμὴν πατρός, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, Philad.* 9 *τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν,* but in both passages there are good grounds for questioning the reading (see the notes).

5. *τῶν διαταγμάτων κ.τ.λ.*] The reference is doubtless to the institution of episcopacy. Early tradition points to S. John as mainly instrumental in establishing an episcopal organisation in Asia Minor, and to him more especially Ignatius may be referring here; comp. Clem. Alex. *Quis Div. Salv.* 42 (p. 959) *ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων κ.τ.λ.*, *Fragm. Murat.* p. 33 (ed. Tregelles) 'cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis', Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 5 'ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus in Ioannem stabit auctorem.' So Irenæus iii. 3. 4 says of Polycarp *ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος*, while elsewhere (v. 20. 1), more especially in reference to the Asiatic elders, he speaks of 'episcopi quibus apostoli tradiderunt ecclesias'. See *Philippians* p. 212 sq.

6. *ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου κ.τ.λ.*] For the meaning of *θυσιαστήριον*, 'the place of sacrifice', 'the court of the altar', and for the application here, see the note on *Ephes.* 5. It symbolizes the congregation lawfully gathered together under its duly appointed officers.

τιν, ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνων πράσσων τι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρός ἐστιν τῇ συνειδήσει.

VIII. Οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνων τοιοῦτόν τι ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ

1 ἐπισκόπου] G; τοῦ ἐπισκόπου g. πρεσβυτερίου] GL*; τῶν πρεσβυτέρων g; *sacerdotibus* A (this is the common rendering of πρεσβυτέριον in A, and therefore it determines nothing as to the reading). καὶ διακόνων] καὶ διακόνου GL; καὶ τῶν διακόνων g (having inserted articles before the previous words); om. A. 2 πράσσων τι] GL; τι πράσσων g. 4 προορῶν] πρὸ ὁρῶν G. 5 τὴν] written above the line, though *prima manu*, in G. Hence it is omitted by many editors. 6 ἀνακτήσασθε] Cotelier; ἀνακτίσασθε G (which similarly in

1. ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Magn.* 7.

διακόνων] This alteration is necessary with πρεσβυτερίου, which seems certainly to be the correct reading. If πρεσβυτέρου could be retained, διακόνου might stand. The alternative is to eject καὶ διακόνου as a later interpolation, since it is wanting in the Armenian.

2. καθαρός κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 9, 2 Tim. i. 3, ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει.

VIII. 'I do not say this, because you have already fallen into such errors, but I wish to put you on your guard against the snares of the devil. Therefore be gentle-minded; renew yourselves in faith, which is the flesh, and love, which is the blood, of Jesus Christ. Let no man entertain any ill-will against his neighbour. Give no opportunity to the heathen, lest through the folly of a few the whole body of God's people be evil spoken of, and thus the woe denounced by the prophet fall upon you.'

3. Οὐκ ἐπεὶ] i.e. Οὐ λέγω ταῦτα ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.: see *Magn.* 11 (with the note).

4. προφυλάσσω] '*I keep watch over you in good time*', as *Smyrn.* 4 προφυλάσσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων: comp. *Magn.* 11. In Xen. *Mem.* ii. 7. 14 it is used of the watch-dog, who is represented as saying to the sheep ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτὰς σώζων ὥστε μήτε ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κλέπτεσθαι μήτε ὑπὸ λύκων ἁρπάζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς γε, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ προφυλάττοιμι ὑμᾶς, οὐδ' ἂν νέμεσθαι δύναισθε κ.τ.λ. The same metaphor of the flock guarded against the attacks of wild beasts appears to underlie both these Ignatian passages. The false teachers are wolves in sheep's clothing: comp. *Philad.* 2 ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμήν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε· πολλοὶ γὰρ λύκοι ἀξιόπιστοι κ.τ.λ., with the end of § 6 in this epistle.

τὰς ἐνέδρας] Comp. *Philad.* 6.

5. πραϋπάθειαν] The word occurs only once in the Greek Bible, 1 Tim. vi. 11, where the common text has πραότητα, which the interpolator substitutes here also. The verb πραϋπαθεῖν (πραοπαθεῖν) occurs Philo *de Prof.* 1 (I. p. 547), and the substantive πραϋπάθεια ib. *de Abr.* 37 (II. p. 31).

6. ἀναλαβόντες] '*taking up*', i.e. 'as your proper arms of defence'; comp. e.g. Eph. vi. 13, 16, ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν, ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεόν.

ἀνακτήσασθε] '*recover, refresh*'. This is doubtless the right reading. The phrase ἀνακτᾶσθαι ἑαυτὸν is com-

προφυλάσσω ὑμᾶς ὄντας μου ἀγαπητούς, προορῶν τὰς ἐνέδρας τοῦ διαβόλου. ὑμεῖς οὖν τὴν πραϋπάθειαν ἀναλαβόντες ἀνακτήσασθε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν πίστει, ὅ ἐστιν σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ὅ ἐστιν αἷμα Ἰησοῦ

Philad. 6 writes κτίσωνται for κτήσωνται); *recreate* L; *requiescere-facite* S_1A: see the lower note. ὅ] *quod* L; ὃς G; *quae* (or *quod*) S_1; al. Ag. The whole clause runs in S_1, *in fide quae* (*quod*) *est in spe* (בסברא) *et in convivio* (*jucunditate* בבוסמא) *sanguinis jesu christi* (where ἀγάπη is taken in the sense of a love-feast, comp. *Smyrn.* 8); in A, *fide et spe et coena sanguinis christi* (where, as Petermann foresaw, there is a confusion of the Syriac בסרא *caro* and סברא *spes*).

mon; e.g. Epict. *Diss.* iii. 25. 4, Jos. *Ant.* ix. 6. 4, Dion Chrys. *Or.* vii. p. 223. As it denotes recovery after fatigue or hunger or sickness or wounds or the like, we must suppose that the peril of the Trallians was more serious than Ignatius was willing to state in words (Οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνων κ.τ.λ.). The metaphor in both ἀναλαβεῖν and ἀνακτᾶσθαι ἑαυτοὺς is probably taken from campaigning; comp. *Polyc.* 6. If the other verb (ἀνακτίζειν) had been used, the words would have been ἀνακτίσατε ἑαυτούς rather than ἀνακτίσασθε ἑαυτούς.

ὅ ἐστιν σὰρξ κ.τ.λ.] This is the food which their refreshment demands. The reference is only indirectly to the eucharist. The eucharistic bread and wine, while representing the flesh and blood of Christ, represent also faith and love. Faith is the flesh, the substance of the Christian life; love is the blood, the energy coursing through its veins and arteries. See esp. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 121) βρῶμα δὲ ἡ πίστις εἰς θεμέλιον τῆς κατηχήσεως συνεστραμμένη, ἣ δὴ στερεμνιωτέρα τῆς ἀκοῆς ὑπάρχουσα βρώματι ἀπεικάζεται...καὶ ὁ Κύριος... ἑτέρως ἐξήνεγκεν διὰ συμβόλων, Φάγετέ μου τὰς σάρκας, εἰπών, καὶ Πίετέ μου τὸ αἷμα, ἐναργὴς τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ πότιμον ἀλληγορῶν, δι' ὧν ἡ ἐκκλησία...ἄρδεταί τε καὶ αὔξεται, συγκροτεῖταί τε καὶ συμπήγνυται ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, σώματος μὲν τῆς πίστεως, ψυχῆς δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐκ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι αἷμα τῆς πίστεως ἡ ἐλπίς, ἐφ' ἧς συνέχεται, καθάπερ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς, ἡ πίστις· διαπνευσάσης δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος δίκην ἐκρυέντος αἵματος τὸ ζωτικὸν τῆς πίστεως ὑπεκλύεται, where the application of the image is exactly the same as here, except that 'hope' is substituted for 'love'. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 349 sq) explains the words here differently; he supposes that faith and love are so described, as the *means* whereby we participate in the flesh and blood of Christ, i.e. are united with Him. See *Rom.* 7 ἄρτὸν Θεοῦ θέλω ὅ ἐστιν σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ...καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ὅ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος (with the note). In *Philad.* 5 προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, we have a different application of the eucharistic metaphor. See also the notes on *Ephes.* 5, *Smyrn.* 6, 12.

For the neuter relative ὅ, referring to the feminine substantives πίστει, ἀγάπῃ respectively, see the notes on *Magn.* 9, 10: for the combination of 'faith' and 'love', see the note on *Ephes.* 1.

Χριστοῦ. μηδεὶς ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐχέτω· μὴ ἀφορμὰς δίδοτε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἄφρονας τὸ ἔνθεον πλῆθος βλασφημῆται· Οὐαὶ γὰρ ΔΙ' ΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΜΑΤΑΙΟΤΗΤΙ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΕΙΤΑΙ. 5

1 *πλησίον*] g Dam-Vat 6. This is also the reading of G, though several edd. print *πλησίου*, which appears also in the Casanatensian copy. *ἐχέτω*] txt G; add. *τι* here, Dam-Vat; add. *τι* after *ὑμῶν* g; add. *aliquid* (before *habeat*) L; add. *simultatem* A. 3 *τὸ ἔνθεον*] Dam-Vat; *τὸ ἐν θεῷ* G; *quae in deo* L (but in § 10 *ἄθεοι* is translated *sine deo*); *dei* A. The reading *ἔνθεον* perhaps underlies the loose paraphrase of g, where *ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία* is substituted for *τὸ ἔνθεον πλῆθος*. *βλασφημῆται*] *βλασφημεῖται* G.

1. *ἐχέτω*] So *ἔχειν τι κατά τινος*, Matt. v. 23, Mark xi. 25; *ἔχειν κατά τινος, ὅτι κ.τ.λ.* Apoc. ii. 4, 20. Zahn refers to Hermas *Mand.* ii. *ἔξεις κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*, *Sim.* ix. 23 *οἱ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες* (comp. *Vis.* iii. 6), for the omission of the accusative here. Comp. also 2 Cor. v. 12 *ἔχειν πρός τινα*, 'to be able to answer another'. The upper note shows how *τι* is supplied differently in different texts.

μὴ ἀφορμὰς κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. v. 14 *μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν διδόναι τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ λοιδορίας χάριν*.

3. *ἔνθεον*] Comp. Eus. *H. E.* x. 4 (p. 470) *τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνθέου ποίμνης*.

Οὐαὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] A loose quotation from Is. lii. 5 *θαυμάζετε καὶ ὀλολύζετε· τάδε λέγει ὁ Κύριος, Δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, a passage which is likewise quoted indirectly by S. Paul Rom. ii. 24; comp. 1 Tim. vi. 1, Tit. ii. 5. See also Ezek. xxxvi. 23. None of these other passages however account for the departure of the Ignatian quotation from the LXX of Isaiah: nor is it explained by the original Hebrew. The interpolator brings it somewhat nearer to the LXX; *Οὐαὶ γάρ, φησὶν ὁ προφήτης ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, but the chief peculiarity *Οὐαὶ...δι' οὗ* remains. As the Armenian Version omits the whole clause *Οὐαὶ γὰρ...ἐπί τινων βλασφημεῖται*, it might be thought that this quotation was a later interpolation; see instances of interpolated quotations, *Ephes.* 1, 2, *Rom.* 3, 6. But, besides that it is found in all the other authorities, the passage of Isaiah is similarly quoted in Polycarp *Phil.* 10 'Vae autem [illi] per quem nomen Domini blasphematur', and twice in the *Apost. Const.* i. 10, iii. 5, *Οὐαὶ γάρ, φησί, δι' οὗ τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* (but without the *Οὐαὶ* in a third passage, vii. 24); and as both these writers had the Epistles of Ignatius before them, there is a certain presumption that they derived the quotation from him. Moreover the Armenian omission is easily explained by the homœoteleuton *βλασφημῆται, βλασφημεῖται*. There is no trace of the *Οὐαὶ* in the Hexaplaric versions; and Justin (*Dial.* 17, p. 235) and Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iii. 23, iv. 14) both quote the passage without it. For instances in later fathers where it is quoted *Οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ.*, as here, see Cotelier on *Apost. Const.* i. 10. In [Clem. Rom.] ii. 13 we have apparently this same passage quoted in two forms (see the note there).

IX. *Κωφώθητε οὖν, ὅταν ὑμῖν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλῇ τις, τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δαυείδ, τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας, ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγέν τε καὶ ἔπιεν,*

Οὐαὶ...βλασφημεῖται] GL; and so g (with additions and variations); om. A: see the lower note. 6 οὖν] GLg Theodt; om. [S_1] A. ὅταν] G (ὅτ' ἂν) LS_1g Theodt; *in omni quod* A. ὑμῖν] here, Gg; after χριστοῦ Theodt; after *loquatur* [S_1]; om. A. 7 Δαυείδ] δᾶδ G. 8 ὃς] This is clearly the reading of G. τε] GS_1(?)A(?) Theodt; om. g [L]. In this matter the authority of L is of little value; it sometimes reproduces τε (e.g. *Magn.* 1, *Trall.* 5, *Smyrn.* 1, 12), but more commonly omits it (e.g. *Magn.* 5, *Trall.* 12, *Rom.* 3, *Smyrn.* 6, 12, 13, *Polyc.* 1).

IX. 'Therefore stop your ears, when any man would deny or ignore Christ. Believe it: He was true man, the descendant of David, the child of Mary. His human body was no mere phantom. He was really born. He really ate and drank. He was really persecuted, crucified, put to death—a spectacle to men and angels and demons. And so too He was really raised again by the Father, who will as surely raise us also through Jesus Christ, in whom alone is true life.'

6. **Κωφώθητε**] See *Ephes.* 9 *βύσαντες τὰ ὦτα*, with the note.

χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 6 *ἢ περὶ Ἰησοῦ κ.τ.λ.*

7. *ἐκ γένους Δαυείδ*] Enforcing the reality of Christ's humanity, as elsewhere in Ignatius; see the note on *Ephes.* 18.

ἐκ Μαρίας] Another mode of expressing Christ's human nature, as in *Ephes.* 7, 18; so too *Smyrn.* 1 *γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου.*

8. *ἀληθῶς*] The watch-word against Docetism; as in *Magn.* 11, *Smyrn.* 1, 2.

The opposition to Docetism is a main characteristic in Ignatius; but it has various degrees of prominence in the different letters. In the Epistle to the Romans, as addressed to a foreign church, and in the Epistle to Polycarp, as addressed to an individual, it does not appear at all. The letter to the Ephesians contains allusions to it, but they are indirect (inscr. the reality of the passion, § 18 the scandal of the cross, §§ 7, 20, the stress laid on Christ's humanity). In the four remaining letters heresy is directly attacked. In *Trall.* (inscr., 2, 9, 10, 11) and even more fully in *Smyrn.* (§§ 1—8) Docetism, as such, is denounced at length. In *Magn.* (§§ 8, 9, 10) and in *Philad.* (§§ 5, 6, 8, 9) he appears to be attacking Judaism rather than Docetism; but from incidental notices (*Magn.* 9 *ὅν τινες ἀρνοῦνται*, § 11 *πεπληροφορῆσθε ἐν κ.τ.λ.*, *πραχθέντα ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως*; *Philad.* inscr. *ἀγαλλιωμένῃ κ.τ.λ.*, § 3 *τῷ πάθει οὐ συγκατατίθεται*, § 5 *ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ*, § 8 *ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.*), it appears that this Judaism was Docetic, so that it is the same with the heresy of the Trallian and Smyrnæan Epistles, though attacked from the other side. This Docetism, as appears from the notices in these two epistles, was extended to the birth, passion, and resurrection, in fact to the whole human life of Christ.

ἐγεννήθη] '*was born*': see the note on *Ephes.* 18.

ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν, βλεπόντων [τῶν] ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ ὑποχθονίων· ὃς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν, ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὃς καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ οὕτως

1 Ποντίου Πιλάτου] GLAg Theodt; Πιλάτου Ποντίου S_1. ἀληθῶς] GLS$_1$[g]; om. [A] [Theodt]. 2 τῶν] G Theodt; om. g. ἐπουρανίων] G [Theodt]; οὐρανίων g. Theodt is alone in transposing the order and reading ἐπιγείων καὶ ἐπουρανίων. 3 ὑποχθονίων] G; καταχθονίων g [Theodt] (after Phil. ii. 10). 4 κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὃς καὶ κ.τ.λ.] G; *qui et secundum similitudinem nos credentes ipsi sic resuscitabit* etc. L; *ita ut et nos*

1. ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου] On the significance of this form of expression, as giving force to the protest against Docetism, see the note *Magn.* 11.

2. βλεπόντων κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Phil. ii. 10 *πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων*: see also 1 Cor. iv. 9.

3. καὶ ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη] See Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 16 *ἡμεῖς τὸ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παθεῖν οὐ τάσσομεν, ἵνα μὴ ψευδὴς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις ᾖ, ἀλλ' ἀληθής· ὁ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἀποθανών, εἰ ἀνέστη, ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη, ὁ δὲ δοκῶν ἀποτεθνηκέναι οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη.*

4. ἐγείραντος κ.τ.λ.] Apparently a reminiscence of 2 Cor. iv. 14 *εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ ἐγερεῖ*, 1 Thess. iv. 14 *εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἄξει σὺν αὐτῷ*: see also Rom. viii. 11. So too Polyc. *Phil.* 1 *ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ.*

κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα κ.τ.λ.] For the sense see Rom. vi. 5 *ἀλλὰ καὶ [σύμφυτοι τῷ ὁμοιώματι] τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα*, which passage Ignatius probably had in his mind. The sentence would be simplified by the transposition, ὃς καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα for κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὃς καὶ, as suggested by the versions; but in a transposition they are not a safe guide. Zahn goes further and reads *οὗ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα*. An easier correction would be ὡς for ὃς, so that *κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὡς* would be equivalent to *ὁμοίως ὡς*. The tautology *κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα...οὕτως* is explained by the circumstances under which the letter was written: see the next note.

6. ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ] Added to show that the agent intended is not Christ, as the form of the sentence might otherwise suggest. This is one of many instances, in which these letters betray haste of composition. Markland, Petermann, and others would omit these words, but without sufficient reason. It is true that they are wanting in the Armenian; but, as the Syriac from which the Armenian was taken contains them, the omission is obviously due to the Armenian translator or to some transcriber.

τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν] See the note on *Ephes.* 11.

X. 'If it be true, as these godless unbelievers affirm, that Christ did not really die, then why am I a prisoner? Why do I desire to fight with wild beasts? In this case I die for nothing; and I lie against the Lord.'

8. ἄθεοι, κ.τ.λ.] '*godless men, I*

ἐγερεῖ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, οὗ χωρὶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν οὐκ ἔχομεν.

X. Εἰ δέ, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄθεοι ὄντες, τουτέστιν ἄπιστοι, λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν, αὐτοὶ

qui credimus in eum itidem resuscitabit etc. S_1; *itidem et nos credentes in eum secundum eandem rationem resuscitabit* A; al. g: see the lower note.
6 ὁ πατὴρ...Ἰησοῦ] GL; *pater jesu christi* S_1 (the change of a single letter ב for ר would produce *pater eius in jesu christo*, which was doubtless the prior form of the Syriac); om. A (as being superfluous); al. g. 9 τὸ δοκεῖν] G; τῷ δοκεῖν [g]; *secundum videri* L.

mean disbelievers'. The first word, not being strictly applicable to these heretics, needs explanation: 'They are disbelievers', says Ignatius, 'and therefore they have severed themselves from God'. By calling them ἄθεοι (see § 3 above) he places them on a level with the heathen; comp. Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 3 αἱρέσεων ἀθέων καὶ Ἰησοῦ πάντη ἀλλοτρίων. So Tertull. *de Carn. Chr.* 15 'merito ethnici talia, sed merito et haeretici: num quid enim inter illos distat, nisi quod ethnici non credendo credunt, at haeretici credendo non credunt?', speaking also of a form of Docetism. The same epithet ἄπιστος is applied to these Docetics in *Smyrn.* 2, 5, as not believing in the reality of Christ's birth, life, and death. Comp. Iren. iii. 18. 7 'Venit...omnibus restituens *eam quae est ad Deum communionem:* igitur qui dicunt eum putative manifestatum, neque in carne natum neque vere hominem factum, adhuc *sub veteri sunt damnatione*...non devicta secundum eos morte'. Ignatius seems to have the same idea here. It is the reality of Christ's humanity, as well as of His deity, which makes communion with God possible to the believer. Those therefore, who deny this, hold themselves aloof from God; they are still ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (Ephes. ii. 12). See also Cyrill. Hier. *Cat.* iv. 9 (p. 56) φαγὼν ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀληθῶς καὶ πιὼν ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀληθῶς· εἰ γὰρ φάντασμα ἦν ἡ ἐνανθρώπησις, φάντασμα καὶ ἡ σωτηρία.

9. τὸ δοκεῖν] '*in appearance*'. For this adverbial use of τὸ δοκεῖν comp. *Smyrn.* 2, 4. The former of these passages is almost word for word the same as here. See also Tertull. *de Carn. Chr.* 1 'et partus virginis et ipsius exinde infantis ordo τὸ δοκεῖν haberentur', where some editors read τῷ δοκεῖν. But the dative is read in the interpolator's recension here and in *Smyrn.* 2, 4; and so also in Philo *Leg. ad Cai.* 34 (p. 584), 42 (p. 594), Orig. in Hieron. *c. Ioann. Hieros.* 25 (II. p. 431), Hieron. *c. Pelag.* ii. 14 (II. p. 758), at least in the printed texts. The accusative however seems altogether to be preferred here. The construction is different in Plat. *Gorg.* 527 B μελετητέον οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶναι, which Jacobson quotes as a parallel.

αὐτοὶ ὄντες κ.τ.λ.] '*being themselves nothing but outward profession*'. Similarly Iren. iv. 33. 5 'judicabit autem eos qui putativum inducunt... putativum est igitur, et non veritas, omne apud eos'; Tertull. *adv. Valent.* 27 'ita omnia in imagines urgent, plane et ipsi imaginarii Christiani'. Hippolytus plays on the word δοκητὴς in another way; *Haer.* viii. 11

ὄντες τὸ δοκεῖν, ἐγὼ τί δέδεμαι; τί δὲ καὶ εὔχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι; δωρεὰν οὖν ἀποθνήσκω. ἄρα οὖν καταψεύδομαι τοῦ Κυρίου.

XI. Φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακὰς παραφυάδας τὰς

1 τί δὲ καί] L* (but with a v. l.) Sev-Syr 2; τὶ δὲ G; *et quare* S_1A; καὶ [g]. 2 ἄρα οὖν] Voss; ἄρα οὐ GL; *quare* S_1 (the same interrogative with which it has twice translated τί just before); ἄρα (om. οὖν) [g] Sev-Syr (at least οὖν is not translated); *et* A. But S_1A seem to have transferred ἄρα οὖν to the sentence ἐγὼ τί δέδεμαι. 5 οὗ] GLg Dam-Rup 1 Sev-Syr. There is no authority for the reading ὧν. I do not quite understand Zahn's statement, 'ὧν Sf 1, 15 [i.e. S_1] A, quorum hic ad fructus, ille ad propagines traxit pronomen, uterque enim καρπους θανατηφορους habet.' S_1 translates the sing. καρπὸν here (as it does καρπός just below) by the plur. of ܦܐܪܐ, this being a common practice with Syriac translators, and necessarily therefore it substitutes a plural in place of οὗ. In this it is followed by A. In A the form of this plural pronoun gives no indication of gender, and it might be referred equally well to παραφυάδας, if we had not the Greek to determine the reference for us. In S_1 the

δοκητὰς ἑαυτοὺς προσηγόρευσαν ὧν οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι τινὰς κατανοοῦμεν ματαΐζοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ τοσαύτης ὕλης δοκὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ φερομένην διελέγχομεν. Pearson (on *Smyrn.* 2) compares Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxvi. 10 (p. 923) ἀνόμοιον πατρὶ λέγων σὺ ἀνόμοιος γέγονας, κληρωθεὶς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, μηκέτι ὅμοιος ὑπάρχων τῶν ἐν Θεῷ σωζομένων. In the same vein Plato makes merry with the views of those philosophers whom he calls οἱ ῥέοντες, *Theæt.* 181 A.

1. ἐγὼ τί δέδεμαι] i.e. 'The atonement becomes an unreality, and therefore my sufferings for Christ are vain'. The argument is put in a somewhat different form in *Smyrn.* 4 εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, κἀγὼ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι.

εὔχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι] '*I pray that I may fight with wild beasts*': comp. *Ephes.* 1, *Rom.* 5. The same verb occurs with an aorist infinitive, § 12 below, *Ephes.* 2, *Rom.* 5, *Smyrn.* 11. This passage is obviously a reminiscence of 1 Cor. xv. 32 εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα κ.τ.λ., as the argument shows. The θηριομαχεῖν of S. Paul however is probably metaphorical, while that of Ignatius is literal.

2. δωρεὰν οὖν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Gal. ii. 21 ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.

ἄρα οὖν κ.τ.λ.] '*in this case I lie against the Lord*', i.e. 'my life and my preaching alike are a falsehood against Him, for they assume that Christ really did rise'. The whole argument here is founded on 1 Cor. xv. 12 sq: see especially ver. 15 εὑρισκόμεθα δὲ καὶ ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅτι ἤγειρεν τὸν Χριστὸν κ.τ.λ. For ἄρα οὖν comp. Rom. v. 18, vii. 3, 25, viii. 12, etc. The reading οὐ (which requires to be read interrogatively, ἄρα οὐ = *nonne*) is possible in itself (see Kühner *Gramm.* II. p. 1027), but not good here.

XI. 'Shun such false and irregular growths; for their fruit is poisonous and causes immediate death. These men are not the planting of the Father; otherwise they would have been seen to be branches of the Cross and have borne imperish-

γεννώσας καρπὸν θανατηφόρον, οὗ ἐὰν γεύσηταί τις, παραυτὰ ἀποθνήσκει. οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ εἰσιν φυτεία πατρός· εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐφαίνοντο ἂν κλάδοι τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ ἦν ἂν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄφθαρτος· δι' οὗ ἐν τῷ πάθει

existing text has the fem. מנהין, which would refer to *παραφυάδας*, but this is doubtless a scribe's error for the masc. מנהון. *γεύσηται*] *γεύσητε* (with *αι* written above, but whether *prima manu*, is doubtful) G. *τις*] here, GL Dam-Rup; before *γεύσηται* g. 6 *παραυτὰ*] *παρ' αὐτὰ* G; *παραυτίκα* [g] Dam-Rup. *γὰρ*] GLS$_1$ Dam-Rup; om. [g] A. 7 *πατρός*] GLS$_1$Ag; *τοῦ πνεύματος* Dam-Rup. For the not uncommon confusion of ΠΝC and ΠΡC see the note on *Smyrn.* 13. *ἦσαν*] GLA; add. *φυτεία πατρός* S$_1$; add. *τοῦ πατρὸς κλάδοι* [g]. 8 *καὶ ἦν ἂν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.*] GL; *et fructus eorum incorrupti manerent in passione crucis domini nostri cujus membra estis* S$_1$; *et fructus eorum permanens. iam signo crucis domini nostri vos membra estis eius* A (for the substitution of *signo* for *passione* see above, p. 26); al. g. The Syriac translator must have had a mutilated text, which omitted *δι' οὗ* and *προσκαλεῖται*.

able fruit—the Cross, whereby He calleth us unto Him, being His own members. The Head cannot be found apart from the members, forasmuch as God promiseth union, which union is nothing else than Himself.'

4. *παραφυάδας*] '*excrescences, offshoots*'; comp. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 8 (p. 138) *καθυλομανεῖ γὰρ μὴ κλαδευομένη ἡ ἄμπελος, οὕτως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος· καθαίρει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐξυβριζούσας παραφυάδας ὁ λόγος, ἡ μάχαιρα, κ.τ.λ.* The word is used of an adventitious shoot or other growth of a plant. Aristotle, *Plant.* i. 4 (p. 819), writes *παραφυάδες δέ εἰσι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ῥίζης τοῦ δένδρου βλαστάνοντα*, but Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* ii. 2. 4 contemplates their springing from other parts besides the root, for he says *ἐὰν ἀπὸ ῥίζης ἡ παραφυὰς ᾖ*. This word occurs several times in the LXX, where however it is not used with any precision. The metaphorical sense is naturally very common, and appears at least as early as Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* i. 4 (p. 1096). See also the allegory of the *παραφυάδες* in Hermas *Sim.* viii. 1 sq.

6. *παραυτὰ*] '*forthwith*'; comp. *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 6. It is a good classical word: see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 47.

φυτεία πατρός] So again *Philad.* 3 *διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτείαν πατρός.* The reference is to Matt. xv. 13 *πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος κ.τ.λ.*, which passage the interpolator has introduced into his text here.

7. *κλάδοι τοῦ σταυροῦ*] This they are not, for they deny the reality of the Passion. On the prominence given to the Cross by Ignatius in refuting Docetism, see *Ephes.* 18, *Philad.* 8, *Smyrn.* 1, with the notes.

8. *ἄφθαρτος*] For the Cross is the true *ξύλον ζωῆς*.

δι' οὗ] sc. *τοῦ σταυροῦ*; comp. Gal. vi. 14, Eph. ii. 16, Col. i. 20. See also *Ephes.* 9 *διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν σταυρός.* The intermediate clause, *καὶ ἦν ἂν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄφθαρτος*, is parenthetical.

ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ] See the note on *Ephes.* inscr.

αὐτοῦ προσκαλεῖται ὑμᾶς, ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ. οὐ δύναται οὖν κεφαλὴ χωρὶς γεννηθῆναι ἄνευ μελῶν, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἕνωσιν ἐπαγγελλομένου, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτός.

XII. Ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ Σμύρνης, ἅμα ταῖς συμπαρούσαις μοι ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ, οἳ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσαν σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι. παρακαλεῖ ὑμᾶς τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ ἕνεκεν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ περιφέρω,

3 ὅς] G; *quod* L; al. A; def. g. *mihi* L; μου G; *apud vos* A. 5 μοι] g* (but with a v. l. μου); πάντα] GL; πᾶν [g]; dub. A.

1. προσκαλεῖται] i.e. probably ὁ Χριστός, to whom the preceding and following αὐτοῦ must necessarily refer: comp. Clem. Rom. 22, where προσκαλεῖται ἡμᾶς is said of Christ.

μέλη] As in Rom. xii. 4 sq, 1 Cor. vi. 15, Eph. v. 30, and especially 1 Cor. xii. 12 sq, which last passage has suggested the words following here: comp. ver. 21 οὐ δύναται...ἡ κεφαλὴ κ.τ.λ. See also Clem. Rom. 37, 46; comp. also *Ephes.* 4.

οὐ δύναται οὖν] '*Now it is not possible* (in the nature of things) *that a head should be born without limbs*'; and therefore the existence of Christ as the Head implies the attachment of the believers to Him as His members. Perhaps however we should read γενηθῆναι for γεννηθῆναι.

2. τοῦ Θεοῦ ἕνωσιν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'God supplying the principle of cohesion, which principle is nothing else than Himself'; comp. John xvii. 21 sq ἵνα πάντες ἓν ὦσιν, καθὼς σύ, πάτερ, ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν σοί, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ὦσιν κ.τ.λ. With ὅς ἐστιν αὐτός comp. *Ephes.* 14 τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἑνότητι γενόμενα Θεός ἐστιν, and see the note *Magn.* 15. For the attraction of ὅς see the note on *Magn.* 7. The interpretation suggested by Smith, '*qui* Deus *est ipse Christus*,' is quite out of place.

XII. 'The churches present with me at Smyrna join in my salutation. I appeal to you by the chains which I wear in Christ: Remain in unity and prayerfulness. It is your duty one and all, but especially the presbyters, to assist and cherish the bishop, to the honour of God, of Christ, and of the Apostles. Listen to me, lest this letter rise up as a witness against you. I desire your prayers that by God's mercy I may attain the martyr's crown for which I thirst, and may not be rejected.'

4. ταῖς συμπαρούσαις μοι κ.τ.λ.] The churches who were present in the person of their representatives; comp. *Magn.* 15 καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι...ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς. Among these were the Ephesians (*Ephes.* 1 sq.) and the Magnesians (*Magn.* 1), from both which churches several delegates were present with him.

5. κατὰ πάντα κ.τ.λ.] On this common Ignatian phrase see the note *Ephes.* 2.

6. σαρκί τε κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 10.

παρακαλεῖ ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ.] For similar appeals in S. Paul see Eph. iv. 1 παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος κ.τ.λ., Philem. 9 μᾶλλον παρακαλῶ, τοιοῦτος ὢν ὡς Παῦλος...δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ; comp. Col. iv. 18.

αἰτούμενος Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν· διαμένετε ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ μετ' ἀλλήλων προσευχῇ. πρέπει γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῖς καθ' ἕνα, ἐξαιρέτως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀναψύχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τιμὴν πατρὸς [καὶ εἰς τιμὴν] Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων. εὔχομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀκοῦσαί μου, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον ὦ

6 με] here, GL; before κατὰ [g]. 11 καὶ εἰς τιμὴν Ἰ. Χ.] g; *et unigeniti eius domini nostri jesu christi* etc. A; Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (om. καὶ εἰς τιμὴν) GL: see the lower note.

7. περιφέρω] See the notes on *Ephes.* 11, *Magn.* 1.

8. Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν] So too below, § 13. For this favourite Ignatian phrase see the note on *Magn.* 1.

διαμένετε] These are the words of the appeal (παρακαλεῖ) which his bonds address to them. For this favourite construction in Ignatius, who prefers the imperative to the infinitive after παρακαλεῖν, see the note on § 6 χρῆσθε above.

10. τοῖς καθ' ἕνα] See Eph. v. 33 for this expression. Similarly οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα below, § 13 (see the note on *Ephes.* 4). In Rom. xii. 5 we have the strange expression τὸ καθ' εἷς.

ἐξαιρέτως καὶ] The transposition καὶ ἐξαιρέτως, suggested by Jacobson, seems unnecessary; comp. § 13 ὁμοίως καὶ (with the note). For the adverb ἐξαιρέτως comp. *Smyrn.* 7 (with the note), and for the corresponding adjective ἐξαίρετος, *Philad.* 9. Neither word is found in the N.T., but ἐξαίρετος occurs in the LXX, Gen. xlviii. 22, Job v. 5.

11. ἀναψύχειν] See the note on *Ephes.* 2.

εἰς τιμὴν κ.τ.λ.] For this Ignatian mode of expression see the note on *Ephes.* 21.

πατρὸς κ.τ.λ.] If the Greek MS of Ignatius be followed we must punctuate 'to the honour of the Father of Jesus Christ, and of the Apostles' (making Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ dependent on πατρὸς), rather than 'to the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the Apostles'; for the latter connexion would almost necessarily require a connecting particle, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (see the notes on § 7 ἀχωρίστοις Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ., and *Philad.* 9 τὴν παρουσίαν). But in this case the omission of 'the honour of Jesus Christ' would be inexplicable. The probability however is that the right reading is preserved in the interpolator's text, which inserts another καὶ εἰς τιμὴν before Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, and that a transcriber has ejected the words as a superfluity. Zahn defends the common text on the ground 'scriptoris menti similitudinem illam obversari, quam et inter episcopum Deumque Christi patrem, et inter presbyteros apostolosque intercedere existimat' (comp. *Magn.* 6).

13. εἰς μαρτύριον ὦ] Comp. *Philad.* 6 καὶ πᾶσι δὲ, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησα, εὔχομαι ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτὸ κτήσωνται. The ἐν should probably be retained, in which case γράψας will stand by itself, 'by my writing.' The interpolator has omitted the preposition in conformity with the very common idiom εἰς μαρτύριόν τινι, Matt. viii. 4, x. 18, xxiv. 14, Mark i. 44, vi. 11, etc.

[ἐν] ὑμῖν γράψας. καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ προσεύχεσθε, τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης χρήζοντος ἐν τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναί με τοῦ κλήρου οὗπερ ἔγκειμαι ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὑρεθῶ.

XIII. Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη Σμυρναίων καὶ Ἐφεσίων. μνημονεύετε ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας· ὅθεν [καὶ] οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι λέγεσθαι,

1 ἐν] GL; om. Ag. 3 οὗπερ ἔγκειμαι ἐπιτυχεῖν] Bunsen; οὗ περίκειμαι ἐπιτυχεῖν Gg: *qua conor potiri* L; *accipere (sortes) ad quas vocatus sum* A. 6 ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς] GLA; om. g. ὑμῶν] GL [g*]; om. A. 7 καὶ] G; om. LAg. 8 ἐκείνων] GL; τῶν ἐκεῖ g; al. A. ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] GL; ἐν κυρίῳ ἰησοῦ χριστῷ g (MSS, but *in christo jesu* l) A. 9 ὡς

3. καταξιωθῆναι] See the note on *Ephes.* 20.

τοῦ κλήρου] i.e. the glory of martyrdom, as in *Rom.* 1 εἰς τὸ τὸν κλῆρόν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν, *Philad.* 5 ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς Θεόν με ἀπαρτίσει, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ κλήρῳ ἠλεήθην ἐπιτύχω. The word is used in the same connexion elsewhere; *Mart. Polyc.* 6 ἵνα ἐκεῖνος τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον ἀπαρτίσῃ, *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* § 3 (in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1) ἀνελήφθη καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν κλῆρον τῶν μαρτύρων.

οὗπερ ἔγκειμαι κ.τ.λ.] '*which I am eager to attain*.' I know no better emendation of the obviously corrupt οὗ περίκειμαι than this conjecture of Bunsen's (*Br.* p. 141), corresponding to the Latin *qua conor potiri;* but I am not quite satisfied with it. I do not know whether ἔγκεισθαι elsewhere takes an infinitive; its common construction is with a dative of the thing or person. The common text might mean '*to obtain the lot with which I am invested*' (οὗ by attraction for ὅν), but this is hardly sense.

4. ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος κ.τ.λ.] Suggested by 1 Cor. ix. 27. The idea of a race seems to be present here (e.g. in ἔγκειμαι ἐπιτυχεῖν), as in S. Paul.

XIII. 'The Smyrnæans and Ephesians salute you. Pray for the Church in Syria, of which I am an unworthy member. Farewell in Christ. Be obedient to your bishop and presbyters, and love one another. My spirit is devoted to you, not now only, but when I shall find God. At present I am still exposed to dangers; but the Father is faithful to fulfil your prayers and mine in Christ Jesus, in whom may we be found blameless.'

5. ἡ ἀγάπη κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Rom.* 9, *Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 12. This is not a mere complimentary title, as Pearson and others would take it; see note on § 3 τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν.

6. Ἐφεσίων] Though the representatives of other churches were present with him at Smyrna, the Ephesians are singled out, as the more numerous body of delegates and as attending more continuously on him; comp. *Magn.* 15, *Rom.* 10. See the notes on *Ephes.* 1, 2. Ephesus and Smyrna were regarded as the 'two eyes' of Asia; Plin. *N. H.* v. 31 'Ephesum alterum lumen Asiae' (in

ὧν ἔσχατος ἐκείνων. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ, ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ· καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶτε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ. ἁγνίζεται ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα, οὐ μόνον νῦν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ἔτι γὰρ ὑπὸ κίνδυνόν εἰμι· ἀλλὰ πιστὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Ἰησοῦ

τῇ ἐντολῇ] G; om. g; add *dei* LA. 10 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ] GL*; τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις g; *sacerdotibus* A (see above on § 7). 11 ἁγνίζεται ὑμῶν] ἁγνίζετε ὑμῶν GL; ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς g (MSS, but *castificet vos* l); *desiderat erga vos* A. 13 ὑπὸ κίνδυνον] GL; ἐπικίνδυνον g (MSS, but see Appx); *in sollicitudine* A. ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] GL* (but L_1 *in christo iesu*); ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ g; *domini nostri jesu christi* [A].

reference to Smyrna mentioned previously).

τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας] This request appears in all the letters written from Smyrna; see the note on *Ephes.* 21.

7. ὅθεν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Magn.* 14 ὅθεν οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι καλεῖσθαι.

8. ὧν ἔσχατος κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ephes.* 21 ἔσχατος ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν (with the note).

ἔρρωσθε] See the note on *Ephes.* 21.

9. ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ] So too *Smyrn.* 8 τοὺς διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν: comp. also *Magn.* 2 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (with the note). In our passage ἡ ἐντολὴ is used absolutely, as in Rom. vii. 8 ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς κ.τ.λ., 1 Tim. vi. 14 τηρῆσαί σε τὴν ἐντολὴν ἄσπιλον κ.τ.λ. Not satisfied with this, the translators have added 'Dei.' This absolute use is not consistent with Pearson's interpretation of *Smyrn.* l. c. '*tamquam Dei praecepto institutos*,' i.e. 'as being God's ordinance' (where he refers to this passage). The Trallians are told to obey the bishop's orders, as they would obey God's orders. The sense of ἐντολὴ here is active, not passive; 'the voice ordering,' not 'the thing ordered.'

ὁμοίως καὶ] See the note on *Ephes.* 19.

10. οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα] '*each individually*'; see the note on *Ephes.* 4.

11. ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ] So again *Philad.* 6. Thus also διάνοιαν ἀδιάκριτον § 1, ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ *Ephes.* 20.

ἁγνίζεται ὑμῶν] i.e. ἅγνισμα γίγνεται ὑμῶν, where ἅγνισμα, 'a piacular offering,' like περίψημα, περικάθαρμα, etc., denotes entire devotion to and self-sacrifice for another: comp. *Ephes.* 8 περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἁγνίζομαι ὑμῶν (with the note).

12. ὅταν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω] i.e. 'by my martyrdom'; see above § 12.

13. ὑπὸ κίνδυνον] Comp. *Ephes.* 12 ἐγὼ ὑπὸ κίνδυνον, ὑμεῖς ἐστηριγμένοι (with the note). There is still the risk that either by his own weakness or by the interposition of others he may be robbed of the martyr's crown.

πιστὸς ὁ πατὴρ] Compare S. Paul's πιστὸς ὁ Θεὸς and similar expressions; 1 Cor. i. 9, x. 13, 2 Cor. i. 18, 1 Thess. v. 24, 2 Thess. iii. 3.

Χριστῷ πληρῶσαί μου τὴν αἴτησιν καὶ ὑμῶν· ἐν ᾧ εὑρεθείημεν ἄμωμοι.

2 *εὑρεθείημεν*] Ag; *εὑρεθείητε* GL. A single letter might make the difference -ΗΜΕ for -ΗΤΕ. *ἄμωμοι*] GL; add. *gratia vobiscum omnibus. amen* A; add. *ὀναίμην ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ* g.

There is no subscription to GLA. For g see the Appx.

1. *πληρῶσαι*] An infinitive after *πιστός*, as in Neh. xiii. 13.

ἐν ᾧ] i.e. *Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ*, as in Phil. iii. 9 *ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω καὶ εὑρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.*; comp. *Ephes.* 11 *μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὑρεθῆναι*, and see also § 2 of this epistle.

4.

TO THE ROMANS.

4.

TO THE ROMANS.

LIKE the three preceding letters, the Epistle to the Romans was written and despatched from Smyrna. The Ephesian delegates, who were still with him, acted as amanuenses; and, as the name of Crocus is singled out for mention, we may suppose that he was the chief penman on the occasion. This is the only letter which bears a date. It was written on August 23rd (§ 10).

Ignatius had been preceded by certain members of the Syrian Church, who however are not mentioned by name. He assumes that they will have arrived in Rome before the letter; he bespeaks for them a kindly welcome; and he wishes them to be informed of his speedy arrival. Of these persons nothing is said elsewhere. Probably they had been despatched from Antioch direct to Rome, immediately after the condemnation of the saint, with the news of his impending visit. The letter throughout assumes that the Roman Christians are informed of his fate, and will act upon the information.

But, though the letter was despatched from the same place and probably about the same time with the Epistles to the Ephesians, Magnesians, and Trallians, though it closely resembles them in style and expression, yet the main topics are wholly different. The subject matter is changed with the change in the relations between the writer and the readers. There is no direct allusion to the Judæo-Gnostic heresy, which occupies so large a place in his letters to the Asiatic Churches. The Roman Church is complimented in the opening as 'filtered clear from every foreign colouring,' and from first to last the epistle contains no reference to false doctrine of any kind. On the

correlative topic also, the duty of obedience to the bishop and other officers of the Church, which shares with the denunciation of heresy the principal place in the other letters, he is equally silent here. Indeed we might read the epistle from beginning to end without a suspicion that the episcopal office existed in Rome at this time, if we had no other grounds for the belief. On the relation of this phenomenon to other early documents bearing on the Roman Church I have spoken elsewhere (*S. Clement of Rome* I. p. 68; comp. *Philippians* p. 217 sq).

On the other hand the letter is almost wholly taken up with one single topic, which appears only casually in the other epistles—his coming martyrdom. We have seen how the news of his conviction had preceded him to Rome. He was alarmed at its possible effects. Perhaps he had good reason to fear the too officious zeal of his friends from Syria. At all events there were Christians holding influential positions in Rome at this time, more especially about the court (see the note on § 1 *φοβοῦμαι κ.τ.λ.*). What, if they should attempt to obtain a reversal or a commutation of his sentence? Their inopportune kindness would be his ruin (§ 4). The whole letter is a passionate cry for martyrdom, an eager deprecation of pardon. The altar is ready. Will they then withhold the libation (§ 2)? Will they refuse the sacrifice (§ 4)? It will be an act of jealousy (§ 5 *ζηλώσαι*), a display of envy (§ 3 *ἐβασκάνατε*, § 7 *βασκανία*), an infliction of wrong (§ 1 *ἀδικήσῃ*), an outbreak of hatred (§ 8 *ἐμισήσατε*), an abetting of Satan (§ 7 *βοηθείτω αὐτῷ*), to rob him of his crown. Even though he himself on his arrival in Rome should crave their intercession, which now he deprecates, he intreats them not to listen to him (§ 7). Martyrdom is the new birth, is the true life, is the pure light (§ 6). Martyrdom is the complete discipleship, the final enfranchisement (§ 4). The martyr's crown is better than all the kingdoms of the earth (§ 6). Only then, when he sets to the world, will he rise to God (§ 2). The teeth of the wild beasts are the mill which grinds the fine flour for the sacrificial bread. Therefore he will entice them, will provoke them, to mangle, to crush, to pulverize his limbs for the altar of God (§§ 4, 5). Crowned by martyrdom, his life becomes an utterance of God; robbed of martyrdom, it is a vague unmeaning cry (§ 2).

The Epistle to the Romans had a wider popularity than the other letters of Ignatius both early and late. It appears to have been circulated apart from them, sometimes alone, sometimes attached to the story of the martyrdom. Thus it seems to have become in some sense a *vade mecum* of martyrs in the subsequent ages. At all events we find

it quoted before any of the other epistles (Iren. v. 28. 4; see § 4, p. 207 below); and its influence on the earliest genuine Acts of Martyrdom extant—those of Polycarp, and those of Perpetua and Felicitas—seems to be clearly discernible (see the notes on § 6 *προσβιάσομαι*, § 5 *Ὀναίμην* κ.τ.λ.; comp. also the note on § 4 *ἀπελεύθερος* κ.τ.λ.). Moreover in the Menæa for Dec. 20, the day assigned to S. Ignatius in the later Greek Calendar, we meet again and again with expressions taken from it, whereas there is no very distinct coincidence with the other epistles. On the other hand, where the interest was doctrinal and not practical, as for instance in the Monophysite controversy, the other letters are prominent and the Epistle to the Romans recedes into the background. Owing to these circumstances, the history and the phenomena of the text are different in several respects from those of the other epistles (see above, p. 5 sq).

The following is an *analysis* of the epistle.

'IGNATIUS to the CHURCH OF ROME, preeminent in position as in love, worthy of all good things and filtered clear from all defilement, abundant greeting in Christ.'

'My prayer has been more than granted; for I shall see you in my bonds. Only do not interpose, that so my course, which has begun well, may also end well (§ 1). The opportunity is great; do not mar it. If you keep silence, God will speak through me. The altar is ready for sacrifice; chant ye the hymn of praise round the victim (§ 2). Teach me my duty, as you have taught others. Pray that I may have strength to do, as well as to say. I shall be seen most plainly then, when I have ceased to be seen. Christianity is not talk, but might (§ 3). I tell all the churches that I die freely. Leave me to the wild beasts. I am the fine meal ground in the mill for sacrifice. Stir up the wild beasts to devour me wholly. I cannot command you as Peter and Paul did; for I am only a criminal and a slave (§ 4). I am fighting with wild beasts the whole way from Syria to Rome. Yet the cruelty of my guards is a wholesome discipline to me. I trust and pray that the beasts will devour me at once; that they will be eager, as I am eager. Let no power in heaven or on earth envy me my crown. I am ready for any torture (§ 5). All the kingdoms of the earth are nothing to me. I desire Christ; I desire light and life. Let me imitate the passion of my God (§ 6). Satan would seize on me as his prey; do not abet him. Obey me in these words which I write now. My earthly passions are crucified. I desire not the food of corruption.

I crave the bread and the cup of God (§ 7). Once again; do not thwart me. I write briefly, but Christ will interpret. It is God's own will that I declare (§ 8).'

'Pray for the Syrian Church, which has no bishop now but God, and of which I am an unworthy member. The churches which have received and escorted me join in my salutation (§ 9). I write this from Smyrna, with the assistance of the Ephesians, especially Crocus. Tell the Syrians who have preceded me, that I shall arrive shortly. Written on ix Kal. Sept. Farewell, be patient to the end (§ 10).'

ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ.

'ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἠλεημένῃ ἐν μεγαλειότητι πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μόνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκκλησίᾳ ἠγαπημένῃ καὶ πεφωτισμένῃ ἐν θελήματι τοῦ θελήσαντος τὰ πάντα ἃ ἔστιν, κατὰ

ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ] *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ῥωμαίους* g*; *ignatii epistola ad romanos* L*; *epistola tertia* (*eiusdem sancti ignatii*) Σ*; *ad romam urbem* A. There is no title in GA_mS_mM.

1 *ὁ καὶ*] M; *qui est* A_m; om. S_m. For the other authorities see the note on *Ephes.* inscr. 2 *πατρὸς ὑψίστου*] GLΣAA_mM; *excelsi* (om. *πατρός*) S_m; *ὑψίστου θεοῦ πατρός* g. *καὶ*] GL$A_m$$S_m$[M] g (but omitted in l); om. A; def. Σ. 3 *ἠγαπημένῃ*] GL$A_m$$S_m$M: *ἡγιασμένῃ* [g*]; *sancti* A (translating it as if it had read the sentence *υἱοῦ τοῦ ἡγιασμένου καὶ φωτίζοντος*); def. Σ. 4 *τοῦ θελήσαντος*] GLAA_mM; *τοῦ ποιήσαντος* [g]; *ejus qui ligat et tenet omnia* S_m; def. Σ.

'IGNATIUS to the CHURCH OF ROME, that hath found mercy and enlightenment in Jesus Christ, that is foremost in rank as in love, worthy in all respects, attached with Christ's commands, full of grace, and filtered clear of all defilement; a hearty greeting in Christ.'

1. *τῇ ἠλεημένῃ κ.τ.λ.*] '*which has found mercy in the mightiness of the Father Most High*,' i.e. 'on which He in His compassion has conferred gifts such as His mightiness alone can bestow'; comp. *Smyrn.* inscr. *ἠλεημένῃ ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι*. For *ἠλεημένῃ* see also *Philad.* inscr. For *μεγαλειότης*, 'mightiness,' 'magnificence,' applied to God, comp. Luke ix. 43, 2 Pet. i. 16, Clem. Rom. 24, in all which passages it refers to munificent exhibitions of His power (Acts ii. 11 *τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ*). It occurs in other connexions, Jer. xxxiii (xl). 9, 3 Esdr. i. 4, Acts xix. 27.

3. *ἠγαπημένῃ*] So to be read, as in *Trall.* inscr. Though *ἡγιασμένῃ* has very high support, yet it ought probably to be rejected, as a likely word (comp. 1 Cor. i. 2) to be substituted in this connexion by a scribe. This very substitution has been made in many MSS of Jude 1 *τοῖς ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ ἡγιασμένοις*, where *ἠγαπημένοις* is the correct reading.

4. *τοῦ θελήσαντος κ.τ.λ.*] '*of Him that willed all things which exist*'; comp. *Magn.* 3 *εἰς τιμὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ θελήσαντος ὑμᾶς*. I have punctuated after *ἔστιν* and accentuated it paroxytone, as the sense requires.

κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην κ.τ.λ.] '*in faith and love toward Jesus Christ*,'

πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἥτις

1 *πίστιν καὶ*] gAA$_m$; om. GLS$_m$M; def. Σ. 2 *τόπῳ χωρίου*] GΣAA$_m$Mg; *loco chori* L; *regione* S$_m$. *ἀξιόθεος...ἀξίαγνος*] txt GLA (with variations explicable through the medium of the Syriac; see the next note) A$_m$S$_m$g; *digna deo* (*ἀξιόθεος*) *et digna vita* (*ἀξιοπρεπής*, for חיא *vita* is doubtless a corruption of יאיא

The genitive case is objective and probably refers to both the preceding substantives, as in *Ephes.* 20 *ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πίστει καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγάπῃ*; comp. *ib.* 14 *ἐὰν τελείως εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἔχητε τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην.* See also *Ephes.* 1 with the note. The preposition *κατὰ* gives the rule or standard after which their conduct is fashioned.

1. *τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*] See the note on *Ephes.* inscr.

2. *προκάθηται*] '*has the chief seat, presides, takes the precedence.*' The word is used of preeminence or superiority generally in writers of about this time; e.g. Dion Chrysost. *Or.* xxxv (p. 68) *τῆς τε Φρυγίας προκάθησθε καὶ Λυδίας κ.τ.λ.* (of the town of Celænæ), Galen XIX. p. 22 (Kühn) *ἠξίωσάν τινες τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἰατρῶν ἐν προεδρείᾳ καθεζόμενοι κ.τ.λ.*, Greg. Naz. *Or.* xliii. 14 (I. p. 780) *τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν προκαθεζομένην τῆς ἑῴας πόλιν.* Schol. to Soph. *Electr.* 234 *Μυκῆναι ἡ προκαθεζομένη τοῦ Ἄργους.* See the inscription in *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* VII. p. 283 *Τάρσος...τῶν γ' ἐπαρχειῶν, [Κιλικίας], Ἰσαυρίας, Λυκαονία[ς, προ]καθεζομένη*, with the reference (*ib.* p. 285) to Basil of Seleucia *Op.* p. 275 (Paris, 1622) *Σελεύκεια... προεδρεύουσα καὶ προκαθεζομένη πάσης Ἰσαυρίδος πόλεως.* Pearson quotes an edict ascribed to the Dictator Cæsar in Ioann. Malal. *Chron.* ix. p. 216 (ed. Bonn.) *Ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μητροπόλει, ἱερᾷ καὶ ἀσύλῳ καὶ αὐτονόμῳ καὶ ἀρχούσῃ καὶ προκαθημένῃ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, Ἰούλιος Γάϊος Καῖσαρ κ.τ.λ.* Leo the Great thus apostrophizes Rome herself at a later date (*Serm.* 82, *Op.* I. p. 322, Venet. 1753), 'civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius praesideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena.'

ἐν τόπῳ κ.τ.λ.] These words probably describe the limits over which the supremacy or jurisdiction extends; comp. Tert. *de Praescr.* 36 'percurre ecclesias apostolicas apud quas ipsae adhuc cathedrae apostolorum *suis locis praesident.*' In this case it might be thought that there was a reference more especially to the presidency of the Roman see over the suburbicarian bishops, who formed a sort of college under the bishop of Rome as their head—a constitution out of which the later college of Cardinals grew. But, not to mention that the presidency is here assigned not to the Roman bishop but to the Roman Church, such a reference would probably be a great anachronism. Though some have seen distinct traces of this relation between the bishop of Rome and the suburbicarian sees at least as early as the beginning of the third century (Bunsen *Hippolytus* I. p. 422 sq, ed. 2; Milman *Lat. Christ.* I. p. 41; comp. Ruggieri *de Port. Hippol. Sed.* ii. 8 in Lumper *Hist. Sanct. Patr.* VIII. p. 518 sq), yet there is really no evidence of such a constitution till a very much later date, while many facts point in the opposite direction; see Döllinger *Hippolytus u. Kallistus* p. 108 sq. The *τόπος χωρίου Ῥωμαίων* therefore will have a looser signification, denoting generally 'the country or district of the Romans' (comp.

καὶ προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων, ἀξιόθεος,

decorum, as Cureton and Petermann suggest) *et beatitudine* (ἀξιομακάριστος) *et laude* (ἀξιέπαινος) *et memoria* (perhaps = ἀξίαγνος, דוכרנא *memoria* being a corruption of דוכיא *purificatio*) *et digna prosperitate* (ἀξιεπίτευκτος) Σ; om. M.

Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* iii. 38, p. 135, ἐν σκήπτρῳ καὶ χώρᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἀναπατῶν); and the Church of Rome itself is so entitled, as the principal church in this region, just as the Church of Jerusalem might be said προκαθῆσθαι ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ἰουδαίων.

On the other hand it might be urged that ἐν τόπῳ κ.τ.λ. describes not the range of the supremacy, but the locality of the supreme power itself. In this case προκάθηται would be used absolutely of a certain precedence assigned to the Church of Rome, as situated in the metropolis of the empire and the world, over the other churches of Christendom. The expression would then be allied to the 'potentior principalitas,' which Irenæus (iii. 3. 2) assigns to the Roman Church; though not so strong in itself. But, if this were the meaning, it is difficult to see why Ignatius should write ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων in place of ἐν Ῥώμῃ, which alone would be natural to describe merely the locality. The idea of the 'cathedra Petri' therefore has no place here.

For the pleonastic τόπῳ comp. *Clem. Hom.* i. 14 ποθῶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας γενέσθαι τόπον, *Letter of Abgar* in Euseb. *H. E.* i. 13 σωτῆρι ἀγαθῷ ἀναφανέντι ἐν τόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων (comp. *Doctrine of Addai* p. 4, ed. Phillips). It may perhaps be regarded as a Syriasm, since the Syrians constantly insert the corresponding word אתרא in translating from the Greek, where it has no place in the original; e.g. Acts ii. 9, 10, iv. 36, xi. 19, xiv. 24, xvi. 7, 8, xviii. 2, xx. 2, etc., in the Peshito. In Origen *in Ioann.* ii. 12 (IV. p. 172) πεποίηκεν ἐκεῖ τοῦ τόπου χωρίου παρακλήσεως, quoted by Pearson and others as a parallel to the expression here, we ought probably to read χωρίον. The explanation of Bunsen, who governs χωρίου by προκάθηται and interprets ἐν τόπῳ *in dignitate, in officio suo* (*Br.* p. 114), appears to me quite untenable. Nor again does it seem possible to accept Zahn's solution (*I. v. A.* p. 311 sq, and *ad loc.*), who takes the same construction but substitutes τύπῳ for τόπῳ, making ἐν τύπῳ signify 'as an example,' i.e. to the other churches. We should expect εἰς τύπον or ὡς τύπος in this case; and indeed the extreme awkwardness of the whole expression condemns it.

χωρίου] '*region*.' The words χῶρος ('place'), χώρα ('country'), and χωρίον ('district'), may be distinguished as implying *locality*, *extension*, and *limitation*, respectively. The last word commonly denotes either 'an estate, a farm,' or 'a fastness, a stronghold,' or (as a mathematical term) 'an area.' Here, as not unfrequently in later writers, it is 'a region,' 'a district'; but the same fundamental idea is preserved. The relation of χῶρος to χωρίον is the same as that of ἄργυρος, χρυσός, to ἀργύριον, χρυσίον, the former being the metals themselves, the latter the metals worked up into bullion or coins or plate or trinkets or images, e.g. Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* iii. 42 (p. 147) ταῦτ' ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου πλαττόμενα μορφώματα ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον.

ἀξιόθεος κ.τ.λ.] On the frequency of these compounds of ἄξιος in Ignatius see the note on *Ephes.* 4 ἀξιονόμαστον. In this passage, though symmetrical in composition, they are

ἀξιοπρεπής, ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξιέπαινος, ἀξιεπίτευκτος, ἀξίαγνος, καὶ προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, χριστόνομος, πατρώνυμος· ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ

1 ἀξιεπίτευκτος] g* (but 1 has *fide dignae*) G (written ἀξιοεπίτευκτος) Σ (see the last note) A_mS_m; *digne ordinata* L; *digna precibus* A: see the lower note.
2 χριστόνομος] g* (though the common text has χριστώνυμος); *christi habens*

hardly so in meaning, but take their complexion from the other component element, 'worthy *of* praise,' 'worthy *in* purity,' etc. For the word ἀξιόθεος itself see *Trall.* inscr. (note).

1. ἀξιεπίτευκτος] The meaning of the word may be doubtful. According as an active or a passive sense is assigned to -επιτευκτος, it will signify 'worthy of success' or 'worthy of associating with.' Jacobson indeed says of this latter sense, 'mire Vedelius *dignissima quae invisatur*.' But it is suggested by the passive form; it is supported by such analogies as ἀξιοζήλωτος, ἀξιοθέατος, ἀξιόκτητος, and especially ἀξιοκοινώνητος (Plat. *Resp.* p. 371 E); and it would harmonize with Ignatius' expressed desire to see the Romans (§ 1). On the other hand ἀνεπίτευκτος, εὐεπίτευκτος, both of them late and rare words, are used in the sense 'unsuccessful,' 'fortunate,' respectively. All those versions also, which had the word uncorrupted, agree in so rendering it; *digna prosperitate* Σ; *digna assecutione* (*desideriorum*) A_m; *digna iis quae petiit* S_m: and this fact may perhaps be allowed to decide the meaning. Of the others, *digne ordinata* in L represents ἀξιεπίτακτος, and *fide digna* in 1 ἀξιοπίστευτος, while *digna precibus* in A is due to a corruption in the Syriac text (لحي لسه *precatione* for لحي لسه *prosperitate*) which the Armenian translator had before him, as Petermann has pointed out. Yet δυσεπίτευκτος seems to have a passive sense 'difficult of attainment' (unless indeed its meaning is 'difficult of success') in Diod. Sic. xvii. 93 ὁρῶν δυσεπίτευκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Γανδαρίδας στρατείαν οὖσαν, *ib.* xxxii. exc. εἰς πολλὰς ἐπιβολὰς δυσεπιτεύκτους ἔσχε τὰς πράξεις, and so certainly Methodius *Conv.* i. 1 (p. 11, ed. Jahn) σπάνιον πάνυ καὶ δυσεπίτευκτον ἀνθρώποις ἀγγεῖα; while Hesych. uses it in a somewhat different sense, but still passive, 'difficult of access, unsociable,' when he writes δυσπετέστερος· δυσκολώτερος, δυσεπιτευκτότερος. As regards the form of the word, ἀξιεπίτευκτος is more in accordance with analogy (e. g. ἀξιέπαινος just above, ἀξιέντρεπτος Clem. Alex. *Proph. Ecl.* 28, p. 997).

2. ἀξίαγνος] '*worthily pure*.' Bunsen (*Br.* p. 115) conjectures ἀξίαινος, supposing that the previous ἀξιέπαινος is a transcriber's gloss to explain the unusual word ἀξίαινος. But the convergence of so many and various authorities in favour of the reading in the text forbids such a violent alteration.

προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης] Comp. *Clem. Hom.* Ep. Clem. 2, 17, where προκαθέζεσθαι ἀληθείας is said of Clement as the successor of S. Peter. There is doubtless here a reference back to the foregoing προκαθημένη ἐν τόπῳ κ.τ.λ. The Church of Rome, as it is first in rank, is first also in love. A noble testimony is borne to the spirit which distinguished the early Roman Church by Dionysius of Corinth, who writes as follows to the

Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ πατρός· κατὰ σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα ἡνωμένοις πάσῃ ἐντολῇ αὐτοῦ, πεπληρωμένοις χάριτος Θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἀποδιυλισμένοις ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου χρώ-

legem L; *in lege christi* [Σ] S_m; *lege christi* A; χριστώνυμος G; def. M. A_m gives both readings, *christi-habens-legem* (*aut; christi-habens-nomen*). In the passage which follows, Σ is greatly abridged.

Christians in Rome (c. A.D. 170), ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν, ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ὧδε μὲν τὴν τῶν δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχοντας, ἐν μετάλλοις δὲ ἀδελφοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντας· δι' ὧν πέμπετε ἀρχῆθεν ἐφοδίων πατροπαράδοτον ἔθος Ῥωμαίων Ῥωμαῖοι φυλάττοντες, and he adds that Soter, their present bishop, had more than sustained the traditional reputation of his church for deeds of charity; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23. The Epistle of Clement itself is a happy illustration of this spirit.

χριστόνομος] '*observing the law of Christ*': comp. 1 Cor. ix. 21 ἔννομος Χριστοῦ, and see also Gal. vi. 2 ἀναπληρώσετε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Magn.* 2 ὡς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Considering the great preponderance of the best authorities in favour of χριστόνομος, and the likelihood of alteration into χριστώνυμος for the sake of conformity with the following word, there can be no doubt about the reading.

3. πατρώνυμος] See Ephes. iii. 14, 15, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται. The lexicons give no other example of this word, though the derivatives πατρωνυμικός, πατρωνυμικῶς, are not uncommon in later writers, and πατρωνύμιος occurs even in Æschylus *Pers.* 151 τὸ πατρωνύμιον γένος ἡμέτερον (where Blomfield would read τὸ πατρώνυμον ὂν κ.τ.λ.). This same play also offers a good analogy to the preceding word in Περσόνομος ver. 916.

4. σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα] See the note on *Ephes.* 10.

ἡνωμένοις] '*united to*', and so '*acting in unison with*'; comp. *Magn.* 6, *Smyrn.* 3.

5. ἀδιακρίτως] not '*inseparably*', but '*without wavering, with undivided allegiance, with singleness of heart*'; comp. *Philad.* inscr. ἀγαλλιωμένῃ ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀδιακρίτως. See the note on ἀδιάκριτον, *Ephes.* 3. Comp. also such expressions as ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ· *Trall.* 13, ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ *Ephes.* 20.

6. ἀποδιυλισμένοις] '*strained clear*', '*filtered*'; comp. *Philad.* 3 οὐχ ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μερισμὸν εὗρον ἀλλ' ἀποδιυλισμόν. The single compound διυλίζειν occurs literally in Amos vi. 6, Matt. xxiii. 24 (comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 20, p. 489), and metaphorically in Clem. Alex. *Proph. Ecl.* 7 (p. 991) τὸ καὶ πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα συμπεπλεγμένα τῇ ψυχῇ διυλίζεσθαι κ.τ.λ. For the substantive see Iren. i. 14. 8 ἔν τε πόνοις καὶ ταλαιπωρίαις ψυχὴ γενομένη εἰς διυλισμὸν αὐτῆς (explaining the Valentinian teaching), Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 117) οἱ διυλισμὸν μὲν τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν μνήμην τῶν κρειττόνων εἶναι φασίν· διυλισμὸν δὲ νοοῦσι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπομνήσεως τῶν ἀμεινόνων τῶν χειρόνων χωρισμόν (speaking of certain Gnostics)...τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον καὶ ἡμεῖς...διυλιζόμενοι βαπτίσματι κ.τ.λ. For another compound see Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 41 (p. 979) ἐν ᾧ συνδιυλίσθη κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ τὰ σπέρματα συνελθόντα αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα. For coincidences with the Valentinian phraseology in Ignatius see the

ματος, πλεῖστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ἀμώμως χαίρειν.

I. *Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος Θεῷ ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ*

1 Ἰ. Χ. *τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν*] GLA$_m$ S$_m$; Ἰ. Χ. *τῷ θεῷ* (om. *ἡμῶν*) M; Ἰ. Χ. (om. *τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν*) A; *θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν* Ἰ. Χ. g; om. Σ (see the last note). 3 Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος] GAA$_m$ Mg* (but l has *deprecans*); *deprecans* (*ἐπευξάμενος*) L. The following are doubtful; *jampridem deum oravi ut dignus fierem...nunc autem ligatus* etc Σ; *oravi et datum est mihi ut viderem* etc S$_m$; but they seem to be attempts to mend the anacoluthon of *ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος κ.τ.λ.* See the lower note. Θεῷ] GM; *τῷ θεῷ* g. 4 *ἀξιόθεα*] GΣS$_m$ g; *ἀξιοθέατα* M (but v. l. *ἀξιόθεα*); *dignas visione* L (but this does not necessarily imply *ἀξιοθέατα*, since *ἀξιόθεα* might have been so interpreted, though wrongly; see the lower note); *vestras dignas visione facies* (*aut, vestras deo dignas facies*) A$_m$ (this might imply merely alternative renderings of *ἀξιόθεα*, but probably intends alternative readings, *ἀξιόθεα* and *ἀξιοθέατα*); om. A. *ὡς*] GL; *οὓς* g* (MSS, but l has *sicuti*); *quod* (or *quem*, or *quos*) A; *id quod* S$_m$ (but this does not imply any other

notes on *Ephes.* inscr., *Magn.* 8, *Trall.* 1. The construction and metaphor here are well illustrated by a fragment attributed to Archytas in Stobæus *Flor.* i. 73 *Θεὸς...εἰλικρινῆ καὶ διυλισμέναν ἔχει τὰν ἀρετὰν ἀπὸ παντὸς τῶ θνατῶ πάθεος.* The *χρῶμα* refers to the colouring matter which pollutes the purity of the water.

1. *πλεῖστα...χαίρειν*] See the note on *Ephes.* inscr.

τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν] See the note on *Ephes.* inscr.

ἀμώμως] On this word in the opening salutations of the Ignatian Epistles see the note *Ephes.* inscr.

I. 'My petition has been more than answered, when I prayed that I might see your faces: for I hope at length to salute you as a prisoner of Jesus Christ, if it be God's will that I complete my course. The beginning indeed is well ordered, if only I am successful to the end, so that no one interposes to rob me of my portion. I say this, because I am apprehensive of your love. It is easy for you to do as you will; but it is difficult for me to find God, unless you stay your hands'.

3. *Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος κ.τ.λ.*] '*Seeing that in answer to my prayers*'. The sentence is an anacoluthon; dependent clauses crowd upon each other in succession; and the thread of the grammar is lost. For similar instances in the openings of these epistles see *Ephes.* 1 *Ἀποδεξάμενος* (with the note). The anacoluthon here has a close parallel also in *Magn.* 2 *Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἠξιώθην κ.τ.λ.* (see the note). The subject on which he here 'flies off at a tangent' is his fear lest the Roman Christians should interpose and rob him of his martyr's triumph. Here, as in similar cases, the transcribers and critics have attempted to mend the syntax. Such an attempt, for instance, is the substitution of *Ἐπευξάμενος* for *Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος* (Vedelius, Ussher, Pearson, etc, with the Latin Versions and some MSS of the Metaphrast), or the reading *Πάλαι ἐπευξάμενος* (Bunsen after the Syriac), or the omission of *γὰρ* after *δεδεμένος* (the editors commonly after the Medicean MS).

ἐπέτυχον] '*I have been successful*', '*it has been granted me*'; not meaning that he had already seen them,

ἀξιόθεα πρόσωπα, ὡς καὶ πλέον ἢ ἠτούμην λαβεῖν· δεδε-
μένος γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπάσασθαι,
ἐάνπερ θέλημα ᾖ τοῦ ἀξιωθῆναί με εἰς τέλος εἶναι· ἡ

reading than ὡς); def. ΣM. For A_m see the next note. πλέον ἢ ἠτούμην] see below; πλέον ἠτούμην GLAg; *ex multo tempore petebam* S_m (perhaps a bad rendering of πλέον rather than a v. l. πάλαι); def. ΣM. A_m has *quantum petii, plus etiam accepi*, which gives the same sense as my conjectural reading. 5 γὰρ] gL A_m; *nunc autem* [Σ] (see a previous note); *et nunc* A; om. GM; al. S_m (but the existing text seems to have been corrupted from one which had γάρ; see Mœsinger p. 25). Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ] GL$A_m$$S_m$Mg; *ihsoῦ χριστῷ* ΣA. ἀσπάσασθαι] GLAA_mMg; *venire et salutare* S_m; *accipere et salutare* Σ (where *accipere* seems to represent λαβεῖν, which has been preserved from the omitted context). 6 θέλημα] gLΣS_m; add. τοῦ θεοῦ GAM; add. *domini* A_m: see the lower note. εἶναι] GLg; οὕτως εἶναι M; *pervenire* A_m; *sustinere haec* S_m; om. ΣA. The variations of the Oriental Versions seem to be mere expedients of translators, and not to imply any v. l. in the Greek.

but that circumstances were such as to have already insured the fulfilment of his prayer.

4. *ἀξιόθεα*] See the note on *Trall.* inscr. The authorities for *ἀξιοθέατα* are too slight to justify its adoption, though plausible in itself. I cannot find that *ἀξιόθεος* (or indeed any compound in *-θεος*) is ever derived from *θέα*, and therefore equivalent to *ἀξιοθέατος* (as maintained by Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 558, though *ad loc.* he is disposed to retract this opinion). In *C. I. G.* 4943 *ἀξιθέους* in ver. 3 has not the same meaning as *ἀξιθέωρον* in ver. 4 but refers to the 'shrines' which are mentioned in the same line. Alciphron *Ep.* iii. 55 is quoted in the lexicons for this sense, but the reading is probably *ἀξιόχρεα*, not *ἀξιόθεα*.

ὡς καὶ κ.τ.λ.] '*so that I have received even more than I asked for*'. He had prayed that he might see the Romans; he was permitted to visit them, decorated with a prisoner's fetters and (so he ventured to hope) crowned with a martyr's chaplet. For the ideas associated with *δέσμιος* in the mind of Ignatius see the notes on *Ephes.* 3, 11, *Magn.* 1. For *ὡς* with the infinitive, expressing the consequence, see e.g. Acts xx. 24 (v. l.), *Clem. Hom.* i. 20 *ὡς ἐκπλαγέντα με θαυμάζειν*, 3 Macc. i. 2 *ὡς μόνος κτεῖναι αὐτόν*. It is not very uncommon in classical authors, e.g. Æsch. *Eum.* 36, Xen. *Anab.* i. 5. 10, i. 8. 10, iii. 4. 25, iv. 3. 29 (with Kühner's notes), and fairly common in later writers. The reading of the MSS here seems quite unintelligible, though the editors have hitherto acquiesced in it. I have remedied the fault by the repetition of a single letter, *πλέον ἢ ἠτούμην* for *πλέον ἠτούμην* (comp. e.g. the vv. ll. in Gal. v. 1, Clem. Rom. 35, ii. 8). For the construction comp. Aristid. *Op.* i. p. 48 *σκέπης ἔδει πλείονος ἢ φέρειν δυναίμην*. Another simple emendation would be *πλέον ὧν* for *πλέον*, as the *ὧν* might easily have been omitted owing to homœoteleuton; comp. *Polyc.* 1 *αἰτοῦ σύνεσιν πλείονα ἧς ἔχεις*, *ib.* 3 *πλέον σπουδαῖος γίνου οὗ εἶ*.

6. *ἐάνπερ θέλημα ᾖ*] '*if it should be willed*'. For this absolute use of *θέλημα*, referring to the Divine will, see the note on *Ephes.* 20. Here, as in most other passages where it oc-

μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ εὐοικονόμητός ἐστιν, ἐὰν πέρατος ἐπιτύχω εἰς τὸ τὸν κλῆρόν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν. φοβοῦμαι γὰρ τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην, μὴ αὐτή με ἀδικήσῃ· ὑμῖν γὰρ εὐχερές ἐστιν, ὃ θέλετε, ποιῆσαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ

1 ἐὰν πέρατος ἐπιτύχω] *si finem etiam inveniam* A; *si dignus-fiam perduci ad finem* Σ; ἐάνπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω GL; ἐάνπερ τῆς χάριτος ἐπιτύχω M. Hitherto we have had two separate words χάριτος and πέρατος. In the authorities which follow they are combined; *ut usque ad finem assequar hanc gratiam* S_m; *si finem etiam gratiae assequar* A_m; and so too the presence of both words is betokened in the adaptation of g, ἐάνπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω εἰς τὸ τὸν κλῆρόν μου εἰς πέρας ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν. See the lower note. 2 ἀπολαβεῖν] The addition of Σ *patienter* is a mere gloss unsupported by any other authority. 3 γὰρ] GLΣM g; *sed* AA_mS_m. τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην] GM; τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν g.

curs, the transcribers have added explanatory words. See the critical note.

εἰς τέλος εἶναι] '*to arrive at the end*': comp. Luke xi. 7, and see A. Buttmann p. 286. See also the note on § 2 εὑρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν. For similar uses in classical writers (e.g. Herod. i. 21 ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν) see Kühner II. p. 471; comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 9. It is unnecessary to read ἰέναι with Young.

1. εὐοικονόμητος] So too δυσοικονόμητος, e.g. Artem. *Oneir.* ii. 58. The words more often have the meaning 'digestible', 'indigestible', e.g. Diphilus of Siphnus in Athen. ii. p. 54, where both occur. They are rare in any sense.

πέρατος] '*the termination, goal*', as e.g. Lucian *Harmon.* 2 ἐπὶ τὸ πέρας ἀφίξῃ τῆς εὐχῆς. This reading, which I have restored, seems to follow from a comparison of the authorities as given above. We can there trace the genesis of the variations. The original reading would be emended thus

χάρι
ἐὰν πέρατος,

whence would arise two variations; (1) ἐάνπερ χάριτος, the reading of GL; (2) ἐὰν πέρατος χάριτος, the reading of A_m, which is also the foundation of S_m g.

2. τὸν κλῆρόν μου] See the note on *Trall.* 12 for this use of κλῆρος, referring to his martyrdom. In ἀπολαβεῖν, '*to secure*', the preposition probably denotes that it was his *proper, destined* lot: comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. 8, and see the notes on *Galatians* iv. 5.

3. φοβοῦμαι κ.τ.λ.] For the construction see Winer § lxvi. p. 782.

The persecutions in the reign of Domitian show that Christianity had already forced its way upwards to the highest ranks of society in Rome (see *Clement of Rome* I. p. 29 sq). Although Ignatius had been condemned to death, yet the intercession of powerful friends in the metropolis, whether open Christians or secret sympathisers, might have procured, if not a pardon, at least a commutation of his sentence. An instance of such interposition with the emperor on behalf of Christian convicts at a later date is given by Hippol. *Haer.* ix. 12. The strenuous efforts of the Christians under like circumstances are described in Lucian *Peregr.* 12 ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐδέδετο, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ συμφορὰν ποιούμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα πάντα ἐκίνουν ἐξαρπάσαι πειρώμενοι αὐτόν. Ignatius appears to have heard that such efforts were contem-

δύσκολόν ἐστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ φείσησθέ μου.

II. Οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι ἀλλὰ Θεῷ ἀρέσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγώ ποτε ἔξω καιρὸν τοιοῦτον Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν· οὔτε ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν

4 γὰρ] GLA$_m$M g; *autem* Σ; *scio enim quod* S$_m$; om. A. 5 μὴ] LΣA g* (but with a v. l.); om. GS$_m$ A$_m$ (substituting *nunc*) M. 7 γὰρ] after οὐ GLM; after θέλω g; om. AA$_m$; al. S$_m$; def. Σ. ὑμᾶς] gM, and app. L; ὑμῖν G. ἀλλὰ Θεῷ ἀρέσαι] GLA$_m$M g; *sed deo* A (a translator's abridgment); om. S$_m$; def. Σ. 8 ἀρέσκετε] ἀρέσκεται G. οὔτε] gL S$_m$ (?); οὐ GMΣ(?) A(?) A$_m$(?). ποτε ἔξω καιρὸν] Gg* (but with a v. l. ἔξω ποτε καιρὸν); ἔξω καιρόν ποτε M; *habebo aliquando tempus* L. 9 τοιοῦτον] G; τοιοῦτον ὥστε g. It is omitted altogether in M.

plated on his behalf.

5. Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν] See the note on *Magn.* 1.

μὴ φείσησθέ μου] '*if you should not spare me*', i.e. 'should interpose to rob me of my desire.' To Ignatius martyrdom is life: comp. § 6 μὴ ἐμποδίσητέ μοι (not θανεῖν, as we might have expected, but) ζῆσαι. Whosoever stands between him and this his true life, does him a wrong (ἀδικήσῃ just above). Such a person grudges him a blessing (§ 3 οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί, § 7 βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικείτω). Hence in his nomenclature the meaning of words is reversed. To 'spare' means to deliver to death, because death is life. From not understanding this, transcribers here have omitted the negative. Similarly μὴ was omitted in some texts in § 6 μὴ θελήσητέ με ἀποθανεῖν (see the note there).

II. 'I would not have you please men but God, as indeed you are doing. For me this is the great opportunity of finding God, while for you it will be the noblest achievement to hold your peace. If you are silent and leave me to my fate, I shall become an utterance of God; if you are solicitous for my life in the flesh, I shall be reduced again to an inarticulate cry. Permit me—I ask nothing more—to pour out my blood as a libation to God, while there is still an altar ready. Encircle this altar as a chorus, and sing your hymn of thanksgiving to God in Christ for summoning the bishop of Syria from the rising to the setting of the sun. Yes, it is good for me to set from the world, that I may rise unto God.'

7. ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι κ.τ.λ.] For the opposition see Gal. i. 10, 1 Thess. ii. 4. The adjective ἀνθρωπάρεσκος is a Pauline word, Eph. vi. 6, Col. iii. 22, and it occurs also in Ps. lii. 7; comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 13. The verb is not found either in the LXX or in the N. T. Justin (*Apol.* i. 2) uses ἀνθρωπαρέσκεια. This family of words seems to be confined to biblical and ecclesiastical Greek. On these forms see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 621. By 'pleasing men' he means abetting those friends who desired to save him, or gratifying the merely human cravings of his own nature: comp. ἐὰν ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρκός μου just below.

9. καιρὸν τοιοῦτον κ.τ.λ.] '*an opportunity like the present*'. For

σιωπήσητε, κρείττονι ἔργῳ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι. ἐὰν

2 γὰρ] GLAA$_m$ S$_m$; om. Σ Joann-Mon (twice), M (but with a v. l. οὖν); τε γὰρ g. ἐγὼ] txt L; add. γενήσομαι GMg. Other authorities supply different words; *sum* A$_m$; *sum mihi* S$_m$ Joann-Mon (once); *ero* Σ Joann-Mon (once); *fiam* A; but there is no reason to think that any corresponding word stood in their Greek text. There is no sufficient authority for the omission of ἐγὼ (with Zahn): it appears directly in GLAA$_m$Mg Joann-Mon (once), and is represented, though less emphatically, in the *sum mihi* of S$_m$ Joann-Mon (once). λόγος θεοῦ] L*ΣS$_m$ Joann-Mon (twice); θεοῦ (om. λόγος) GMg; *ego verbum sum* (*aut; ego dei sum*) A$_m$ (where both readings are recognised, but the first imperfectly, for there is no other evidence for ἐγὼ λόγος without θεοῦ). A has *si siletis a me verbo ego pars dei fiam.* This departure from

the infinitive after καιρὸν τοιοῦτον comp. e.g. Hom. *Od.* vii. 309 οὔ μοι τοιοῦτον ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον κῆρ μαψιδίως κεχολῶσθαι, and see Kühner II. pp. 580, 1011.

1. κρείττονι κ.τ.λ.] '*have your name attached to, have ascribed to you, win the credit of, any nobler achievement*': as e.g. Plut. *Mor.* p. 326 F τὴν τύχην τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἑαυτὴν ἐπιγράφουσαν, Dionys. *A. R.* vii. 50 τοῖς ἐκβαίνουσι παρὰ τὰς ὑμετέρας συνθήκας οὐ τὴν τύχην ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιγράφει διάνοιαν, Ælian *H. A.* viii. 2 τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἑαυτὸν πόνοις οὐκ ἐπιγράφων. Sometimes the dative is omitted, and ἐπιγράφειν τινά signifies 'to give the credit to a person', e.g. *Clem. Hom.* ix. 16, 17, 18, xii. 11, while ἐπιγράφεσθαι is 'to have the credit', *ib.* xi. 9. So in Latin Seneca *de Brev. Vit.* 16 'quid aliud est vitia nostra incendere, quam *auctores* illis *inscribere* deos'. The metaphor is taken from a public tablet, where the name of the person is added to the mention of the achievement.

2. σιωπήσητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ] With reference to what follows, 'Silence in you is speech in me'. The twice repeated ἐὰν σιωπήσητε shows the nature of the efforts which Ignatius feared from his Roman friends. They might *plead* for his life. The words 'be silent from me' are a condensed expression for 'be silent and leave me alone.'

λόγος Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] '*a word of God*'. The saint's career, if it is left to work out its course and ends in martyrdom, will be a word of God; it will be an expressive testimony to the Gospel, a manifestation of the Divine purpose: but, if interfered with, it will be reduced to a mere inarticulate meaningless cry. The point of this sentence depends on a recognised distinction between λόγος and φωνή, as denoting respectively 'an intelligible utterance' and an 'irrational cry'; comp. Arist. *Probl.* xi. 55 (p. 905) λόγου κοινωνεῖ μόνον (ἄνθρωπος), τὰ δὲ ἄλλα φωνῆς, *de Interpr.* 4 (p. 16) λόγος δέ ἐστι φωνὴ σημαντικὴ κ.τ.λ. It was a Stoic definition also that λόγος ἀεὶ σημαντικός ἐστι (Diog. Laert. vii. 57). See Lersch *Sprachphilos. d. Alten* iii. p. 32 sq, 42 sq. Thus φωνή, as Aristotle says elsewhere (*de Gen. An.* v. 7, p. 786), is merely the ὕλη of λόγος. It has in it the making of λόγος. The three words λόγος, φωνή, ψόφος, are in a descending scale, and denote respectively; (1) the utterance of a rational being; (2) the cry of an animate creature, whether articulate or not; (3) a mere confused indistinguishable sound; comp. Arist. *de An.* ii. 8 (p. 420) ἡ φωνὴ ψόφος τίς ἐστιν ἐμψύχου. They are respectively 'an utterance', 'a cry', and 'a noise'. It will be seen from

γὰρ σιωπήσητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ λόγος Θεοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ ἐρασ-

the Syriac may be explained in several ways; (1) A may have read ܕܒܪܐ *verbo* for ܡܠܬܐ *verbum*, and *pars dei* may represent *θεοῦ*; (2) There may have been in the Syriac text of the translator a corruption ܡܠܬܐ *portio* for ܡܠܬܐ *verbum*, and a subsequent correction, so that both words were retained; (3) The mixed result may be due to a confusion of the two Greek readings *ἐγὼ λόγος θεοῦ* and *ἐγὼ γενήσομαι θεοῦ*, the Armenian text having been clumsily and imperfectly corrected by a Greek MS which had the latter. The substitution of *currens* in the next clause from such a Greek MS favours this last explanation.

this distinction, why Ignatius uses *φωνὴ* rather than *ψόφος*; for *φωνή*, as such, though it does not imply reason, yet expresses animal emotion, Arist. *Pol.* i. 2 (p. 1253) *ἡ μὲν οὖν φωνὴ τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος ἐστὶ σημεῖον, διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπάρχει ζώοις...ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ δηλοῦν ἐστι τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ βλαβερόν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον· τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τἆλλα ζῶα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδιον, τὸ μόνον ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἴσθησιν ἔχειν.* Hence *φωνὴ* stands to *λόγος* in the same relation as the *ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος* to the *πνευματικός*. So again Plut. *Mor.* p. 1026 A *ὡς δὲ φωνή τις ἐστὶν ἄλογος καὶ ἀσήμαντος, λόγος δὲ λέξις ἐν φωνῇ σημαντικῇ διανοίας*; comp. Plato *Theaet.* p. 203 B *εὖ ἔχει λέγεσθαι αὐτὰ ἄλογα, ὧν γε τὰ ἐναργέστατα...φωνὴν μόνον ἔχει, λόγον δὲ οὐδ' ὁντινοῦν.*

This distinction of *λόγος* and *φωνὴ* was at once pressed into the service of Christian theology. Melito (*Fragm.* xv, ed. Otto: see Cureton *Spicil. Syr.* pp. ܠܕ, 53) speaks of our Lord as 'among angels the Archangel, among voices the Word', where the editors (Renan, Cureton, Sachau) all have the singular 'in voce', 'in the voice', but where we ought certainly to read the plural ܒܩܠܐ with *ribui*. So again Heracleon the Valentinian saw this distinction in John i. 1, 14, where our Lord is called *ὁ λόγος*, as contrasted with i. 23, where the Baptist styles himself *φωνὴ βοῶντος*, adding that the prophets were *ἦχος* and arguing *τὴν φωνὴν οἰκειοτέραν οὖσαν τῷ λόγῳ λόγον γίνεσθαι* (Orig. in *Ioann.* vi § 12, IV. p. 121). And Origen himself, though rejecting the comments of Heracleon, assumes the distinction of *λόγος* and *φωνὴ* as underlying the language of S. John, and argues at length from it, the *φωνὴ* being the minister and forerunner of the *λόγος* (*ib.* ii § 26, p. 85; vi § 10, p. 118 sq; comp. *c. Cels.* vi. 9). The Docetæ too in Hippolytus (*Haer.* viii. 9) base some of their speculations on this distinction. See also Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 1 (p. 8) *πρόδρομος Ἰωαννής, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ πρόδρομος τοῦ λόγου κ.τ.λ.*: comp. *Strom.* viii. 2, p. 914 sq. From Origen more especially the distinction would find its way into later fathers; comp. Meletius in Epiph. *Haer.* lxxiii. 30 (p. 878), Ephr. Syr. *Evang. Conc. Exp.* 3 sq, 39 (ed. Mœsinger).

The passage of Ignatius is explained accordingly by John the Monk in the latter part of the fourth century (see Quotations and References no. 21), who writes, 'The Word is not of the flesh but of the Spirit, whereas the Voice is not of the Spirit but of the flesh...for every beast and bird together with cattle and creeping thing of the earth utter the voice only; but because man has in him a

θῆτε τῆς σαρκός μου, πάλιν ἔσομαι φωνή. πλέον [δέ] μοι μὴ παράσχησθε τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι Θεῷ, ὡς ἔτι θυ-

1 φωνή] L*ΣS$_m$ Joann-Mon 206 sq (several times); τρέχων GAMg. As before, A$_m$ recognises both readings, *iterum ero mera vox* (*aut, iterum ero currens*). It should be noticed that in G the words πάλιν ἔσομαι τρέχων are omitted in the text and added in the margin, though apparently by the same hand. The alterations in this context, (1) the insertion of γενήσομαι, (2) the omission of λόγος, (3) the substitution of τρέχων for φωνή, all hang together; see the lower note. The departure of A here from the original text of the Syriac Version, as shown by readings of Σ Joann-Mon, must be explained as the alteration of some later scribe who substituted in a familiar quotation the form with which he was acquainted. πλέον] GM; πλεῖον g. δέ] MLg; *jam* A$_m$; *igitur* S$_m$; om. GΣA. 2 μὴ] GLΣAA$_m$S$_m$; om. g* (the existing authorities) M. παράσχησθε] G; παρέχεσθε g; παράσχεσθε M; *tribuetis* L (the MSS, but we should probably read *tribuatis*). σπονδισθῆναι] gM; σπονδιασ-

soul and is not like the rest of the other bodies, he uses the Word and the Voice etc.', with much more to the same effect, and he refers in the context to the contrast between the Word and the Voice in John i. 1, 14, 23. This is doubtless substantially the meaning of Ignatius. His martyrdom alone would make his life an intelligible utterance; otherwise it was no better than the passionate cry of some irrational creature to whom life is pleasure or pain, and nothing more. In the highest sense of all One only is the Λόγος, *the* Word of God; but all His saints, made perfect in knowledge, are utterances, words, of God, as fragments of the One Word.

Partly because he did not understand this distinction of λόγος and φωνή, and partly (we may suppose) because he shrank from applying the term λόγος Θεοῦ to any one but Christ, the interpolator has altered the passage after his wont, substituting ἐγὼ γενήσομαι Θεοῦ for ἐγὼ λόγος Θεοῦ and τρέχων for φωνή. Wordsworth (*Church History* I. p. 143) translates πάλιν τρέχων '*renegade, backslider*', referring to his note on παλινδρομεῖν, *S. Hippolytus* p. 124 (ed. 2); but the interpolator probably meant that Ignatius, instead of receiving the crown of victory, would be put back again to run the race (comp. Macar. Magn. iii. 40, p. 138, κέκλεισται τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν δρόμων τὸ στάδιον...καὶ σὺ πάλιν ἀνοίγεις καὶ τρέχειν ἐπιτάττεις κ.τ.λ.: and for the metaphor see also *Polyc.* 1 προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου; so too τρέχειν in 1 Cor. ix. 24, 26, Gal. ii. 2, v. 7, Phil. ii. 16, etc., and δρόμος Acts xx. 24, 2 Tim. iv. 7). But he has spoiled the antithesis. From the interpolator it has got into the Greek MS of Ignatius. Cureton suggested ἠχώ for τρέχων on account of the similarity of the letters, and this not very happy conjecture is adopted by Bunsen p. 96, by Lipsius *S.T.* pp. 75, 196, and by Zahn, though Cureton himself (*C. I.* p. 292) retracted it in favour of φωνή. But obviously the case here is not one of a clerical error, but of a deliberate alteration. Moreover φωνὴ is required as well by the common antithesis of λόγος and φωνή, as also by the renderings of the versions; e.g. the Latin '*vox*', which is not an equivalent to

σιαστήριον ἕτοιμόν ἐστιν· ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι ᾄσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὅτι τὸν ἐπί-

θῆναι G. 3 ἵνα...ᾄσητε] GLA$_m$Mg; *ut in amore sitis in uno consensu et glorificetis* Σ (probably only a loose paraphrase); *tantum* (*cum*) *amore state et una-voce gloriosum facite* A; *sed in coetu amoris estote mihi cantatores et glorificate* S$_m$. 4 τῷ πατρὶ] GLAA$_m$S$_m$Mg (but *deo patri* l); *deo patri* Σ. ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] L; *per iesum christum* A$_m$S$_m$; *in iesu christo domino nostro* Σ; ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ GMg; *domini nostri iesu christi* A. ὅτι...μεταπεμψάμενος] txt GLA Mg (with the variations in GM noted below); *quod episcopum* (*syriae*) *dignificavit ut sit dei, quum vocaverit eum ab oriente in occidentem* Σ (where [τοῦ] θεοῦ is perhaps read for ὁ θεός, and where *ut sit* represents εὑρεθῆναι; see however the lower note for another possible explanation); *qui episcopum syriae dignatus est vocare ab oriente in occidentem* A (not reading ὃς for ὅτι, but so translating the ambiguous Syriac ܕ); *quod dignificavit episcopum syriae ut in confessione dei inveniretur in occidente missus in vinculis ex oriente* S$_m$.

ἠχώ. Again, in the first clause the editors read ἐγὼ γενήσομαι λόγος Θεοῦ (Cureton, Bunsen), or ἐγὼ γενήσομαι Θεοῦ λόγος (Lipsius), or λόγος γενήσομαι Θεοῦ (Zahn): but the Latin version, which is almost always literal, shows that the terse and characteristic ἐγὼ λόγος Θεοῦ is correct.

1. πλέον κ.τ.λ.] '*give me nothing more on your part*', 'I ask no favour of you beyond this.' On παρέχεσθαι see the note *Colossians* iv. 1.

2. τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι] '*to be poured out as a libation*'. The idea is taken from S. Paul, Phil. ii. 17 εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ κ.τ.λ., 2 Tim. iv. 6, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι. In both these passages it occurs in immediate connexion with the metaphor of the stadium, and this may possibly have suggested τρέχων to the interpolator. The word occurs also in Joann. Damasc. *Ep. ad Theoph.* 18 (I. p. 639) ὑπὸ τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ Ἑβραίου τῷ διαβόλῳ σπονδιζόμενος. The lexicons give the meaning 'to be reconciled' (=σπένδομαι) in both passages. This meaning might be possible in John Damascene, as the word might there be middle, but in Ignatius neither the voice nor the sense of the context will admit it.

ὡς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον κ.τ.λ.] '*while yet there is an altar ready*', i.e. prepared for the sacrifice. The altar intended is, we may suppose, the Flavian amphitheatre, the scene of his approaching martyrdom.

3. χορὸς] The Roman Christians are asked to form into a chorus and sing the sacrificial hymn round the altar; comp. *Ephes.* 4 καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χορὸς γίνεσθε. The metaphor is taken from a heathen sacrificial rite; see K. F. Hermann *Gottesdienstl. Alterth.* ii. § 29. For a similar figure borrowed from a heathen religious procession see *Ephes.* 9 ἐστὲ οὖν καὶ σύνοδοι κ.τ.λ.

4. τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας] '*the bishop belonging to Syria*', i.e. 'from the distant east'; the genitive denoting, not the extent of his jurisdiction, but the place of his abode. On the supposition that episcopal jurisdiction is implied, objection has been taken to Συρίας (which is wanting in one copy of the Curetonian Syriac) as an anachronism in the time of Ignatius, and therefore as an indication of the spuriousness of the Greek Epistles (Bunsen

σκοπον Συρίας κατηξίωσεν ὁ Θεὸς εὑρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος. καλὸν τὸ δῦναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς Θεόν, ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείλω.

1 Συρίας] GLΣ_3AA$_m$S$_m$Mg (comp. Mart-Rom 10); om. Σ_2. κατηξίωσεν ὁ Θεὸς] gLA$_m$; ὁ θεὸς κατηξίωσεν GM; al. ΣAS$_m$ (see the previous note, p. 201). 2 μεταπεμψάμενος] txt GL[g]; præf. τοῦτον M. καλὸν] txt GLΣ_2A$_m$Mg* Sev-Syr 4a; add. *mihi* AΣ_3 Joann-Mon; add. *autem* S$_m$. For the complications in the authorities for g see the Appendix. δῦναι] GLΣS$_m$M Joann-Mon Sev-Syr; *intrare* A$_m$; *congregari* A; τὸ διαλυθῆναι g*. 3 πρὸς Θεόν] GLΣ AA$_m$S$_m$Mg; om. Sev-Syr (but he quotes the passage loosely from memory *bonum est occidere a mundo et oriri in christo*). ἀνατείλω] GLΣAg Joann-Mon;

Br. p. 117). But the anachronism would be as great in the third or fourth century, as in the second; see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 308. Moreover the other MS of the Syriac version contains the word, and therefore its omission in this one copy must be due, not to the text which was before the original translator, but to an excision practised by a later scribe.

1. εὑρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν] Comp. Esther i. 5 τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς εὑρεθεῖσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Acts viii. 40 Φίλιππος δὲ εὑρέθη εἰς Ἄζωτον. So too φανῆναι εἰς, e.g. 2 Macc. i. 33. See also the note on § 1 εἰς τέλος εἶναι. The rendering of the Curetonian Syriac may perhaps be explained by an accidental repetition of the first syllable of εὑρεθῆναι, which would easily be read θγεγρ-

S. Chrysostom obviously alludes to this passage in his oration on Ignatius, *Op.* II. p. 598 (ed Bened.) καθάπερ ἥλιός τις ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνίσχων καὶ πρὸς τὴν δύσιν τρέχων...κἀκεῖνος μὲν εἰς τὰ τῆς δύσεως ἀπιὼν μέρη κρύπτεται καὶ νύκτα εὐθέως ἐπάγει, οὗτος δὲ εἰς τὰ τῆς δύσεως ἀπελθὼν μέρη φαιδρότερον ἐκεῖθεν ἀνέτειλε. So too the *Menæa* Dec. 20 τοῖς δρόμοις τῆς πίστεως, ὡς ἥλιος, τὴν γῆν γενναίως διέδραμες ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανοῦ, καὶ δύνας ἀδύτως ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς Χριστὸν τὸ φῶς συναστράπτεις αὐτῷ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, besides several other allusions to this passage more or less direct. See also Ephrem Syrus *Op. Graec.* III. p. 261 ἔδυσαν ἀπὸ κόσμου καὶ πρὸς Χριστὸν ἀνέτειλαν, quoted by Zahn.

2. καλὸν τὸ δῦναι κ.τ.λ.] He was following the course of the sun; his life would set to the world in the far west; but as the sun rises, so it also would rise again to God. For this expressive intermingling of the actual and the metaphorical, see κατάκριτος § 4. There is a somewhat similar turn in 2 Tim. ii. 9 ἐν ᾧ κακοπαθῶ μέχρι δεσμῶν, ὡς κακοῦργος, ἀλλὰ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐ δέδεται.

III. 'You have never yet grudged any one his triumph: you have always hitherto been the instructors of others. It is my wish now that the lessons which you have taught should stand fast. One service you can do me. Pray that strength may be given me within and without, so that I may not only say, but will; may not be called, but be found a Christian. The name will follow in due course. My faithfulness will then be manifest, when I am no more seen by the world. Nothing visible is of any worth. Our God Jesus Christ Himself is the more clearly seen, since He has returned to the Father. The work of the Gospel is not a matter of persuasive rhetoric: Christianity

III. *Οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί· ἄλλους ἐδι-*
δάξατε. ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω ἵνα κἀκεῖνα βέβαια ᾖ ἃ μαθη-

ἀνατείλωμεν M; *oriar* (*aut, fiam oriens*) A_m (which seems to offer an alternative reading ἀνατολὴ ὦ for ἀνατείλω); *tandem* (*ad finem*) *oriar* S_m; al. Sev-Syr. After ἀνατείλω ΣA Joann-Mon have *in vita*, which must be regarded as a mere gloss of the Syriac translator. 4 ἐβασκάνατε] Gg; ἐβασκήνατε M. οὐδενί] gM; οὐδένα G; οὐδὲ A_m (*non unquam invidistis nobis, et non alios* etc). As the case affects the meaning, the testimony of the versions is important; *invidistis in aliquo* L; *invidistis cuiquam* ΣAS_m; *fascinastis aliquem* l (which requires οὐδένα, not οὐδενὶ as in g): see the lower note. 5 ἐγὼ δὲ...ἐντέλλεσθε] GLA_mS_mMg; om. ΣA.

is a thing of energy and power, when it is hated by the world.'

4. ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί] '*grudged any one*', i.e. the triumph of martyrdom: comp. § 7 *βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικείτω*, where he is speaking of the same thing. 'Do not', writes Ignatius, 'depart from your true character; you have hitherto sped the martyrs forward to victory, do not now interpose and enviously rob me of my crown.' For the form and meaning of ἐβασκάνατε see *Galatians* iii. 1. The dative is required here: for *βασκαίνειν τινά* is either 'to bewitch' or 'to calumniate', while *βασκαίνειν τινί* is 'to envy'; see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 463.

ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε] '*you instructed others*', i.e. in the training of the Christian athlete; comp. *Ephes.* 3 *ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι πίστει, νουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ* (with the note). Rome had hitherto been the chief arena of martyrdom; the Roman brethren had cheered on many a Christian hero in this glorious contest during the persecutions of Nero and Domitian. The expression might therefore refer to the Roman martyrs themselves, in which case ἄλλους would be 'others besides *myself*'. Perhaps however ἄλλους here means 'others besides *yourselves*'. In this case Ignatius would refer to the exhortations of the Romans, whether by letter or by delegates, to foreign churches. More especially we may suppose that he had in his mind the Epistle of Clement, which contains several references to confessors and martyrs, with exhortations to patient endurance founded on these examples; e.g. § 7 *ταῦτα, ἀγαπητοί, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς νουθετοῦντες ἐπιστέλλομεν κ.τ.λ.*, § 46 *τοιούτοις οὖν ὑποδείγμασιν κολληθῆναι καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ κ.τ.λ.*, § 55 *ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὑποδείγματα ἐθνῶν ἐνέγκωμεν κ.τ.λ.* There are other slight indications also in Ignatius that he was acquainted with the Epistle of Clement; and the fact of his mentioning S. Peter and S. Paul in connexion a little below (§ 4), just as they are mentioned in Clement (§ 5), makes this inference very probable. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 313) supposes that Ignatius alludes also to the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which is directed to be sent *εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις* (*Vis.* ii. 4); but this assumes the early date of Hermas, which is at least doubtful.

5. ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω κ.τ.λ.] 'For myself, I only desire that you should be consistent, so that the lessons, which you thus give to your disciples, may not fail when it comes to a practical issue in my own case.' Ignatius always uses *μαθητεύειν* as a transitive verb; comp. § 5 below, and *Ephes.* 3, 10. So too Matt. xiii. 52, xxviii. 19, Acts xiv. 21, and probably also Matt.

τεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε. μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω· ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ εὑρεθῶ. ἐὰν γὰρ εὑρεθῶ, καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι, καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι, ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι. οὐδὲν φαινόμενον 5

1 μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε] GL; μοι δύναμιν αἰτήσασθε [M]; δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθέ μοι g. 2 ἵνα μὴ sec.] GM; ὅπως μη g (comp. *Smyrn.* 11, where there is the same substitution, and *Polyc.* 2, where there is the converse); *ut non* S_m; *non ut* L; *et non ut* Σ; *et non* AA_m. 3 ἐὰν γὰρ] $gL\Sigma A_m$; ἐὰν γὰρ καὶ G; al. AS_m; def. M. 4 καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι] GLMg; *et tunc fidelis possum fieri* A_m; *et tunc sim fidelis* A; *tunc sum fidelis* Σ Joann-Mon; *et fidelis* (*creditus*) *ero* [S_m] (τότε being transferred to the former clause). 5 ὅταν] GL; ὅτε g (MSS) M. φαίνωμαι] Gg* (with a v. l.); φαίνομαι M (with a v. l.); *appareo* L. οὐδὲν] txt $GLAA_mg$ (but l add. *enim*) [Tim-Syr 1]; add. γὰρ $\Sigma S_m M$. 6 καλόν] *bonum* LAA_m; *pulchrum* (שפיר) ΣS_m; *decens* (יאא) Tim-Syr; αἰώνιον GMg. Doubtless αἰώνιον is wrong; and I have chosen καλόν rather than ἀγαθόν (Petermann, Zahn), as it is suggested by the

xxvii. 57, where however there is a v. l. ἐμαθήτευσεν for ἐμαθητεύθη: but in classical writers (e.g. Plut. *Mor.* p. 837 C) it is perhaps more commonly intransitive, 'to be a disciple'. He here claims the Romans for his teachers, as elsewhere he regards the Ephesians in the same light, *Ephes.* 3 (quoted above).

1. μόνον] i.e. 'This is the only interposition on your part, which I wish.'

ἔσωθέν τε κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'with moral courage and with physical endurance'. It is nearly equivalent to the common antithesis in Ignatius σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι.

2. ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ephes.* 15 ἄμεινον κ.τ.λ. with the note.

3. μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι] *Clem. Hom.* iii. 37 μόνος γὰρ οὗτος καὶ λέγεται καὶ ἔστιν.

ἐὰν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] 'If I am proved a Christian by my martyrdom, then I shall certainly be recognised as one; and my position as a true believer will be only the more manifest, when I myself am withdrawn from the sight of the world'; comp. § 4 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται. His martyrdom alone will make him truly πιστός, 'a believer', as it alone will make him truly μαθητής.

5. οὐδὲν φαινόμενον κ.τ.λ.] '*nothing visible*', i.e. external and material, '*is good*'; comp. 2 Cor. iv. 18 μὴ σκοπούντων ἡμῶν τὰ βλεπόμενα ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα· τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα κ.τ.λ., of which passage the latter part has been foisted into the text of Ignatius in many copies here. S. Chrysostom in his panegyric of Ignatius says (*Op.* II. p. 598) πείθων καταφρονεῖν τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ βλεπόμενα καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐρᾶν κ.τ.λ., probably having this passage more especially in his mind. Zahn (*Add. et Corr.* p. 404) has pointed out that this expression is quoted by Origen *de Orat.* 20 (I. p. 229) οὐδὲν φαινόμενον καλόν ἐστιν, οἱονεὶ δοκήσει ὂν καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῶς.

καλόν. ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐν πατρὶ ὤν, μᾶλλον φαίνεται. οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον ἀλλὰ μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμός, ὅταν μισῆται ὑπὸ κόσμου.

Syriac renderings (see e.g. καλὸν in § 6). [The above note was written before I noticed Zahn's *Add. et Corr.* He there quotes Origen οὐδὲν φαινόμενον καλόν ἐστιν κ.τ.λ. (see the lower note), and is disposed to adopt καλόν, pointing out 'vocem ἀγαθὸς omnino Ignatianam non esse'.] After αἰώνιον Gg add τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια (from 2 Cor. iv. 18), and similarly M; om. LΣAA$_m$S$_m$ Tim-Syr. ὁ γὰρ...φαίνεται] GLAA$_m$S$_m$ Tim-Syr; om. Σg; def. M. 7 πεισμονῆς] gLΣA$_m$ Tim-Syr; *desiderii* S$_m$; *vanitatis* A; σιωπῆς μόνον G; def. M. ἔργον] ἔργων G. 8 χριστιανισμός] GΣAA$_m$g* (as appears from 1, but the MSS χριστιανός); *christianus* LS$_m$ (but here it is doubtless due to a corrupt reading in the former part of the sentence, גברא *vir* for עבדא *opus*, thus rendering *christianus* necessary) Tim-Syr; def. M. ὅταν μισῆται ὑπὸ κόσμου] g*LA$_m$ Tim-Syr; *quando odit eum mundus* ΣA; *quando mundum odit* S$_m$ (but this inversion of subject and object is explained by a superfluous letter in the Syriac); om. G; def. M.

6. ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν] See the note on *Ephes.* inscr.

ἐν πατρὶ ὤν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'is more clearly seen, now that He has ascended to His Father'. During His earthly ministry He was misunderstood and traduced; but now His power is manifested and acknowledged in the working of His Church. As soon as He ceased κόσμῳ φαίνεσθαι, He μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο. The sentence is thrown into the form of a paradox; 'Christ Himself is more clearly seen, now that He is no more seen'.

7. οὐ πεισμονῆς κ.τ.λ.] '*The Work is not of persuasive rhetoric*'; comp. 1 Cor. ii. 4 ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, 1 Thess. i. 5 τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει κ.τ.λ. For πεισμονή comp. Gal. v. 8 with the note. On τὸ ἔργον 'the Work', as a synonyme for the Gospel, see the note on the closely parallel passage *Ephes.* 14 οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως κ.τ.λ. Ignatius here returns to the idea expressed a few sentences above in the words ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω. Men must not talk fluently, but act mightily, when persecution is abroad. I do not understand how Renan (*Les Évangiles* p. 490 sq) can defend the reading σιωπῆς μόνον. The external evidence is decisive against it: nor does it suit the context, which depreciates talk as contrasted with work.

8. μεγέθους] Involving the idea of 'power, efficiency,' as e.g. *Mart. Polyc.* 17 τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας: comp. *Ephes.* inscr., *Smyrn.* 11.

ὁ χριστιανισμός] See the note on *Magn.* 10.

μισῆται ὑπὸ κόσμου] Comp. John vii. 7, xv. 18, 19, xvii. 14, 1 Joh. iii. 13. This last clause has dropped out of the Greek MS. There is a similar omission in § 6 μηδὲ ὕλῃ κολακεύσητε.

IV. Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν ὅτι [ἐγὼ] ἑκὼν ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητε. παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ εὐ-

1 πάσαις] g S_2S_3ΣAA$_m$ Tim-Syr; om. GLS$_m$M. ἐντέλλομαι] GL*S_2S_3Σ AA$_m$S$_m$M Tim-Syr; ἐντελοῦμαι g* (MSS but *mando* l). 2 ἐγὼ] GM; om. g. It is not expressed in LAA$_m$S$_m$ Tim-Syr, and doubtfully in ΣS_2S_3. 3 εὔνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθε] GMg; *concordia* (σύννοια?) *intempestiva* (nom. or abl.) *fiatis* L; *sitis in amore intempestivo* Σ (εὐνοίᾳ ἀκαίρῳ, unless it is a loose paraphrase); *faciatis amorem...intempestive* A; *inutiliter* (*aut; incongrue*) *curas ostendere* A$_m$ (this is perhaps an alternative translation, not an alternative reading); *compatiamini inaniter, sitis amatores inanes* S$_m$ (a double translation): see the lower note. 4 θηρίων εἶναι] S_2S_3ΣS$_m$; add. βορράν G; add. βοράν M; add. βρῶμα g; add. *cibum* LA; *a bestiis devorari* A$_m$. 5 ἔνεστιν] GM (with a v. l.); ἔστιν g; *est*

IV. 'I write and tell all the churches that I die gladly for Christ, unless you hinder me. I beseech you, be not inopportune in your kindness. Give me to the wild beasts, that so I may be given to God. I am the wheat of God, and am ground by their teeth, that I may be made pure bread for a sacrificial offering. Lure the wild beasts that they may devour me wholly and leave no part of my body to be a trouble to any. So shall I be truly a disciple, when the world sees me no more. Pray God, that I may be found a fit sacrifice to Him. I do not command you, as if I were Peter or Paul. I am only a convict, not an apostle; only a slave, not a free man. Yet, if I suffer, I shall be liberated by Christ, and be free in the resurrection. At present I am learning from my bonds to crush all my desires'.

1. πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις] So Lucian relates of Peregrinus (§ 41) φασὶ δὲ πάσαις σχεδὸν ταῖς ἐνδόξοις πόλεσιν ἐπιστολὰς διαπέμψαι αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ. Ignatius was afterwards prevented by circumstances from entirely fulfilling this intention: *Polyc.* 8 ἐπεὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἠδυνήθην γράψαι κ.τ.λ. It may have been the apparent contradiction between these two passages which led to the omission of πάσαις in some texts of Ignatius here.

3. εὔνοια ἄκαιρος] They were kindness itself to him, but this kindness was inopportune. An easy alteration would be εὐνοίᾳ ἀκαίρῳ, but the text is probably correct as it stands. It seems to be a reference to the proverb ἄκαιρος εὔνοι' οὐδὲν ἔχθρας διαφέρει (Zenob. *Paroem.* i. 50); comp. § 8 ἐὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ, ἐμισήσατε.

4. θηρίων] The opposition between θηρίων and Θεοῦ is studied. He must first be the wild-beasts', that in the end he may be God's; comp. *Smyrn.* 4 μεταξὺ θηρίων, μεταξὺ Θεοῦ. The insertion of βορὰν or βρῶμα in the existing Greek texts entirely mars the antithesis.

5. Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν] See the note on *Magn.* 1.

6. ἀλήθομαι] '*I am ground*'; the present indicative being used, as in ἀποθνήσκω above. The correction ἀλήθωμαι is unnecessary and weakens the sense. As regards the form, ἀλεῖν is considered by some more Attic than ἀλήθειν; see Lobeck *Phryn.*

ΝΟΙΑ ΑΚΑΙΡΟΣ γένησθέ μοι. ἄφετέ με θηρίων εἶναι, δι' ὧν [ἔν-]εστιν Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν. σῖτός εἰμι Θεοῦ, καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθῶ

LA$_m$; *possum* S$_m$; al. A. σῖτος κ.τ.λ.] This saying is quoted several times in the *Menæa* in different forms, but the license taken in this book deprives the quotations of any value. I shall not therefore give its readings as a rule. Θεοῦ] GM Theod-Stud; τοῦ Θεοῦ g Mart-Rom 10; *dei* LS$_2$S$_3$ΣAA$_m$S$_m$ Beda *Comm. in Apoc.* xviii; *christi* Iren. v. 28. 4 (Lat., but quoted θεοῦ in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36) Beda *Martyr.* viii Kal. Dec. 6 ἀλήθομαι] Mg (but l has *molar*) Iren Mart-Rom (but Copt. has *molar*) Theod-Stud; ἀλέθομαι G; *molor* S$_2$S$_3$ΣAA$_m$S$_m$; *molar* L (= ἀλήθωμαι, if indeed it is not intended for a future; comp. Hieron *Catal.* 16, and see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 339): see the lower note. εὑρεθῶ] GLΣ etc; γένωμαι (v. l. γίνωμαι) Mart-Rom.

p. 151. The latter form occurs in other dialects, and even in Pherecrates (quoted by Suidas s.v.) ἀνὴρ (δὲ) γέρων ἀνοδόντος ἀλήθει, which illustrates the expression as well as the form here. Meineke however (*Fragm. Com.* II. pp. 285, 292) gives reasons for questioning the reading. From ἀλεῖν comes the substantive ἀλεσμός, which is better supported than ἀλησμός below, in § 5.

καθαρὸς ἄρτος] '*a pure, clean loaf*'; comp. Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10. 5 καθαρὰς πρὸς ἀλεστῶν (v. l. ἀλεσμὸν) τὰς κριθὰς ποιήσαντες τῷ βωμῷ ἀσσάρωνα προσάγουσι τῷ Θεῷ. The epithet is especially applied to ἄρτος; e.g. Alexis (*Fragm. Com.* III. p. 483, Meineke) ἄρτος καθαρὸς εἷς ἑκατέρῳ, ποτήριον ὕδατος, of the Pythagoreans; Hermeias (Athen. iv. p. 149 E) ἔπειτα ἑκάστῳ παρατίθεται ἄρτος καθαρός, of a sacred banquet; Lamprid. *Vit. Alex. Sev.* 37 'panis mundus', opposed to 'panis sequens' (i.e. 'seconds'). The purest bread (ὁ καθαρώτατος ἄρτος), according to Galen, was called in Latin σιλιγνίτης (i.e. 'siliginea'), the next quality in point of pureness being σεμιδαλίτης (*Op.* VI. p. 483, Kühn.). As symbolical of purity, ἄρτοι καθαροὶ were offered in sacrifice; e.g. Herod. ii. 40. See also the passage of Josephus quoted above. This is doubtless the quaint but beautiful thought of Ignatius here. He was the grain of God; by the teeth of the wild beasts he would be ground into fine flour; thus he would become a pure sacrificial loaf fit for the altar of God. See Θεοῦ θυσία below, and comp. σπονδισθῆναι § 2. See the *Menæa* (Dec. 20) σῖτος Θεοῦ καθαρὸς εἰμί, ἔλεγες, καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα ἄρτος γένωμαι ἱεροτελούμενος τῷ ἐραστῇ καὶ Θεῷ κεκαθαρμένος.

So far the metaphor is clear. But we may perhaps go a step further and see a reference to the offering of the Pentecostal loaves. These were ordered to be made of fine flour (Lev. xxiii. 17); it was sifted twelve times to insure the greatest purity (Mishna *Menachoth* vi. 7); the loaves were eaten the same night, and no fragment was allowed to remain till the morning (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6). The language of Josephus, describing this last regulation, closely resembles the context of Ignatius here; προσάγουσι τῷ Θεῷ ἄρτον...καὶ καταλιπεῖν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν συγκεχωρημένον.

[τοῦ Χριστοῦ]. μᾶλλον κολακεύσατε τὰ θηρία, ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται, καὶ μηθὲν καταλίπωσιν τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεὶς βαρύς τινι γένωμαι. τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται. λιτανεύσατε τὸν 5

1 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] GLS$_m$M; θεοῦ (before εὑρεθῶ) g; *dei* S$_2$S$_3$ΣAA$_m$ Iren-Lat Beda *Martyr.*; om. Iren-Gr (Euseb) Mart-Rom Hieron *Catal.* 16 Beda *Comm. in Apoc.* It seems probable from a comparison of these authorities that the genitive should be omitted altogether. If indeed θεοῦ (contracted θῦ) had stood in the original text before εὑρεθῶ, as in g, its omission through carelessness might easily have been explained by the recurrence of similar letters (see the notes on θεοῦ θυσία just below, and on § 2 εὑρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν above); but with θεοῦ, or τοῦ θεοῦ, in the preceding clause, its appearance again here would be very awkward, though it has far better support than τοῦ Χριστοῦ. μᾶλλον] GLAMg; om. A$_m$. It is apparently intended to be expressed by the strong forms, *provocando provocate, adulando adulamini*, in S$_2$S$_3$ΣS$_m$. 2 μηθὲν] μὴθὲν (sic) G; μηδὲν M. The MSS of g vary. καταλίπωσιν] κατὰλίπωσι (sic) G; καταλείπωσιν (or -σι) gM (the latter with a v. l.). τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου] g; *eorum quae corporis mei* L; *e*

1. μᾶλλον] Referring to the clause μὴ εὔνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθέ μοι.

κολακεύσατε] '*coax, humour, entice*', a somewhat favourite word in Ignatius: see the note on *Polyc.* 2.

2. τάφος γένωνται] So in the *Menæa* (Dec. 20) it is said of Ignatius σπλάγχνα θηρίων σοι τάφος γεγόνασιν. Gorgias spoke of vultures as ἔμψυχοι τάφοι (Longin. *de Subl.* iii. 2). Our own Spenser has the expression 'to be entombed in the raven or the kight', *Fairy Queen* ii. 8. 16. The last two passages, with others from Latin writers, are given by Munro on Lucret. v. 993 'Viva videns vivo sepeliri viscera busto'. Compare Suicer *Thes.* s.v. τάφος for other illustrations. See also Soph. *El.* 1487 κτανὼν πρόθες ταφεῦσιν, ὧν τόνδ' εἰκὸς ἐστι τυγχάνειν, ἄποπτον ἡμῶν, Eur. *Ion* 933 θηρσὶν φίλον τύμβευμα; and among Christian fathers, Athenag. *Suppl.* 36 τίς ἂν ὧδ' ἀνάστασιν πεπιστευκὼς ἐπὶ σώμασιν ἀναστησομένοις ἑαυτὸν παράσχοι τάφον; Amphiloch. *Iamb. ad Sel.* 148 (Greg. Naz. *Op.* II. p. 1096) θηρία πεπλησμένα, τάφους τρέχοντας.

μηθὲν καταλίπωσιν] In one Martyrology, the Antiochene (§ 6), it is related that the saint's wish was almost literally fulfilled, ἵνα μηδενὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπαχθὴς διὰ τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ λειψάνου γένηται, καθὼς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι τελείωσιν· μόνα γὰρ τὰ τραχύτερα τῶν λειψάνων περιελείφθη, ἅτινα εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀπεκομίσθη κ.τ.λ. In the other, the Roman, this wish is entirely ignored, (§ 10) οἱ λέοντες...προσπεσόντες ἀπέπνιξαν [αὐτὸν] μόνον, οὐκ ἔθιγον δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν σαρκῶν, ἵνα τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ εἴη φυλακτήριον τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει κ.τ.λ., though in this latter document the passage has been altered in one copy to conform it to the other account (see the note on the passage). In either legend the narrative has been framed to meet the claims of certain cities to the possession of the saint's reliques. It may safely be said that the saint had no thought of the preservation

Κύριον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων Θεοῦ θυσία εὑρεθῶ. Οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος· ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος. ἀλλ' ἐὰν πάθω,

corporious meis A_m (probably the plur. is intended to represent the *τῶν*); *τοῦ σώματός μου* (om. *τῶν*) GM; *e corpore meo* $S_2S_3\Sigma A$ (but in such a matter the Oriental Versions do not count for much). 3 *γένωμαι*] GΣM; *sim* S_m; *εὑρεθήσομαι* g*; *inveniar* L; *appearam* A_m; def. A. 4 *τότε*] GLΣ$A_m$$S_m$M; *τότε δὲ* g; *et tunc* A. *ἀληθῶς*] GL*A_m; *in veritate* Σ; *ἀληθής* gAS_mM. *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*] LΣA_mg; *τοῦ χριστοῦ* GAS_mM. 5 *τὸν Κύριον*] S_3ΣAA_mg; *τὸν χριστὸν* GLS_m; *τῷ χριστῷ* M. 6 *Θεοῦ*] g* (but om. *θεοῦ* 1; and some Gk MSS read *θεῷ*); *dei* L; *deo* or *dei* (probably the latter) AA_m; *deo* $S_3\Sigma S_m$; om. GLM (which last reads *θυσία καθαρά*): see the lower note. 8 *ἐγὼ*] GLS_3M; *ἐγὼ δὲ* [g] (altering the context freely) ΣS_m Sev-Syr 8; *et ego* AA_m. 9 *ἐγὼ δὲ*] GS_3ΣM[g]; *at ego* AA_m; *ἐγὼ* (om. *δὲ*) LS_m. There can be little doubt that *δὲ* should be admitted here, but rejected in the previous clause. The testimony of some authorities however (gΣAA_m) is weakened here by their insertion of a connecting particle in the former case.

of his reliques in the words *βαρύς τινι γένωμαι*, but referred only to the difficulties of sepulture in a strange city and at a season of trouble.

4. *μαθητὴς*] On this favourite idea of Ignatius see the note *Ephes.* 1.

6. *τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων*] '*these instruments* of my purification', i.e. the wild beasts.

Θεοῦ θυσία] The omission of *Θεοῦ* in some texts must be explained by the similar letters ΘΥΘΥCIA. For this reason *Θεοῦ* is to be preferred to *Θεῷ*. See however the v. l. in Clem. Rom. 10 *θυσίαν* [*τῷ Θεῷ*].

7. *ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος*] S. Peter and S. Paul are especially mentioned, because they had been at Rome and had given commandments (*διετάξαντο*) to the Roman Church; see the note *ὃν Ephes.* 12 *Παύλου συμμύσται*. For the combined mention of these two Apostles in connexion with the Roman Church in early writers see the note on Clem. Rom. 5, where also their names appear in conjunction. It is worth observing that this phenomenon appears in the earliest document emanating from, as well as in the earliest document addressed to, the Roman Church, after the death of the two Apostles.

8. *ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι κ.τ.λ.*] 'They visited you, as Apostles, as accredited delegates of God: I only as a convict, as one despatched to Rome to receive his punishment'. For *ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι . . . ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι* comp. 1 Cor. ix. 1 *οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐλεύθερος; οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος;*

κατάκριτος] '*a convict.*' His judicial condemnation by the Roman power was a type of his unworthiness, his conviction, in the sight of God; his *δικαίωσις* was yet to come (§ 5 *οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι*). For this interminglĭng of the symbol and the thing symbolized see the note on § 2 *καλὸν τὸ δῦναι κ.τ.λ.* For the whole sentence comp. *Trall.* 3 *ἵνα ὦν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι*, *Ephes.* 12 *ἐγὼ κατάκριτος, ὑμεῖς ἠλεημένοι* (with the notes).

9. *μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος*] It has been

ἀπελεύθερος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.

1 *ἀπελεύθερος*] GM; add. *γενήσομαι* g. The versions naturally supply various words; *fiam* L; *fio* A; *inveniar* A_m; *ego sum* $S_3\Sigma$; *sum mihi* S_m: see the lower note. Χριστοῦ] $LS_3\Sigma AA_mS_mMg$; om. G. *ἐν αὐτῷ*] $GS_3\Sigma S_mMg$; *cum eo* A_m; om. LA. 2 *νῦν*] GA_mMg; *et nunc* LΣA; *nunc autem* S_m. *μανθάνω*] txt $GL\Sigma AA_mS_mM$; add. *ἐν αὐτῷ* g* (MSS, but om. l). *ἐπιθυμεῖν*] txt $L\Sigma AA_mS_m$; add. *κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον* GMg. 3 *γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης*] $GLA_mS_m[M]g$ Euseb Mart-Rom 1; *θαλάσσης καὶ γῆς* ΣA Euseb-Syr Hieron.

inferred from this (Bunsen *Ign.* p. 58, Ritschl *Altkath. Kirche* p. 412), that Ignatius was, or had been, actually a slave. This inference is at all events supported by the analogy of *κατάκριτος*, which describes an actual fact, though taken as the symbol of a spiritual state. Some external fact indeed seems to be required; but probably Ignatius means nothing more than that, as a prisoner, he was subject to the despotic will of others; see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 410 sq.

1. *ἀπελεύθερος κ.τ.λ.*] '*a freedman*', the idea being taken from 1 Cor. vii. 22 *ὁ γὰρ ἐν Κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος ἀπελεύθερος Κυρίου ἐστίν*: comp. *Mart. Justin. et Soc.* 4 *Εὐέλπιστος δοῦλος Καίσαρος ἀπεκρίναto, Κἀγὼ Χριστιανός εἰμι, ἐλευθερωθεὶς ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ*, Cyprian *Epist.* 76 (p. 829, Hartel) 'O pedes in saeculo ad praesens ligati, ut sint semper apud Deum liberi,' *Act. SS. Did. et Theod.* 1 'Judex dixit *Ingenua es, an ancilla?* Theodora respondit *Jam tibi dixi, Christiana sum; Christus autem adveniens me liberavit*' (Ruinart *Act. Mart. Sinc.* p. 428, Ratisbon. 1859). Similarly Epictetus *Diss.* iii. 24. 68 *ἐξ οὗ μ' Ἀντισθένης ἠλευθέρωσεν, οὐκέτι ἐδούλευσα· πῶς ἠλευθέρωσεν; κ.τ.λ.*, iv. 7. 17 *ἠλευθέρωμαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔγνωκα αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς, οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς δουλαγωγῆσαί με δύναται* (comp. iv. 1. 35). For the form of the sentence (with the omission of the substantive verb) comp. *Ephes.* 8 *περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἁγνίζομαι ὑμῶν.*

2. *νῦν μανθάνω κ.τ.λ.*] 'At present I am only a learner; my bonds are teaching me to abandon all worldly desires': comp. § 5 *μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι...νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς εἶναι*, and § 7 *ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται κ.τ.λ.*

V. 'From Syria to Rome, by land and by sea, night and day, I am fighting with wild beasts. I mean these soldiers to whom I am bound, for they are like ten leopards. Kindness only makes them worse. Yet their wrong-doing is my discipline. Howbeit I am not thereby justified. Gladly shall I welcome the wild-beasts that are prepared for me, and I trust they will do their work quickly. I will lure them on to devour me. Even if they are unwilling, I will force them to it. Pardon me, I know what is good for me. I would not have anything visible or invisible stand between me and God. Fire and cross, wild-beasts, the most horrible manglings and tortures which the devil can devise—let all these overtake me, if only I may find Christ.'

3. *Ἀπὸ Συρίας κ.τ.λ.*] 'Shall I encounter wild-beasts only then at length, when I arrive in Rome? Nay, I am assailed by them every hour throughout my journey. This maniple of soldiers is to me now what the lions of the Flavian amphi-

V. Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεο-

In the passage which follows I have not generally recorded the vv. ll. of Jerome and of Gildas (*de Exc. Brit.* iii. 7) as having no independent value, since the former merely repeats Euseb, and the latter borrows from Rufinus' translation of the same historian. Nor again are all the vv. ll. of Mart-Rom recorded here; they will be found in their proper place. 4 ἐνδεδεμένος] g Euseb Mart-Rom; *vinctus inter* ΣA; *vinctus cum* A_mS_m Euseb-Syr; δεδεμένος GM; *vinctus* (with dat.) L.

theatre will be to me then.' The metaphor of θηριομαχῶ is suggested by 1 Cor. xv. 32 εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, but it has reference to the literal θηριομαχία which awaits him. See the saying of Pompeius in Appian *Bell. Civ.* ii. 61 οἷοις θηρίοις μαχόμεθα, and Lucian *Pisc.* 17 οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τυχοῦσι θηρίοις προσπολεμῆσαι δεήσει μοι, ἀλλ' ἀλαζόσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δυσελέγκτοις, quoted in Wetstein on 1 Cor. *l. c.* For ἀπὸ Συρίας κ.τ.λ. comp. *C. I. G.* 3425 στεφανωθέντα ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης πάντας ἀπὸ Καπιτωλείων ἕως Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας.

διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης] This expression has been thought to militate against the statement in *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 3 κατελθὼν ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν, ἐκεῖθεν εἶχετο τοῦ πλόος καὶ προσχὼν μετὰ πολὺν κάματον τῇ Σμυρναίων πόλει κ.τ.λ., as the few miles from Antioch to its port Seleucia would hardly justify the διὰ γῆς. The difficulty however is not serious. Ignatius is referring to the *whole* journey, not yet completed, so that not only the stay at Smyrna, but the way across the continent from Neapolis and Philippi to Dyrrhachium will be included. On the other hand Eusebius speaks of it as a *land* journey through Asia Minor, *H. E.* iii. 36 τὴν δι' Ἀσίας ἀνακομιδήν, and this is required by another expression in this epistle, § 9 τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν δεξαμένων με...οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδῷ κ.τ.λ. In this case the difficulty is to explain διὰ θαλάσσης; but the answer is the same. It is far from improbable indeed that (as Zahn suggests, *I. v. A.* p. 253) they should have taken ship from Seleucia to some Cilician or Pamphylian harbour, in order to shorten the route; but, even without this, the saint is contemplating the voyages from Smyrna to Troas, from Troas to Neapolis, and from Dyrrhachium to Puteoli or Ostia or Portus, which are yet to come.

4. ἐνδεδεμένος] This reading is better supported and more appropriate than δεδεμένος. The saint was attended by a company of ten soldiers, who relieved guard in turn, so that he was always bound night and day to one of them by a ἅλυσις or 'coupling-chain.' On this '*custodia militaris*' see *Philippians* p. 8 sq. It is probable that the soldiers were in charge of other prisoners also, though these are not mentioned by Ignatius. We might have conjectured that among these were Zosimus and Rufus who are mentioned by Polycarp (*Phil.* 9) together with Ignatius, as visiting Philippi (apparently) on their way to martyrdom. But if his fellow-prisoners had been Christians, he would probably have alluded to them.

πάρδοις, ὅ ἐστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα, οἳ καὶ ἐνεργε-

1 ὅ ἐστιν] GLMg Euseb (Gk MSS, Hieron Rufin); οἵτινές εἰσι Mart-Rom (v. l.); *ii qui sunt* S_m; *qui sunt* ΣAA_m Euseb-Syr. στρατιωτικὸν] gM Euseb Mart-Rom; *militaris* L; στρατιωτῶν G; *militum* ΣAA_mS_m Euseb-Syr

1. λεοπάρδοις] This is the earliest occurrence of the word in any extant writing. Thirty or forty years before however Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 17) speaks of 'leones quos pardi generavere,' so that the word was then on the point of formation, if not already formed. And about fifty years later than Ignatius, we find it in Galen (*Op.* v. p. 134, Kühn) ἐπὶ λεόντων καὶ λεαινῶν καὶ παρδάλεών τε καὶ λεοπάρδων, ἄρκτων τε καὶ λύκων, οἱ τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν ἡδέως ἐσθίοντες ἀφίστανται τοῦ σπληνὸς ὡς ἀβρώτου, where it is used as a familiar word. The work quoted, *de Atra Bile*, appears to have been one of Galen's earliest treatises; see *Op.* I. p. lxxviii. Again in a rescript of Marcus and Commodus (i.e. between A.D. 177—180), quoted by Marcianus in *Dig.* xxxix. 4. 16, mention is made of 'leones, leaenae, pardi, leopardi, pantherae,' among commodities liable to customs' duty. Again in the contemporary *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas*, who were sacrificed to grace a birthday of Geta about A.D. 202, this word occurs several times; § 19 'leopardum experti,' *ib.* 'ab uno morsu leopardi,' § 21 'ab uno morsu leopardi' (again), *ib.* 'leopardo objectus.' Of this Geta too it is related (Spartian. *Vit. Get.* 5) that he used to ask questions about the cries of different criminals, as 'leones rugiunt, leopardi rictant, elefanti barriunt.' Again of Heliogabalus we are told (Lamprid. *Vit. Hel.* 21) that he 'habuit leones et leopardos exarmatos in deliciis,' and again (*ib.* § 25) that he 'subito nocte leones et leopardos et ursos exarmatos inmittebat,' among his drunken friends, 'ita ut expergefacti in cubiculo eodem leones ursos pardos...invenirent,' so that Lampridius appears to use 'leopardus' and 'pardus' as synonymes. Under the younger Gordian again mention is made, among other foreign animals exhibited at Rome, of 'leopardi mansueti triginta,' Capitol. *Vit. Gord.* 33. Of Probus too it is related (Vopisc. *Vit. Prob.* 19) that 'editi deinde centum leopardi Libyci, centum deinde Syriaci.' This last word explains why leopards should occur to Ignatius as naturally as lions or tigers. In the edict of Diocletian also leopards are mentioned, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* III. p. 832 δέρμα λεοπάρτου ἄεργον, εἰργασμένον, 'pellis leopardina infecta, eadem confecta.' The word occurs also in one text of the *Acta Philippi* 36, but this work is of uncertain date and cannot be very early. In Cant. iv. 8 'pardorum' is quoted 'leopardorum' by Jerome *adv. Jovin.* i. 30 (II. p. 286).

Bochart (*Hierozoicon* Pars I. Lib. iii. c. 8) alleged the word as a proof of the late date of the epistles, asserting that it was not used till the age of Constantine. He attempted to set aside some of the passages from the Augustan Historians on the ground that they represented the language of the narrators, and not of the times to which the events belong. Pearson (*V. I.* p. 456 sq), and Cotelier (*ad loc.*), besides other considerations, referred to the *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* in reply. But they overlooked the earlier passages from Galen and the *Digests*, which, so far as I know, are adduced here for the first time; and

τούμενοι χείρους γίνονται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν

(the Greek word στρατιώτης being transliterated in ΣS_m Euseb-Syr): comp. Ps-Ign. *ad Mar.* 4 ἡ στρατιωτικὴ φρουρά. The Syriac Versions are of no account here, as they could hardly have translated otherwise.

the *Edict of Diocletian* was yet undiscovered. Bochart's objection was revived by Baur (*Ursprung des Episcopats* p. 156).

The form of the word seems to show that it was of Roman and not Greek origin. The more natural Greek would be λεοντοπάρδαλις, like καμηλοπάρδαλις. Theognostus however (Bekker *Anecd.* p. 1394) treats it as Greek, and justifies it by the analogy of γεροκόμος (from γέρων), Ἀπολλογένης, Ἀπολλοφάνης (from Ἀπόλλων). In Athanas. *Vit. Anton.* 9 (I. p. 640), where λεοπάρδων occurs, there is a v. l. λεοπαρδάλων (see Festus quoted below). The name originated in the mistaken belief that the animal was a hybrid; see (besides Pliny *l. c.*) Festus (p. 33, ed. Mueller) '*Bigenera* dicuntur animalia ex diverso genere nata, ut leopardalis ex leone et panthera' (where for *leopardalis* inferior MSS have *leopardus*), Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* ii. 14 (p. 30) λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν λεαινῶν λόγος, ὡς ἐραστὰς μὲν ποιοῦνται τοὺς παρδάλεις κ.τ.λ....στικτὰ γὰρ τίκτουσιν. On the animals intended by the ancients under the several names πάνθηρ, πάρδαλις, pardus, etc., see Wiegemann in Oken's *Isis* 1831, p. 287 sq.

ὅ ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] This looks like a gloss at first sight, but it is found in all the copies. It is added somewhat awkwardly in explanation by Ignatius, as his obscure metaphor might otherwise have been misunderstood.

στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα] '*a company of soldiers*.' The word τάγμα here might be rendered in Latin by 'manipulus,' if the disposition of the legion, which Vegetius describes (ii. 13), already prevailed when Ignatius wrote; 'Centuriae in contubernia divisae sunt, ut *decem militibus* sub uno papilione degentibus unus quasi praeesset decanus, qui caput contubernii nominatur; contubernium autem manipulus vocabatur etc.'; comp. Spartian. *Vit. Pesc. Nig.* 10 'decem commanipulones.' This is a great departure from the earlier sense of 'manipulus,' which was equivalent to 'centuria,' and contained 100 or 120 men; see Marquardt *Röm. Alterth.* iii. 2, p. 458 sq (comp. *ib.* p. 253 sq). The Greek τάγμα is used widely, to denote any body of soldiers, whether maniple or cohort or legion. The very expression which we have here, στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα, occurs in Dion. Halic. *A. R.* vi. 42 of a legion; comp. Dion Cass. lxxi. 9 καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τάγμα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λεγεῶνα; but more properly it denoted an 'ordo' or maniple, as in Polyb. vi. 24. 5. For στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα see Euseb. *Quaest. ad Marin.* (*Op.* IV. p. 984) ἡ γὰρ κουστωδία στρατιωτικόν ἐστι τάγμα, *Vit. Const.* iii. 44, 47, iv. 56, 68, 70, 71. For the number ten comp. Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 6. 2 τούτοις ἀφ' ἑκάστης ἑκατονταρχίας ἠκολούθουν δέκα κ.τ.λ., and see esp. Leo Tacticus iv. 2 (quoted by Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* II. p. 580 sq).

εὐεργετούμενοι κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'the more they receive in gratuities, the harsher and more extortionate they become'; as rightly explained by Pearson (*V. I.* p. 511) who, to illustrate this mode of procuring comforts for Christian confessors and martyrs, cites Lucian *Peregr.* 12 συνεκάθευδον ἔνδον μετ' αὐτοῦ διαφθείροντες τοὺς δεσμο-

μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι· ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι. Ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων, ἃ καὶ εὔχομαι σύντομά μοι εὑρεθῆναι· ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμενα

2 τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων] GMg (comp. *ad Mar.* 2 ὀναίμην τῶν δεινῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων); τῶν ἐμοὶ ἑτοίμων Euseb; *mihi esse paratis* L*; *quae mihi paratae sunt* (*manent* A_m) ΣA$A_m$$S_m$ Euseb-Syr. 3 ἄ] g Euseb AA_m; om. GLM. It is omitted also in ΣS_m Euseb-Syr, but the Syriac idiom would suggest the omission. σύντομα] g Euseb; *veloces...in tempore suo* S_m; *confestim* Σ (the same word which renders συντόμως just below) A (the following συντόμως is not represented); *prompte* A_m (the following συντόμως is omitted); ἕτοιμα GM; *promptas* L. Those texts, which omit συντόμως below, favour σύντομα here; for the omission is then explained by the desire of avoiding an awkward repetition. 4 τινῶν] GLAA_mMg Euseb; *ab aliis hominibus* Σ (but τινῶν of g is translated *in aliis* by l; while Jerome freely renders Euseb here *sicut aliorum martyrum*, and the Syriac version of this same historian has *ab aliis*); *a multis* S_m. δειλαινόμενα οὐχ ἥψαντο] GL$A_m$$S_m$Mg Euseb (but with a v. l. ἥψατο). Σ Euseb-Syr have *metuens ab aliis* (add. *hominibus* Σ) *et non appropinquans iis*, as if they had read δειλαινόμενος οὐχ ἥψατο. 5 ἑκόντα μὴ θέλῃ] g; *volentem non velint*

φύλακας· εἶτα δεῖπνα ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο κ.τ.λ., *Apost. Const.* v. 1 εἴ τις Χριστιανὸς...κατακριθῇ ὑπὸ ἀσεβῶν εἰς λοῦδον ἢ θηρία ἢ μέταλλον... πέμψατε αὐτῷ εἰς διατροφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς μισθαποδοσίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἵνα ἐλαφρυνθῇ καὶ ἐπιμελείας τύχῃ, ἵνα ὅσον τὸ ἐφ' ὑμῖν μὴ θλίβηται ὁ μακάριος ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν, *Act. Perp. et Fel.* 3 'Tertius et Pomponius, benedicti diaconi, qui nobis ministrabant, *constituerunt praemio* ut paucis horis emissi in meliorem locum carceris refrigeraremus,' with other passages.

1. μαθητεύομαι] See the note on § 3.

οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.] Taken from 1 Cor. iv. 4 οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδικαίωμαι. For παρὰ τοῦτο 'on this account', where παρὰ 'along of' denotes causation, comp. *Trall.* 5 παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητής εἰμι. So too 1 Cor. xii. 15, 16, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, *Clem. Hom.* xv. 10, xviii. 18. In all these passages it is with a negative, or with an interrogation which is equivalent to a negative. This however is not always the case; see e.g. the references in Kühner II. p. 444 sq.

2. Ὀναίμην κ.τ.λ.] So *Act. Perp. et Fel.* 14 'ut bestias lucraretur'. Pearson has given a wrong turn to the expression, when he writes '*potiar feris*; potius *feris* quam *his leopardis*'. For ὀναίμην see the note on *Ephes.* 2.

3. σύντομα] '*prompt*', '*expeditious*', as frequently. The emendation σύντονα suggested by Voss is not an improvement.

4. δειλαινόμενα] See for examples Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 7 (quoted in a subsequent note), *Act. SS. Tarach. Prob. etc.* 10 (in Ruinart *Act. Mart. Sinc.* p. 473). So too of Blandina, *Ep. Vienn.* in Euseb. v. 1 μηδενὸς ἀψαμένου τότε τῶν θηρίων αὐτῆς.

5. κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] The authorities point to ἑκόντα as the original reading; and, if so, it is perhaps

οὐχ ἥψαντο· κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἑκόντα μὴ θέλῃ, ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι. συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε· τί μοι συμφέρει ἐγὼ γινώσκω· νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς εἶναι· μηθέν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

L; ἄκοντα μὴ θέλῃ Euseb; ἄκοντα μὴ θελήσῃ G; ἄκοντα μὴ θελήσειεν M; *non velint* A_mS_m; *non velint appropinquare mihi* ΣA Euseb-Syr. This last seems to represent a reading ἑκόντα μὴ ἔλθῃ, the confusion of ελθη and θελη being easy. Possibly however *appropinquare* is supplied after θέλῃ from the previous ἥψαντο, which is translated 'approach' in all the three. 6 ἐγὼ...εἶναι] $GLS_2AA_mS_mMg$ Euseb Euseb-Syr; om. Σ. A line seems to have dropped out in the copy from which this abridgement was made. 7 μηθέν] G; μηθέν or μηδέν g; μηδέν Euseb; def. M. ζηλώσαι] ζηλωσαι g (accentuated as infin. ζηλῶσαι in the MSS) Euseb (Jerome treats it as an infin.; Rufinus and the Syriac as an optat.); ζηλῶσαι (for it is treated as an infin.) LAA_m; *invideat* (ζηλώσαι or ζηλώσῃ) $S_2\Sigma$ Joann-Mon; ζηλώσῃ G. The original reading therefore was doubtless ζηλωσαι (not ζηλώσῃ), and the sense requires ζηλώσαι rather than ζηλῶσαι: see the lower note. 8 τῶν ἀοράτων] gS_2 Euseb-Syr (the two latter repeating *ex iis quae*); ἀοράτων (om. τῶν) G Euseb; dub. LΣ (which repeats *quae* only) AA_m; al. S_m; def. M.

best taken as the accusative with the Latin Version, i.e. κἂν αὐτὰ μὴ θέλῃ [καταφαγεῖν ἐμέ] ἑκόντα, 'to devour me, though I am ready'.

προσβιάσομαι] So *Mart. Polyc.* 3 (of the martyr Germanicus) ἑαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο τὸ θηρίον προσβιασάμενος, Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 6 (of Agapius) δρομαῖος ἄντικρυς ἀπολυθείσῃ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἄρκτῳ ὑπαντιάσας, ταύτῃ τε ἑαυτὸν ἀσμενέστατα ἐπιδεδωκὼς εἰς βοράν, *Act. SS. Tarach. Prob. etc.* 10 'sanctus vero Andronicus posuit caput suum super ursum et instigabat eum ut irasceretur etc.' This *provocatio* was not purely voluntary in some cases; Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 7 τῶν ἀνθρωποβόρων ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον μὴ προσψαύειν μηδὲ πλησιάζειν τοῖς τῶν θεοφιλῶν σώμασιν ἐπιτολμώντων ... μόνον δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀθλητῶν γυμνῶν ἑστώτων καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ κατασειόντων ἐπί τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπισπωμένων, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκελεύετο πράττειν, μηδ' ὅλως ἐφαπτομένων, which passage also illustrates the preceding δειλαινόμενα.

7. νῦν ἄρχομαι κ.τ.λ.] The commencement of his sufferings is the inauguration of his discipleship (see *Ephes.* 1, 3, notes). This discipleship will only then be complete, when his sufferings are crowned by his passion; comp. § 4 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθῶς κ.τ.λ.

ζηλώσαι] Not ζηλῶσαι. The optative is wanted rather than the infinitive. The word here seems to have its common meaning 'envy'; comp. § 3 ἐβασκάνατε, § 7 βασκανία, with the notes. Zahn however gives it a different sense; 'ζηλοῦν τινά, i.e. *studiose gratiam alicuius quaerere omnibusque artificiis aliquem captare*', as in Gal. iv. 17, 2 Cor. xi. 2. The expression Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν is equivalent to μαθητὴς εἶναι in the language of Ignatius. Both will at length be realised in his martyrdom.

8. ὁρατῶν ... ἀοράτων] See *Trall.* 5 (note).

ἐπιτύχω. πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις, [ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις], σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἀλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, κακαὶ κολάσεις τοῦ

1 συστάσεις] GLA_mMg; σύστασις Euseb (Laemmer, but v. l. συστάσεις) S_m Euseb-Syr (the two latter owing to absence of *ribui*). $S_2\Sigma A$ have *bestiae quae paratae sunt (mihi)*. ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις] $GA_m[S_m]Mg$; διαιρέσεις (or rather διαίρεσις, omitting ἀνατομαί) S_2A; om. altogether, LΣ Euseb Euseb-Syr. 2 σκορπισμοὶ...μελῶν] $GLS_2AA_mS_mMg$ Euseb Euseb-Syr (the minor variations in these authorities are given below); *et abscissio membrorum et dispersio ossium* Σ (transposing the two clauses; comp. *Rom.* inscr., *Ephes.* 19). σκορπισμοί] GLMg Euseb Mart-Rom 5 (v. l.); *dispersio* ΣAA_mS_m Euseb-Syr (but the sing. in ΣAS_m Euseb-Syr is explained by the absence of *ribui*, and A_m renders διαιρέσεις, ἀνατομαί, σκορπισμοί, ἀλεσμοί, also by singulars). ὀστέων] ὠστέων G συγκοπαί] g Euseb Euseb-Syr [Mart-Rom]; συγκοπή $GLS_2\Sigma AA_mS_mM$; but the Oriental Versions are of no account here (see the last note). μελῶν] μελλῶν G. 3 ἀλεσμοί] gM Euseb (but v. l. ἀλησμοί) Mart-Rom; ἀλησμοί G. There is no authority for ἀλυσμοί, unless it be A_m which has *contritio* (*aut, contritio et dissolutio*), where the words in brackets perhaps mean a v. l. giving both words, ἀλεσμοὶ καὶ ἀλυσμοί. · κακαί]

1. συστάσεις] '*conflicts, grapplings with*'. As συστάδην μάχεσθαι is a common phrase for 'comminus pugnare', so σύστασις denotes 'a hand to hand engagement', e.g. Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 70 τῆς σάλπιγγος ἀρχομένης ἐγκελεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύστασιν, *Vit. Demetr.* 16 ὅταν μάλιστα σύστασιν ὁ ἀγὼν ἔχῃ (i.e. comes to close quarters). It is indirectly defined in Plat. *Legg.* viii. p. 833 A ἡ ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς μάχη καὶ σύστασις. The word occurs in a different sense, *Trall.* 5.

2. σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων] Ps. xxi (xxii). 15 διεσκορπίσθη πάντα τὰ ὀστᾶ μου; comp. Ps. lii (liii). 7, cxl (cxli). 8. The word σκορπίζειν is an illustration of the exceptional character of the Attic dialect. It appears in Hecatæus, and reappears in writers, sacred and profane, of the post-classical ages; it is called by some an Ionic, by others a Macedonian word; but in Attic it seems not to occur. See Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 218, and comp. *Pathol.* p. 295. For similar instances see *Galatians* vi. 6, and p. 92; *Philippians* i. 28, ii. 14.

3. ἀλεσμοὶ] For this form see the note on ἀλήθομαι § 4. The reading ἀλυσμοί, 'restlessnesses', 'distractions', has no authority (see the upper note) and is inappropriate. It was first introduced into the interpolator's text by the editor Morel, who prints ἀλυσμοὶ, and is not found (as Smith states) in the Cod. August. of the interpolator's text.

κακαὶ κολάσεις κ.τ.λ.] Pearson quotes Justin *Dial.* 131 (p. 360 C) κολάσεις μέχρι θανάτου ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τοῦ διαβόλου, Celsus in Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 42 (I. p. 663) ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖς ἆρα ἡττᾶται ὑπὸ διαβόλου, καὶ κολαζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διδάσκει καὶ ἡμᾶς τῶν ὑπὸ τούτου κολάσεων καταφρονεῖν.

4. μόνον ἵνα] For the ellipsis with μόνον see the note on *Ephes.* 11.

VI. 'The kingdoms of this world

διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν· μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

VI. Οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου, οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου· καλόν μοι ἀπο-

GL; *et malae* S_2A (the conjunction is of no account); *durae* Σ; *et omnes* A_mS_m; καὶ gM Euseb-Syr; om. altogether, Euseb. Nothing can be inferred from the loose quotation of Sev-Syr 216 *ignis et bestiae et mille species tormentorum veniant super me.* κολάσεις] $GLS_2\Sigma AA_mS_m$(?)M Euseb; κόλασις g (reading also ἐρχέσθω for ἐρχέσθωσαν) Euseb-Syr. 4 μόνον ἵνα] GLA_mMg Euseb; *solum* A Sev-Syr; *et solum* $S_2\Sigma S_m$ Euseb-Syr. Ἰησοῦ] GLΣS AS_mMg Euseb Euseb-Syr Sev-Syr; om. A_m. 5 ἐπιτύχω] Σ breaks off here and (with the exception of the words ὁ τοκετός μοι ἐπίκειται § 6) contains nothing till § 7 ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως κ.τ.λ. 6 με] gM; μοι G. πέρατα] $gLS_2A_mS_m$ (written however עברוהי *opera* for עברוהי *termini*); *thesaurus* A; τέρπνα GM. 7 τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου] GLA_mS_mMg; *ejus* S_2; *hujus* A. The Syriac had already exhausted the proper equivalent to αἰών, עלמא, in translating κοσμος. καλόν] gM; *bonum* LS_2A Tim-Syr 1; *pulchrum* S_m; μᾶλλον G; *melius* (?) A_m. μοι] GM; ἐμοὶ g.

will profit me nothing. It is better to die for Christ than to reign over the whole earth. I long for Him who died and rose for me. The labour-pangs of a new birth are upon me. Do not prevent me from living; do not desire me to die. I would fain belong to God; do not bestow me on the world. Let me see the pure light. When I am come thither, I shall be truly a man. Permit me to imitate the passion of my God. Let all who have Him in their hearts feel and sympathize with my desire, for they know what constraineth me'.

6. *με ὠφελήσει*] With an accusative, as Mark viii. 36, 1 Cor. xiv. 6, Heb. iv. 2. This is the common construction; but it sometimes takes a dative, more especially in poetry. See Kühner II. pp. 251, 252.

τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κ.τ.λ.] '*the boundaries of the earth*', i.e. 'the whole earth from one end to the other.' In the LXX *τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς* (*τῆς οἰκουμένης*) is a common expression: see esp. Ps. ii. 8 *δώσω . . . τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς*, which well illustrates the meaning of Ignatius here. See also the note on *Ephes.* 3. The other reading *τὰ τερπνὰ* is discredited by the deficiency of authority.

7. *αἱ βασιλεῖαι κ.τ.λ.*] This was the temptation offered to Christ Himself; see Matt. iv. 8, Luke iv. 5.

καλόν κ.τ.λ.] Suggested by 1 Cor. ix. 15 *καλὸν γάρ μοι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τὸ καύχημά μου κ.τ.λ.* For *καλὸν . . . ἤ* (without *μᾶλλον*) comp. Matt. xviii. 8, 9, Mark ix. 43, 45; and see Winer § xxxv. p. 301 sq for this construction, which is common in the LXX. If the alternative reading *μᾶλλον* were accepted, we must understand *ὠφελήσει;* but it is condemned by the great preponderance of authorities. It was perhaps originally written above the line to supply the defective construction *καλόν . . . ἤ*, and afterwards displaced *καλόν*.

θανεῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἣν βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς. ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα· ἐκεῖνον θέλω, τὸν [δι' ἡμᾶς] ἀναστάντα. ὁ τοκετός μοι

1 διὰ] g (but l translates *in*) L Tim-Syr; ἐν M; εἰς G; *in* S_2AA_m (they may have read either ἐν or εἰς); *cum* S_m. Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν] LS_2Ag Tim-Syr; χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (or χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) GA_mS_mM. τῶν περάτων] GLA_mS_mMg Tim-Syr; *super omnes terminos* S_2A. 2 γῆς] txt $LS_2AA_mS_m$ Tim-Syr; add. τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος ἐὰν κερδήσῃ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον (τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ g) τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ (τ. δὲ ψ. αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ g, καὶ ζ. τ. ψ. αὐτοῦ M) GMg from Matt. xvi. 26: comp. Mart-Rom 2. 3 δι' ἡμᾶς] $GLA_m[S_m]$ Tim-Syr; om. $S_2A[g]$ Mart-Rom; def. M. ὁ τοκετός] [Σ]A_mS_m; ὁ δὲ τοκετός GL* (reading however ὅδε for ὁ δὲ, and mistranslating τοκετός *lucrum*) Tim-Syr; *et dolores mortis* S_2 (reading ܡܘܬܐ *mortis* for ܝܠܕܐ *partus;* see above p. 78 sq); *dolores mortis* (om. δὲ) A; def. Mg. A_m has *partus meus* (*aut; fenus et lucrum meum*), where the words in brackets may imply another reading τόκος or another interpretation of τοκετός. μοι] GLΣAS_m Tim-Syr; μου A_m; om. S_2; def. Mg. 4 σύγγνωτε] GM; συγγνωμονεῖτε g: see the converse change in *Trall.* 5. 5 μὴ θελήσητε] GLS_2AS_m g Tim-Syr; μηδὲ θελήσητε M; *velitis* (*secundum alios; ne velitis*) A_m. There is no other trace of this v. l. θελήσητε for μὴ θελήσητε. The omission of the negative has an exact parallel in § 1 [μὴ] φείσησθε, the motive being the same. με] gM and perhaps L (*velitis me*); μοι G. The rest are doubtful. τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλοντα] G S_m Tim-Syr; τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντά με gA_m(?); *dei volentem...me* L;

3. ὁ τοκετός κ.τ.λ.] '*My birth-pangs are at hand*'. The image refers not only to the birth of the child, but to the pangs of the mother also. Ignatius stood in the position of both the one and the other. His martyrdom represented the pains of labour. They were suffered by the earthly Ignatius; they resulted in the birth of the heavenly. The ὠδῖνες τοῦ θανάτου (Acts ii. 24) were with him the 'natalicia' of his higher life. For the metaphor, as regards the mother, comp. Gal. iv. 19 τεκνία μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω κ.τ.λ.; and as regards the child, e.g. August. *Serm.* 381 *de Natali Apost.* (v. p. 1481) 'Natalicio ergo Petri passus est Paulus, non quo ex utero matris in numerum fusus est hominum, sed quo ex vinculo carnis in lucem natus est angelorum', a passage which has more than one resemblance to the language and thoughts of Ignatius here. As this interpretation was written down some years before Zahn's book appeared, I am confirmed in its correctness by finding that he had expressed independently and in other language the same view respecting the double reference in τοκετός (*I. v. A.* p. 561 sq). The word takes a genitive either of the mother (*Ephes.* 19, Job xxxix. 1, 2) or of the child (Ecclus. xxiii. 14).

On the other hand the Latin Version renders it '*lucrum*', and the Armenian Martyrology gives as an alternative translation '*fenus et lucrum.*' So also some modern critics, e.g. Smith p. 99, Denzinger p. 62, who compare Phil. i. 21 τὸ ἀποθανεῖν

ἐπίκειται. σύγγνωτέ μοι, ἀδελφοί· μὴ ἐμποδίσητέ μοι
5 ζῆσαι, μὴ θελήσητέ με ἀποθανεῖν. τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ θέ-
λοντα εἶναι κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσησθε, μηδὲ ὕλῃ κολακεύσητε.

def. M. S_2A favour τὸν...θέλοντα as against θέλοντά με, but otherwise they have a corrupt text: see the next note. 6 χαρίσησθε] gA_mS_m (which has *deducatis*, a loose rendering) Tim-Syr (for doubtless we should read ܠܐ ܬܚܕ for ܠܐ ܬܚܕ); χαρήσησθε G; *separetis* (χωρίσησθε, taken as if χωρίσητε) L; def. M. In S_2 the whole sentence is rendered, *illum qui non vult esse in mundo ne honoretis me in hoc*, and similarly in A *qui non volo manere in mundo, ne honoretis sic*. The explanation of this rendering seems to be this; (1) Some letters dropped out, ΤΟΝ[ΤΟΥΘΕ]ΟΥΘΕΛΟΝΤΑ, owing to the recurrence of similar letters, so that it was read τὸν οὐ θέλοντα κ.τ.λ.; (2) In order to make sense, κόσμῳ was attached to the preceding words; (3) χαρίσησθε was inaccurately translated *honoretis*. At all events the coincidence of S_2A shows that the corruption is not in the Armenian, as Petermann not unnaturally supposed, but existed already in the Syriac Version. μηδὲ ὕλῃ κολακεύσητε] see the lower note; *neque per materiam seducatis* L; *neque per hylen adulemini* (*blandiamini*) *me* Tim-Syr; *neque provocetis-me-ad-aemulationem per ea quae videntur* S_2; *et ne aemulatorem faciatis visibilium* A; *neque labefactetis me* (om. ὕλῃ) S_m (but for the verb ܙܥܙܥ *labefactavit, peccare fecit*, we ought surely to substitute ܙܥܠ *blanditus est*, which is used in Tim-Syr); *ne elementis* (*materialibus*) *quibusdam seducamini* A_m (reading perhaps κολακευθῆτε, but a single letter makes the difference between the active and the passive in the Armenian, as in the Greek); om. Gg; def. M.

κέρδος, and similarly Leclerc. This arises from a confusion of words. While τόκος frequently bears this secondary sense of 'interest', τοκετός seems never to have it.

6. μηδὲ ὕλῃ κολακεύσητε] For ὕλῃ 'matter', i.e. 'external things', see the note on φιλόϋλον § 7. The words missing in the existing Greek text have been supplied μήθ' ὕλῃ ἐξαπατᾶτε by Petermann, μήθ' ὕλῃ παραζηλώσητε by Lipsius, and μηδὲ ὕλῃ ἐξαπατήσητε by Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 560, and *in loc.*) and Funk. They have rightly substituted μηδὲ for μήτε, since there is no reason for introducing a connexion μή...μήτε which is only not solœcistic. The word ὕλῃ is preserved in the Syriac of Timotheus. For the verb I have preferred κολακεύσητε, because it explains *all* the versions better than ἐξαπατᾶτε (ἐξαπατήσητε) or παραζηλώσητε, while moreover παραζηλώσητε does not give the right sense. The verb שרל, which the translator of Timotheus uses here, occurs in Σ as the rendering of κολακεύειν in *Polyc.* 2, and the substantive from the same root appears in the Peshito of 1 Thess. ii. 5 for κολακεία. The word in the Syriac Version S_2 (from which the Armenian A is translated), טנן (Aphel, *provocare ad zelum, stimulare*), though neither well suited to the context nor a good rendering of κολακεύειν, is closely allied in meaning to גרג (*excitare*) which is used by Σ in *Rom.* 4, 5, the only remaining passages

ἄφετέ με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν· ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ἔσομαι. ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου. εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει, νοησάτω ὃ θέλω καὶ συμπαθείτω μοι εἰδὼς τὰ συνέχοντά με. 5

1 ἄνθρωπος] LS$_m$ Tim-Syr; *homo perfectus* S$_3$A; *in luce perfectus* S$_2$ (but this is clearly a corruption, ܒܢܝܫܐ *in luce* for ܐܢܫܐ *homo*, as S$_3$ shows); ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ GMg. The *perfectus* of the Syriac and Armenian, and the θεοῦ of the Greek copies, are evident glosses. In A$_m$ the sentence ἐκεῖ...ἔσομαι runs *nunc homo sum, sed illuc iens angelus fiam*, the seemingly unmeaning ἄνθρωπος being displaced by a paraphrase. 2 ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι] GMg; ἐάσατε Anast-Sin. The singular *permitte* in Sev-Syr 3 is doubtless an error of transcription, as the plural appears in three other places, 2 (twice), 4 b. μιμητὴν] G (written μῆμητὴν) LS$_3$AA$_m$S$_m$Mg Anast-Sin Tim-Syr (twice) 1, 2, Sev-Syr

where κολακεύειν occurs in Ignatius; and indeed the two roots are connected together in the Peshito rendering of 2 Cor. xi. 2 τὸ ὑμῶν ζῆλος ἠρέθισεν τοὺς πλείονας. On the other hand in the Latin Version *blandiri* is the consistent rendering of κολακεύειν in these epistles elsewhere, while *seducatis* occurs here. For the sense of κολακεύειν comp. *Clem. Hom.* xx. 4 κολακευούσῃ ἁμαρτίᾳ, and see the note on *Polyc.* 2.

1. ἄνθρωπος] '*a man*' in the highest and truest sense, 'a rational, immortal being'. In the language of Scripture generally, as in other writers, ἄνθρωπος is a disparaging term, suggesting the weakness, the sins, the mortality of human nature; see esp. 1 Cor. iii. 4 οὐκ ἄνθρωποί ἐστε; (where the received reading, οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε; is a mere paraphrase). Here however the case is different. Ignatius speaks of the καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, the man regenerate, in whom the Divine image (Gen. i. 26) is renewed. So used, it is higher than ἀνήρ; for while ἀνήρ implies either maturity (opposed to νήπιος, e.g. 1 Cor. xiii. 11 ὅτε γέγονα ἀνήρ) or courage (opposed to γυνή, e.g. Hom. *Il.* vi. 112 ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι), ἄνθρωπος denotes the ideal of humanity. The use of the word here is partially illustrated by M. Antonin. iv. 3 ἐλεύθερος ἔσο καὶ ὅρα τὰ πράγματα, ὡς ἀνήρ, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς πολίτης, ὡς θνητὸν ζῶον, x. 15 ἱστορήτωσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄνθρωπον ἀληθινὸν κατὰ φύσιν ζῶντα, xi. 18 ἄρξαι ποτὲ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι, ἕως ζῇς. Thus too Menander says (*Fragm. Com.* IV. pp. 355, 372) ὡς χαρίεν ἐστ' ἄνθρωπος, ὅταν ἄνθρωπος ᾖ, quoted by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* viii. 3, p. 916) whose comment is ὄντως ἄνθρωπος, ὁ τὰς κοινὰς φρένας κεκτημένος. So again in the well-known story of Diogenes the Cynic (Diog. Laert. vi. 41) λύχνον μεθ' ἡμέραν ἅψας, Ἄνθρωπον, ἔφη, ζητῶ, and in another story of this same philosopher (*ib.* vi. 60) ἐπανήει ἀπὸ Ὀλυμπίων· πρὸς οὖν τὸν πυθόμενον εἰ ὄχλος ἦν πολύς, Πολὺς μέν, εἶπεν, ὄχλος, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνθρωποι. See also [Clem. Rom.] *Fragm.* 1 (p. 213) διὰ τοῦτό ἐσμεν ἄνθρωποι καὶ φρόνησιν ἔχομεν κ.τ.λ. Scribes and translators, not understanding this use, have

VII. Ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαρπάσαι με βούλεται καὶ τὴν εἰς Θεόν μου γνώμην διαφθεῖραι. μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθείτω αὐτῷ· μᾶλλον

(four times), Anon-Syr$_2$ Anon-Syr$_3$ Theod-Stud. In the first passage Severus states that 'in other copies which are rather older' the reading is *μαθητήν*. No other trace of this reading exists. *εἶναι*] GLMg; *γενέσθαι* Anast-Sin. The Oriental Versions determine nothing here. *τοῦ πάθους*] GM Anast-Sin; *πάθους* g. 3 *τοῦ Θεοῦ μου*] GLS$_3$AS$_m$ Anast-Sin Tim-Syr (twice) Sev-Syr (three times) 2, 3 (while elsewhere 4 b he quotes it 'my God' for 'of my God,' but probably a letter ך has dropped out of the existing text) Anon-Syr$_2$ Anon-Syr$_3$; *χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μου* g; *τοῦ χριστοῦ* M; *domini mei* A$_m$. 4 *εἰδὼς*] GLA$_m$S$_m$Mg Tim-Syr; *hoc dico quod scio* A, but this is probably a translator's insertion to refer *εἰδώς* (wrongly) to the 1st person. 7 *Θεόν*] GM; *τὸν θεόν* g. 8 *τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν*] Gg; *praesentium de vobis* L (which probably is a misinterpretation of the same Greek); *e vobis* (om. *τῶν παρόντων*) AA$_m$; *τῶν παρόντων* (om. *ὑμῶν*) S$_m$M. *αὐτῷ*] There is no v. l. here. For L see the Appx.

helped out the meaning in different ways, as the critical note shows. The reading of the Greek MS *ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ* was probably suggested to the scribe as a scriptural expression, e.g. 1 Tim. vi. 11, 2 Tim. iii. 17.

2. *μιμητὴν εἶναι κ.τ.λ.*] Comp. *Ephes.* 1 *μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ* (with the notes). Anastasius of Sinai (*Hodeg.* i. 12, p. 196 Migne) mentions this as one of the passages in earlier writers, which the Monophysites quoted in support of their doctrine. The quotations in the extant fragments of the Monophysite Severus confirm this statement.

VII. 'The prince of this world desires my ruin. Do not ye abet him in his purpose; but espouse my cause, which is God's cause also. Do not talk of Jesus Christ and desire the world at the same time. Let no man grudge me my crown. Obey not my prayers, if I should entreat you by word of mouth, but rather obey my letter, as I now write to you. For though living, I write to you, desiring to die. All my earthly longings have been crucified. There is no more any flame of passion in me, but living water, which speaks and summons me to the Father. I have no delight in corruptible food or in this life's pleasures. I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Christ the son of David, and His blood, which is imperishable love.'

6. Ὁ ἄρχων *κ.τ.λ.*] See the note on *Ephes.* 17.

διαρπάσαι] The word used in the parable of the strong man's house, Matt. xii. 29 (v. l.), Mark iii. 27; which passage may have suggested its employment here.

7. *τὴν εἰς Θεόν κ.τ.λ.*] '*my mind which is to Godward*', 'my heavenward thoughts'; comp. *Philad.* 1 *τὴν εἰς Θεὸν αὐτοῦ γνώμην*. See also [Clem. Rom.] ii. 3 *ἡ γνῶσις ἡ πρὸς αὐτόν*.

8. *τῶν παρόντων*] '*who are on the spot*,' i.e. 'who will be witnesses of my approaching martyrdom.' It corresponds to the following *παρών*, 'when I am among you.'

ἐμοὶ γίνεσθε, τουτέστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κόσμον δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε. βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικείτω· μηδ' ἂν ἐγὼ παρὼν παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, πεί-

1 *ἐμοὶ γίνεσθε*] gM; *ἐμοῦ γίνεσθε* G; *mei fiatis* L (which would suit either reading); *ad meum latus estote* AA_m (where *ἐμοί* the possessive pronoun seems to be mistaken for the dative of the personal pronoun); al. S_m. 3 *μηδ' ἂν ἐγὼ παρὼν παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς*] GM; *μηδὲ ἐὰν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς παρὼν παρακαλῶ* g; *neque utique ego vos praesens* (v. l. *praesens vos*) *deprecor* L. *πείσθητε*] *πείσθειτε* G. 4 *μοι*] $GLAA_mM$; *illi* S_m (perhaps a corruption in the Syriac text, *ἐγώ* having been already dropped, so that a third person takes the place of *παρακαλῶ*); om. g. *πιστεύσατε*] gA (prob., for it has *credatis* here, but *obtemperetis* (*obediatis*) for *πείσθητε* above) A_m (prob., for it has *credite* here, but *convincamini* (*consentiatis*) above) S_m; *πεισθῆτε* GML* (prob., for it uses the same verb *credere* in both cases). 5 *γὰρ*] gLM (which has *ἐξ ὧν γὰρ...ἐρῶ*); om. GAS_m; def. A_m: see Clem. Rom. 62 (note). *ὁ ἐμὸς*] $GLAA_mS_mM$ (v. l. *ἐμός*) g Dion-Areop 2 Theod-Stud; *et meus* [Σ]; *meus autem* Orig. Σ resumes here and continues (with omissions) to the end of the chapter. 6 *ἐσταύρωται*] GLΣA (see below) S_mMg Orig Dion-Areop Theod-Stud; but A_m has *meum desiderium a patre est* (*secundum alios; meum desiderium vel meus amor crucifixus est*), where the corrupt reading *ἐκ πατρός ἐστι* (for *ἐσταύρωται*) is partially explained by the

1. *ἐμοὶ γίνεσθε*] '*take my side*,' where *ἐμοὶ* is the nominative of the possessive pronoun. Scribes, mistaking it for the dative of the personal pronoun, have altered the text to produce conformity in the two clauses, some reading *ἐμοῦ* for *ἐμοί*, others *τῷ Θεῷ* for *τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

μὴ λαλεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 6.

2. *βασκανία*] To desire to spare his life is to grudge him the glory of martyrdom; comp. § 3 *οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί* (with the note), § 5 *μηθέν με ζηλώσαι.*

3. *παρὼν παρακαλῶ*] i.e. 'if on my arrival in Rome I should change my mind and ask your intercession to save my life.'

5. *ζῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*] i.e. 'In the midst of life, with all its attractions, I write deliberately and desire death'; where *ζῶν* is emphatic.

ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως] '*my* earthly *passion*'; comp. Gal. v. 24 *τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις*, vi. 14 *ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται κἀγὼ κόσμῳ.* The word *ἔρως*, so frequent in classical Greek, is found only twice in the LXX, and in both passages it denotes strong sensual passion, as a term of reproach; Prov. vii. 18 *δεῦρο καὶ ἐγκυλισθῶμεν ἔρωτι*, xxx. 16 *ᾅδης καὶ ἔρως γυναικὸς κ.τ.λ.* In the New Testament it does not occur at all. Conversely the common term for Christian love in the New Testament, *ἀγάπη*, is almost, if not quite, unknown in classical writers (in Plut. *Mor.* p. 709 *ἀγάπης ὦν* has been rightly corrected into *ἀγαπήσων*). Ignatius therefore would necessarily use *ἔρως* in a bad sense to denote the passions of his former unregenerate life. His *ἀγάπη*, we might say, was perfected, when his *ἔρως* was crucified.

His meaning therefore being clear, it is strange that Origen should have given a wholly different interpreta-

σθητέ μοι, τούτοις δὲ μᾶλλον πιστεύσατε, οἷς γράφω
5 ὑμῖν. ζῶν [γὰρ] γράφω ὑμῖν, ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ
ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ

usual contractions of πατρός and σταυρός (with its derivatives). The double rendering in A *amor meus crux est, meum desiderium crucifixum est*, is owing to the ambiguous צליבא of the Syriac, which may be either *crux* or *crucifixus*. ἔστιν] ἔστην G. πῦρ φιλόϋλον, ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν] G; πῦρ φιλόϋλον, ὕδωρ δὲ μᾶλλον ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν M Theod-Stud (Menæa Dec. 20); πῦρ φιλοῦν τι, ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν ἀλλόμενον g (l omits πῦρ φιλοῦν τι and translates the remaining words *aqua autem viva alia manet*, i.e. ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν ἄλλο μένον); *ignis amans aliquam* (leg. *aliam*?) *aquam sed vivens et loquens est* (πῦρ φιλοῦν τι ὕδωρ ζῶν δὲ καὶ λαλοῦν) L; *ignis in amore alio* (v. l. *amoris alius*) Σ (perh. πῦρ φιλόαλλον, a corruption of φιλόϋλον; the rest of the words are omitted); *alius calor amoris. aqua bona et vivida...existit* (πῦρ φιλόαλλον, ὕδωρ καλὸν καὶ ζῶν) A; *ignis amandi* (*alienum quidquam*) *aqua vivida et loquens est* A_m (where the words in brackets may be merely an explanatory gloss or may betoken a v. l.); *ignis alienus, diligo enim aquas vividas et loquentes* S_m. The Menæa (Dec. 20) have οὐκ ἔσχες πῦρ φιλόϋλον ἐν σοί, ἰγνάτιε, ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν μᾶλλον καὶ λαλοῦν...ὕδωρ τὸ ἀλλόμενον κ.τ.λ. Thus the authorities exhibit a strange confusion of -υλον, ἄλλο, καλὸν, μᾶλλον, ἀλλόμενον: see the lower note.

tion to the words; *Prol. in Cant.* III. p. 30 'Nec puto quod culpari possit si quis Deum, sicut Ioannes [1 Joh. iv. 8] caritatem [ἀγάπην], ita ipse amorem [ἔρωτα] nominet. Denique memini aliquem sanctorum dixisse, Ignatium nomine, de Christo *Meus autem amor crucifixus est*, nec reprehendi eum pro hoc dignum judico.' Origen is followed by some later writers. Thus the false Dionysius the Areopagite, *de Div. Nom.* iv. 12 (p. 565 ed. Cord.), accounts for the expression by saying that it was thought by some θειότερον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ὄνομα τοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης. So also Theodorus Studites, *Catech.* 3 (Grabe *Spic.* II. p. 229) ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται Χριστός (where Χριστός is his own gloss), ib. *Jamb.* 70 (p. 1797 Migne) ἔχων ἔρωτα Χριστὸν ἐν σῇ καρδίᾳ. Hence too in the *Menæa* (Dec. 20) ὡς τετρωμένος ἔρωτι ἀγάπης τοῦ Κυρίου σου, Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως, ἐβόας, Χριστὸς ἐσταύρωται θέλων, besides several other allusions to this saying, in all which it is interpreted in the same way. In favour of this interpretation it might be urged that ἐρᾶν, ἐραστής, are applied in the LXX (Prov. iv. 6, Wisd. viii. 2) to the pursuit of Divine wisdom; comp. Justin *Dial.* 8 (p. 225 B) ἐμοὶ δὲ παραχρῆμα πῦρ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνήφθη καὶ ἔρως εἰχέ με τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων οἳ εἰσι Χριστοῦ φίλοι, Clem. Al. *Coh.* 11 (p. 90) ὅ γέ τοι οὐράνιος καὶ θεῖος ὄντως ἔρως, ib. *Fragm.* p. 1019 βαθύν τινα τὸν τοῦ κτίστου περιφέρωμεν ἔρωτα. So Chrysostom says of Ignatius himself (*Op.* II. p. 599) τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ ἐρῶντες· ὅπερ ἂν πάσχωσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐρωμένων, μεθ' ἡδονῆς δέχονται, though he may not have been thinking of this passage. But the fatal objection to this interpretation is that, even if otherwise admissible, it would tear the clause out of the context. Obviously ἔρως and πῦρ are synonymous here, as they are in the passage of Justin. See the saying ascribed to Buddha,

φιλόϋλον, ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν †καὶ λαλοῦν† ἐν ἐμοί, ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον· Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. οὐχ ἥδομαι τροφῇ

1 ἔσωθεν] GMg; ἔνδοθεν Theod-Stud. 2 λέγον] M Theod-Stud; λέγων (sic) G; λέγει g (but l *dicens*); *dicens* Sev-Syr 4 b; *dicit* L; *et dicit* A; *et...clamat et dicit* A_m. The two last seem to have had the participle rather than the indicative. S_m renders the sentence ἔσωθέν μοι λέγων *quum sit mihi dominus*

Dhammapada 251 'There is no fire like passion' (Buddhaghosha's Parables, by Rogers, p. cxxviii).

1. φιλόϋλον] '*matter-loving*,' '*sensuous*,' '*carnal*'; comp. § 6 μηδὲ ὕλῃ κολακεύσητε. On the other hand the Holy Spirit is πῦρ ἄϋλον 'ignis materiae expers' in the Liturgy of S. Cyril (Renaudot *Lit. Orient.* I. p. 38). The word ὕλη has here its secondary sense 'matter,' as e.g. in Wisd. xi. 18, xv. 13, Clem. Rom. 38. It is too fanciful to see (with Zahn p. 563) a reference also to its primary sense, as if Ignatius had in view the same metaphor as in James iii. 5 ἡλίκον πῦρ ἡλίκην ὕλην ἀνάπτει (comp. Is. x. 17, Ecclus. xxviii. 10). There seems indeed to be the double reference in the passage to which he refers, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 1 (p. 164) οἱ παμφάγοι, καθάπερ τὸ πῦρ, τῆς ὕλης ἐξεχόμενοι (where however we should perhaps read ἐξεχόμενον); but it is there brought out by the form of the sentence. For the compound φιλόϋλος, which is very rare until a later age, comp. Orig. *Fragm. in Luc.* φιλοΰλων καὶ φιλοσωμάτων λόγοι πιθανοί (III. p. 982, Delarue). For the Gnostic (Valentinian) tinge of the sentiment see the notes on *Ephes.* inscr.

I have adopted φιλόϋλον here on authority which elsewhere would not deserve a preference, for several reasons. (1) It is so obviously the best reading; (2) It explains the other main variations, φιλοῦν τι and φιλοῦν ἄλλο, which would be substituted for φιλόϋλον, if either miswritten or unintelligible to the scribe; (3) Conversely it is not usual for a transcriber to show such intelligence as appears in the substitution of an unusual word φιλόϋλον for either φιλοῦν τι or φιλοῦν ἄλλο.

ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν] Doubtless a reference to John iv. 10, 11, as indeed the whole passage is inspired by the Fourth Gospel. This water at once quenches the fires of sensual passion and supplies an unfailing draught of spiritual strength; comp. Justin, *Dial.* 114 (342 B) τῆς καλῆς πέτρας...ὕδωρ ζῶν ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπησάντων τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων βρυούσης.

†καὶ λαλοῦν†] According to Jortin (*Eccles. Hist.* I. p. 356 sq, quoted by Jacobson) there is an allusion to the heathen superstition that certain waters communicated a prophetic power to the person drinking them; e.g. Anacreont. 11 (13) δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβου λάλον πιόντες ὕδωρ (comp. Stat. Sylv. i. 2. 6, v. 5. 2). As there was one of these 'speaking' fountains at Daphne (Sozom. *H. E.* v. 19, Evagr. i. 16) the famous suburb of Antioch, he supposes that the image would readily suggest itself to Ignatius. This reference seems to me more than doubtful, even if the text were correct. But I am disposed to believe that the right reading is preserved in the interpolator's text, ἀλλόμενον for καὶ λαλοῦν. The various readings show that the text here has been much tumbled about in very early times; and this being so, λα-

φθορᾶς οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου· ἄρτον Θεοῦ

meus intus dicens mihi, doubtless reading the masculine λέγων (with G) and wishing accordingly to give it a personal application. Similarly Severus translates *πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ad patrem meum*, thus giving a personal reference to the participle, and he too perhaps read λέγων: see the lower note. 2 *οὐχ ἥδομαι*] *οὐκήδομαι* G. 3 Θεοῦ] GM; *τοῦ θεοῦ* g.

λοῦν might very easily suggest itself to a scribe from the following λέγον. If ἀλλόμενον be correct, it is taken from John iv. 14 *πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*. Combined from this and the preceding passage (ver. 10, 11) in the same Gospel, the expression *ὕδωρ ζῶν ἁλλόμενον* took a prominent place in the speculations of the second century; e. g. of the Naassenes, Hippol. *Haer.* v. 9 *ἔδωκεν ἄν σοι πιεῖν ὕδωρ ζῶν ἁλλόμενον*; of the Sethians, *ib.* v. 19 *ἀπελούσατο καὶ ἔπιε τὸ ποτήριον ζῶντος ὕδατος ἁλλομένου*; of Justin the Gnostic, *ib.* v. 27 *ὅπερ ἐστὶ λοῦτρον αὐτοῖς, ὡς νομίζουσι, πηγὴ ζῶντος ὕδατος ἁλλομένου*. This makes the combination the more probable here. Heracleon in Orig. *in Ioann.* xiii. § 10 (IV. p. 220), the earliest commentator on this Gospel, lays great stress on ἁλλομένου.

2. λέγον κ.τ.λ.] Similarly *Philad.* 7 *τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν, λέγον τάδε· Χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κ.τ.λ.* See also Dion. Alex. in Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 7. § 2, 3. I have not ventured to substitute the masc. λέγων, though the evidence is in its favour. This reading would identify the *ὕδωρ ζῶν* directly with Christ (see the upper note), and thus the reference to John iv. 10 sq would be made more distinct. For a similar instance of an alternative between λέγον or λέγων see *Philad.* l. c.

τροφῇ φθορᾶς] Suggested by John vi. 27 *ἐργάζεσθε μὴ τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν ἀπολλυμένην*.

3. ἡδοναῖς κ.τ.λ.] The phrase *ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου* occurs Luke viii. 14. This sentence involves a distinction between *βίος* and *ζωή* (in *ὕδωρ ζῶν*), which is brought out more definitely in the interpolator's text by the insertion of *ἄρτον ζωῆς* in the next sentence. The former denotes the lower earthly life, the latter the higher divine life. If *ζωὴ* is sometimes used of the earthly life, *βίος* is never used of the heavenly. This distinction holds in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, not less than in the N. T. It is founded on an essential difference between the two words, recognised by Greek philosophers; but to the Christian their relative position is exchanged, because his point of view is altered. As *ζωὴ* is the principle of life, *vita qua vivimus*, *βίος* denotes the process, the circumstances, the accidents of life, in its social and physical relations, *vita quam vivimus*; comp. Athenag. *Resurr.* 19 *ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωὴ καὶ σύμπας ὁ βίος*. Hence Aristotle could say *βίος ἐστὶ λογικὴ ζωή* (Ammonius s. v. *βίος*); for with him *βίος* was the higher term of the two. See Trench *N. T. Syn.* § xxvii. p. 86 sq, and Field in *Journal of Philology* x. p. 178 sq (1882). But in Christian philosophy the principle of life is not physical, but spiritual; and thus, while *βίος* remains at its former level, *ζωὴ* has been translated into a higher sphere and takes the precedence. So too Dion Cass. lxix. 19 *βιοὺς μὲν ἔτη τόσα, ζήσας δὲ ἔτη ἑπτά*. Accordingly, while *θάνατος* is opposed to *ζωή*, it may be identical with *βίος*; [Clem. Rom.] ii. 1 *ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ὅλος ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἦν εἰ μὴ θάνατος*. Contrast 1 Joh. iii. 15 *ζωὴν αἰώνιον* with

θέλω, ὅ ἐστιν σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος

1 *θέλω*] txt LΣAA$_m$S$_m$; add *ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς* GMg. *ὅ*] GLM (with a v. l. *ὅς*) g; dub. ΣAA$_m$S$_m$; vulg. *ὅς*. *τοῦ Χριστοῦ*] g*Σ; *ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ* GLAA$_m$S$_m$M. After *χριστοῦ* add. *τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* GMg; om. L[Σ]AA$_m$S$_m$. *τοῦ*] txt L (*ejus qui ex genere*) S$_m$ (*qui est ex genere*); add. *γενομένου* GAA$_m$Mg (but the versions AA$_m$ are not of much weight in this matter); def. Σ: see the lower note. After *τοῦ* [*γενομένου*] add. *ἐν ὑστέρῳ* GMg; om. LAA$_m$S$_m$; def. Σ.

ἰδ. ver. 17 *τὸν βίον τοῦ κόσμου*, or the same Apostle's absolute use of *ὁ βίος* in 1 Joh. ii. 16 with his absolute use of *ἡ ζωὴ* elsewhere, e.g. iii. 14, v. 12. Contrast also the expression *τοῦ βίου τούτου* here with *τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης* in Acts v. 20. See too *Clem. Hom.* Ep. Clem. 1 *αὐτὸς τοῦ νῦν βίου βιαίως τὸ ζῆν μετήλλαξεν* (i.e. 'received true life in exchange for this earthly life'), *ἰδ.* xii. 14 *ὅπως ἀβασανίστως τοῦ ζῆν τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι δυνηθῇς* (which passage, like the former, seems to have been altogether misunderstood by the critics), whereas *ἰδ.* i. 14 we have *τὸν πάντα μου τῆς ζωῆς βίον*, but there an only half-converted heathen is speaking; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 1 (p. 168) *οἱ ταπεινόφρονες, χαμαιγενεῖς, τὸν ἐφήμερον διώκοντες βίον, ὡς οὐ ζησόμενοι* (comp. *ἰδ.* p. 163), Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 16 (I. p. 457) *περὶ τῆς ἑξῆς τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ζωῆς*, Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* iii. 12 (p. 82) *ἀμέμπτῳ δὲ βίῳ τὴν ζωὴν ἐμεγάλυνεν*, *C. I. G.* 9474, a Christian inscription where *ὁ βίος* (*οὗτος*) is contrasted with *ζωὴ οὐράνιος* (*αἰώνιος*).

ἄρτον Θεοῦ] Here again is an expression taken from S. John's Gospel, vi. 33. Indeed the whole context is suggested by this portion of the Evangelist's narrative. The contrast of the perishable and imperishable food—the bread and the cup as representing the flesh and blood of Christ—the mystical power emanating therefrom—are all ideas contained in the context (vi. 48—59). The later interpolator has seen the source of Ignatius' inspiration, and has introduced expressions freely from the Gospel; 'the heavenly bread' (vi. 31, 32, 50, 58), 'the bread of life' (vi. 48), 'eternal life' (*ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, vi. 27, 40, 54). For *ἄρτος Θεοῦ* compare also *Ephes.* 5 with the note.

The reference here is not to the eucharist itself but to the union with Christ which is symbolized and pledged in the eucharist. Obviously any limitation to the actual reception of the eucharistic elements and the blessings attendant on such reception would be inadequate; for Ignatius is contemplating the consummation of his union with Christ through martyrdom. The indirect reference to the eucharistic elements is analogous to that which our Lord makes in John vi.

1. *τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυείδ*] i.e. 'who was really and truly incarnate': see the note on *Ephes.* 18. The reality of Christ's humanity is necessary to the full power and significance of communion with Him; because only so is our own manhood truly united with God. The shadow of Docetic antagonism, which was rife in Asia Minor, rests for a moment even on this letter to the Church of Rome, though the Romans were *ἀποδιυλισμένοι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου χρώματος*, and though there is no direct mention of this heresy in it.

The insertion *γενομένου* stands on a slightly different footing from the other interpolations in this context,

Δανείδ, καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὅ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος.

2 Δανείδ] δᾶδ G. After δανειδ add. καὶ ἀβραάμ GMg; om. LAA$_m$S$_m$; def. Σ. πόμα] gLΣAA$_m$S$_m$; add. θεοῦ GM. 3 ἄφθαρτος] txt LΣAS$_m$; add. καὶ ἀένναος (ἀέναως G) ζωή GMg*; comp. Mart-Rom 10 (where this addition seems to be recognised). In A$_m$ *et vita aeterna* is added in brackets as a v. l.

being somewhat more highly supported; but it ought probably to be omitted. There was an obvious motive for inserting it, so as not to overlook the preexistence and Divinity of Christ; comp. *Smyrn.* 4 *τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου* [*γενομένου*], where the motive for the insertion would be the same, and see also the v. l. *Ephes.* 7 *ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος.*

2. *ὅ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος*] The relative refers to *τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ*. As the flesh of Christ represents the solid substance of the Christian life, so the blood of Christ represents the element of love which circulates through all its pores and ducts, animating and invigorating the whole. See especially *Trall.* 8, where the flesh and the blood are separated in a similar way, and made to represent respectively the faith and the love of the Christian; and compare also the passage from Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 121) there quoted, in which there is an analogous application. Ignatius does not here directly say what he means by the flesh, as distinguished from the blood; but we may supply the omission from the parallel passage in *Trall.* 8, and say that he refers to *faith* as the substance of man's union with Christ. See also for partial illustrations of this passage Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 2 (p. 177) *τοῦτ' ἔστι πιεῖν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τῆς κυριακῆς μεταλαβεῖν ἀφθαρσίας, ἰσχὺς δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ πνεῦμα, ὡς αἷμα σαρκός, Quis div. salv.* 23 (p. 948) *ἄρτον ἐμαυτὸν διδούς, οὗ γευσάμενος οὐδεὶς ἔτι πεῖραν θανάτου λαμβάνει, καὶ πόμα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδιδοὺς ἀθανασίας.* 'I desire,' Ignatius appears to mean, 'that heavenly sustenance which is derived from union with a truly incarnate Christ through faith and love.' But it is impossible to be confident about the interpretation of language so obscure.

On the other hand Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 348 sq, and *ad loc.*) would apply the relative clause *ὅ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος* not to *τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ*, but to both clauses of the preceding sentence, i. e. 'which participation in the flesh and blood', so that it will no longer be parallel to *ὅς ἐστιν σὰρξ Χριστοῦ*. Accordingly he supposes that in *ἀγάπη* there is a secondary reference to the 'love-feast' (comp. *Smyrn.* 8) of which the eucharist formed a part. This reference to the agape is, I think, barely possible; but the grammatical construction thus adopted seems to me altogether harsh. It is true that the parallelism, as I take the sentence, is grammatical, rather than logical. The logical parallelism would have been *ἄρτον θέλω τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἥ ἐστιν πίστις ἄτρεπτος κ.τ.λ.*; and in a more finished and less hurried writing it might have been so expressed. But instances of parallelism not strictly logical are common, and here it is too obtrusive to be set aside; while it is further confirmed by the very similar passage, *Trall.* 8.

3. *ἄφθαρτος*] The interpolator adds *καὶ ἀέννaος ζωή*, an expression occurring in the LXX apparently only in 2 Macc. vii. 36, and never in the N.T. But it was doubtless suggested

VIII. *Οὐκ ἔτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε. θελήσατε, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς θεληθῆτε. δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς· πιστεύσατέ μοι. Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ὑμῖν ταῦτα φανερώσει, ὅτι ἀληθῶς λέγω· τὸ ἀψευδὲς στόμα, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πατὴρ ἐλάλησεν [ἀληθῶς]. αἰτήσασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα ἐπιτύχω [ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ]. οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν*

2 *θελήσητε*] GM; *θέλητε* g. The omission of the following words in some texts (see the next note) points to a homœoteleuton, *θελήσητε, θεληθῆτε*, and therefore favours *θελήσητε*. , *θελήσατε...θεληθῆτε*] GLA$_m$S$_m$M; om. A [g]. With *θελήσατε* connecting particles appear in some texts; *autem* LS$_m$; *οὖν* M; *jam* A$_m$. 3 *θεληθῆτε*] GLMS$_m$; def. Ag. A$_m$ has *ut et vos auxilium inveniatis* (*aut; ut et vos optati fiatis, id est accepti*). The alternative *auxilium inveniatis* seems to represent a v. l. *ὠφεληθῆτε*, but there is no trace of it elsewhere. *δι' ὀλίγων*] GLS$_m$Mg; præf. δ (or ἅ) AA$_m$. 4 *δὲ*] GLMS$_m$; om. AA$_m$; al. g. *ὑμῖν ταῦτα φανερώσει*] GM; *φανερώσει ὑμῖν*

by *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* which occurs several times in John vi.

VIII. 'I no longer wish to live, as men count life. I entreat you to fulfil my desire, that God may fulfil yours. I have written briefly to this effect; but Christ, the unerring mouthpiece of the Father, will show you that I speak the truth. Pray for me, that I may succeed. I write not this after the flesh, but after the will of God. If I suffer, it is your favour; if I am rejected as unworthy, it is your hatred.'

1. *κατὰ ἀνθρώπους*] i.e. 'according to the common, worldly, conception of life'; comp. *Trall.* 2 *φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῶντες* (with the note).

τοῦτο] 'this desire of mine to live no longer the common life of men'.

3. *θεληθῆτε*] i.e. *ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ* '*may be desired*, may be looked upon favourably, by God'; comp. *Clem. Hom.* xi. 25 *εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸ κληθῆναι οὐ θέλεις ἢ βραδύνεις, δικαίᾳ Θεοῦ ἀπολῇ κρίσει, τῷ μὴ θελῆσαι μὴ θεληθείς*, Athan. *c. Arian.* iii. 66 (*Op.* I. p. 487 sq) *ὁ υἱὸς τῇ θελήσει ᾗ θέλεται παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ταύτῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀγαπᾷ καὶ θέλει καὶ τιμᾷ τὸν πατέρα*, Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxix. 7 (I. p. 527) *ἢ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ θέλησαν, τὸ δὲ θεληθέν.* The passive occurs not very commonly of things (e.g. Epict. *Diss.* iv. 1. 59), and still more rarely of persons (e.g. *Clem. Hom.* xiii. 16 *ἡ σώφρων εἰς τὸ θέλεσθαι προφάσεις οὐ παρέχει ἢ τῷ αὐτῆς ἀνδρί· ἡ σώφρων ὑπὸ ἑτέρου θελομένη λυπεῖται*). From this passive use comes the Θελητός, which has a place among the æons of Valentinian mythology (Iren. i. 1. 2).

δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων] '*in a brief letter*'; comp. *Polyc.* 7. So *δι' ὀλίγων*, 1 Pet. v. 12, Ptolem. *ad Flor.* 4 in Epiph. *Haer.* xxxiii. 7; *διὰ βραχέων*, Heb. xiii. 22.

5. *ἐν ᾧ κ.τ.λ.*] So He is styled *τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ γνώμη* in *Ephes.* 3.

8. *γνώμην Θεοῦ*] Comp. *Ephes.* 3, *Smyrn.* 6, *Polyc.* 8. The expression itself does not occur in the N. T. (see however Rev. xvii. 17).

ἔγραψα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ. ἐὰν πάθω, ἠθελήσατε· ἐὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ, ἐμισήσατε.

10 IX. Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἥτις ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ποιμένι τῷ Θεῷ χρῆται· μόνος αὐτὴν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπισκοπήσει καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη. ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχύνομαι ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιός εἰμι, ὢν ἔσχατος αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκτρωμα· ἀλλ'

ταῦτα g; *vobis manifestabit haec* L. 5 ἀληθῶς] GLA; om. A_mS_m; def. M; al. g. 7 ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ] [g]; *spiritu sancto* A; om. GLA_mS_mM. 8 κατὰ γνώμην] GLS_mMg; *spiritu et voluntate* A; *secundum spiritum et secundum voluntatem* A_m. ἠθελήσατε] $GLAA_mS_m$; ἠγαπήσατε g; def. M. 10 προσευχῇ] GM; εὐχῇ g. The genuine Ignatius does not anywhere use the word εὐχή. 13 δὲ] $GLAA_mS_m$; δὲ καὶ g; def. M. οὐδὲ γὰρ] G; οὐ γὰρ g; *non enim* L; *quia non* A; *quoniam non* A_m; *non* S_m; def. M. 14 ἄξιός εἰμι] G (but writing ἠμι for εἰμι); εἰμι ἄξιος g; *sum dignus* L; def. M.

ἠθελήσατε] 'Ye have done me the favour which I asked'. It is best not to understand τὸ παθεῖν, but to refer ἠθελήσατε to the preceding ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε.

9. ἀποδοκιμασθῶ] See *Trall.* 12 ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὑρεθῶ (with the note).

IX. 'Pray for the Church of Syria whose only pastor now is God. Jesus Christ will be its bishop—He and your love. For myself, I am not worthy to belong to them; but God has had mercy on me, if so be I shall find Him in the end. Salutations from myself and from the brotherhoods which have received me as Christ's representative, not as a mere passer by; for even those churches which lay out of my path went before me from city to city'.

10. Μνημονεύετε κ.τ.λ.] For this injunction, which occurs in all the four letters written from Smyrna, see *Ephes.* 21.

11. ἥτις] '*seeing that it*', thus giving the reason for their prayers: see *Philippians* iv. 3 (note).

ποιμένι κ.τ.λ.] In connexion with ἐπισκοπήσει which follows, this presents a close parallel to 1 Pet. ii. 25 ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν (comp. 1 Pet. v. 2 ποιμάνατε...ἐπισκοποῦντες, but ἐπισκοποῦντες is very doubtful): see also Ezek. xxxiv. 11 sq.

12. ἐπισκοπήσει] '*be its bishop*': comp. *Polyc.* inscr. μᾶλλον ἐπεσκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, and *Magn.* 3 τῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ. The office of Jesus Christ is here identified with the office of God in the pastorate of the Syrian Church.

ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη] See the note on *Trall.* 3.

13. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιος κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 21 ἔσχατος ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν.

14. ἔκτρωμα] '*an immature birth*'. The word, occurring in this context, is obviously suggested by 1 Cor. xv. 8, 9, ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων, ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι, ὤφθη κἀμοί· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὃς οὐκ

ἠλέημαί τις εἶναι, ἐὰν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν δεξαμένων με εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα·

2 *καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*] GLΣS_m (so doubtless originally, but the present text has *amor et ecclesiae*) Mg; *et amor omnium ecclesiarum* A_m; *et omnes ecclesiae* A. 3 *εἰς*] GL (*in nomine*, but *εἰς* is often so translated in L) A_mMg* (but v. l. *ὡς*); *propter* S_m (probably representing *εἰς*); *ὡς* Σ (איך דלשמה, not *ὡς εἰς* as Petermann

εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος κ.τ.λ. Objection was taken to *ἐκτιτρώσκειν*, *ἔκτρωμα*, etc., in this sense, instead of the approved words *ἀμβλίσκειν*, *ἄμβλωμα*, etc., by purists (see Lobeck *Phryn.* 208 sq); but they occur as early as Hippocrates and Herodotus (iii. 32); and *ἔκτρωμα* is mentioned by Aristotle as a common word, *de Gen. An.* iv. 5 (p. 773) *κυήματ' ἐκπίπτει παραπλήσια τοῖς καλουμένοις ἐκτρώμασιν.* In the same sense it occurs also in the LXX, Num. xii. 12, Job iii. 16, Eccles. vi. 3. See also references to other writers in Wetstein on 1 Cor. *l. c.* For the metaphorical use compare Philo *Leg. All.* i. 25 (I. p. 59) *οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε γόνιμον οὐδὲν τελεσφορεῖν ἡ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχή, ἃ δ' ἂν δοκῇ προσφέρειν, ἀμβλωθρίδια εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἐκτρώματα* (referring to Num. xii. 12 *ὡσεὶ ἴσον θανάτῳ, ὡσεὶ ἔκτρωμα ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ μήτρας μητρός*), Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 68 (p. 985) *ἀτελῆ καὶ νήπια καὶ ἄφρονα καὶ ἀσθενῆ καὶ ἄμορφα, οἷον ἐκτρώματα προσενεχθέντα*, Iren. i. 8. 2, *ἐν ἐκτρώματος μοίρᾳ.* The idea in the metaphor, as used by S. Paul and by Ignatius, is twofold: (1) irregularity of time, referring to an unexpected, abrupt, conversion; and (2) imperfection, immaturity, weakness of growth. Ignatius, like S. Paul, we must suppose, had been suddenly brought to a knowledge of the Gospel. The late story, that he was the child whom our Lord took up in His arms and blessed, is doubtless founded on a misinterpretation of *Θεοφόρος* (see the note on *Ephes.* inscr.) and cannot be reconciled with his expressions here. It is very possible that his early life had been stained with the common immoralities of heathen society; but at all events this expression throws a flood of light on his position and explains the language of self-depreciation which he uses so freely. See on this point Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 403 sq. In the letter of the Gallic Churches, Euseb. *H.E.* v. 1, the same metaphor is twice similarly applied. In § 4 it is said of some who shrank from martyrdom, *ἐφαίνοντο δὲ οἱ ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἔτι ἀσθενεῖς, ἀγῶνος μεγάλου τόνον ἐνεγκεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι, ὧν καὶ ἐξέτρωσαν ὡς δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν*: and in § 12 of others, who had before denied their faith but at the last moment gave themselves up to die, *ἐνεγίνετο πολλὴ χαρὰ τῇ παρθένῳ μητρὶ* [i.e. *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*], *οὓς ὡς νεκροὺς ἐξέτρωσε, τούτους ζῶντας ἀπολαμβανούσῃ.*

ἀλλ' ἠλέημαί κ.τ.λ.] Again an echo of S. Paul, 1 Tim. i. 13 *ἀλλὰ ἠλεήθην ὅτι κ.τ.λ.*, where the words occur in a similar connexion; comp. 1 Cor. vii. 25 *ἠλεημένος ὑπὸ Κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι.*

1. *Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω*] See the note on *Magn.* 1.

2. *τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα*] Comp. *Ephes.* 18, *Trall.* 13, *Smyrn.* 10. This again is a Pauline expression, 1 Cor. v. 4.

ἡ ἀγάπη] See the notes on *Trall.* 3, 13.

τῶν δεξαμένων κ.τ.λ.] The Churches of the Ephesians and Smyrnæans

καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα
5 κατὰ πόλιν με προῆγον.

gives it, ϟ being merely the sign of the accus.) [A]. 4 *μή*] GLΣ_3AA$_m$S$_m$Mg; om. Σ_2: see the lower note. *τῇ κατὰ σάρκα*] GLΣA$_m$S$_m$M; om. gA. 5 *προῆγον*] GM; *προήγαγον* g. It is translated by an imperfect in Σ, and by an aorist or perfect in LAA$_m$S$_m$. At this point Σ departs from the text of Ignatius: see the lower note on Γράφω δέ, p. 233.

are meant in the first instance; comp. *Magn.* 15, *Trall.* 13. He was also attended about this time by several delegates from the Magnesians (*Magn.* 2 sq), and by one at least from the Trallians (*Trall.* 1). These churches also would be included. By *τῶν δεξαμένων* he intends not only those churches which (like Philadelphia and Smyrna) he had visited in person, but those which (like Ephesus and the others) had welcomed him through their representatives.

3. *εἰς ὄνομα*] i.e. '*having regard to the name*', i.e. 'because I bear the authority of', 'because I represent Christ': comp. Matt. x. 41, 42, *ὁ δεχόμενος προφήτην εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου ... ὁ δεχόμενος δίκαιον εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου*: and see Buxtorf *Lex. Talm.* p. 2431 for the corresponding usage of לשם. Ignatius seems here to have in his mind the context of this same passage of S. Matthew, ver. 40 *ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται*: comp. *Ephes.* 6 *οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα κ.τ.λ.* The reading *εἰς* must be preferred to *ὡς*, because (1) It is the more difficult reading of the two; (2) The scribes would naturally alter *εἰς* into *ὡς* to produce uniformity with the words following, *οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα*. Independently of this reason, the tendency is to change *εἰς* into *ὡς* in such cases; e.g. Potter on Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 15 (p. 359) *ὃν ... εἰς θεὸν τετιμήκασι* writes 'seu potius *ὡς θεόν*', though *εἰς θεὸν τιμᾶν* is excellent Greek; (3) Considering the meaning of *δέχεσθαι εἰς*, it cannot be assumed that those versions which give a rendering equivalent to *ὡς* had *ὡς* in their text.

οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα] '*not as a* chance *wayfarer, a* mere *passer by*', as e.g. Ezek. xxxvi. 34; comp. *Ephes.* 9 *ἔγνων δὲ παροδεύσαντάς τινας ἐκεῖθεν*, *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 5 *διὰ Φιλίππων παρώδευεν Μακεδονίαν* (of Ignatius himself). See also *πάροδος*, *Ephes.* 12. On the other hand Hilgenfeld (*A. V.* p. 191 sq) here, as in *Ephes.* 9, gives to *παροδεύειν* the sense 'to take a by-way', understanding it of one who has deserted the true path of the Gospel, which is *par excellence* 'the way', and supposing that an antithesis is intended between this *ὁδὸς κατὰ Θεὸν* and the *ὁδὸς κατὰ σάρκα* mentioned in the next sentence. To this it is sufficient to answer; (1) That *παροδεύειν*, though a fairly common word, never has this meaning elsewhere; and (2) That such an antithesis would be meaningless here, even if the readers of the letter could have discovered it.

4. *καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ κ.τ.λ.*] i.e. 'for *not only* have those churches through which I passed welcomed me; but *also* those which lay out of the way, etc.' The Curetonian Syriac text, as represented by one MS Σ_2, omits the negative and reads 'for even those which were near to the way, etc.' It has been contended that this was the original reading, and this supposed fact has been alleged

X. *Γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης δι' Ἐφεσίων τῶν ἀξιομακαρίστων. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἅμα ἐμοὶ σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ Κρόκος, τὸ ποθητόν [μοι] ὄνομα.*

1 δὲ] GLS$_m$Mg; om. AA$_m$. δι'] GM; διὰ g. 2 ἔστιν δὲ καὶ] GL; ἔστιν δὲ (om. καὶ) gM; *est* or *sunt* AA$_m$S$_m$. ἅμα ἐμοὶ] before σὺν GLg; after πολλοῖς M. ἄλλοις πολλοῖς] GLM; πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις g; *aliis* (om. πολλοῖς) A$_m$. For AS$_m$ see the next note. 3 καὶ Κρόκος] LA$_m$M; κρόκος (om. καὶ) Gg. The two remaining authorities take a different form;

as favouring the priority of the Curetonian letters by Lipsius (*S. T.* p. 136). But (1) The negative cannot be dispensed with, for it alone gives any significance to καὶ γὰρ 'for *even*', 'for *also*'; and (2) Though absent in one (Σ$_2$) of the two Syriac MSS, it is present in the other (Σ$_3$), and the latter elsewhere preserves the correct reading as against the former; see *Ephes.* 19 with the note. S. Chrysostom indeed says of Ignatius αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πόλεις συντρέχουσαι πάντοθεν ἤλειφον τὸν ἀθλητὴν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐξέπεμπον τῶν ἐφοδίων κ.τ.λ. (*Op.* II. p. 598); but the expression diverges too far from the words of Ignatius to justify the inference that the negative was omitted in his copy of Ignatius; and indeed the word συντρέχουσαι implies the presence of those churches which did *not* lie on the actual route.

τῇ κατὰ σάρκα] By this qualifying clause he wishes to imply, that though in actual locality they lay out of his way, yet in the spirit they were all his close and intimate neighbours: comp. *Ephes.* 1 ὑμῶν δὲ [ἐν σαρκὶ] ἐπισκόπῳ.

This passage is quite inconsistent with the account in the Antiochene Martyrology, which represents Ignatius as sailing direct from Seleucia the port of Antioch to Smyrna. To save the credibility of this Martyrology, Pearson (*ad loc.*) translates αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι, 'which do not belong to me', i.e. 'are not under my jurisdiction', separating τῇ ὁδῷ κ.τ.λ.; and so too Smith 'multi ab ecclesiis non mei juris et ad me neutiquam spectantibus [μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι], in hoc nimirum ultimo itinere, quod in mundo restat emetiendum [τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα], ut mihi obviam irent missi, me singulas civitates ingressurum honoris causa praecessere'. It will be seen that Zahn (*J. v. A.* p. 254) is mistaken, when he charges Smith with giving to ὁδὸς the sense 'episcopal jurisdiction'; but though Smith is not guilty of this error, his separation of τῇ ὁδῷ from προσήκουσαι and his general interpretation of the passage (in which he follows Pearson) are too harsh to be tolerable. Even if this interpretation were possible, κατὰ πόλιν would remain an insuperable difficulty. The only land journey which on this hypothesis Ignatius had hitherto taken was from Antioch to Seleucia, some 15 or 16 miles (130 stades, Procopius *Bell. Pers.* ii. 11, I. p. 199 ed. Bonn.; 120 stades, Strabo xvi. 2, p. 751). For the double dative comp. 2 Cor. xii. 7 ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, and see Kühner § 424 (II. p. 375 sq), Winer § xxxii. p. 276.

κατὰ πόλιν κ.τ.λ.] '*went before me from city to city*', i.e. so as to make preparations and welcome him

Περὶ τῶν προελθόντων με ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην εἰς
5 δόξαν [τοῦ] Θεοῦ πιστεύω ὑμᾶς ἐπεγνωκέναι. οἷς καὶ

sunt mecum et alii multi fratres dilecti A (omitting κρόκος); *sunt autem mecum etiam alii multi crescus* (sic) S_m. μοι] GLA_m; om. S_mMg; al. A: comp. *Smyrn.* 13, *Polyc.* 8. 4 τῶν προελθόντων με] G; *qui praevenerunt me* A; *qui comitati sunt et deduxerunt me* S_m (this also seems to represent προελθόντων; comp. Luke xxii. 47); τῶν προσελθόντων (om. με) g; *advenientibus mecum* L; τῶν συνελθόντων μοι [M]; *qui venerunt* A_m: see the lower note. 5 τοῦ Θεοῦ] G; θεοῦ gM.

on his arrival. For κατὰ πόλιν comp. Luke viii. 1, 4, Acts xv. 21, xx. 23; for προάγειν, Matt. xiv. 22, xxvi. 32, xxviii. 7, Mark xi. 9, etc. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 255) rightly objects to taking it as an equivalent to προπέμπειν, a sense which it seems never to have; nor indeed would his guards have allowed anything like a triumphal procession. The ἄγειν of προάγειν here is intransitive, and the construction is the same as in προελθεῖν § 10. When the word is transitive, it has the sense 'to put forward' or 'to drag forward'.

X. 'I write this from Smyrna by the hand of the Ephesians. Among others the beloved Crocus is with me. I believe you have already received instructions concerning those who have gone before me to Rome. Inform them that I am near. Refresh them with your friendly services, for they deserve it. I write this on the 9th before the Kalends of September. Farewell; endure unto the end in Christ Jesus.'

1. Γράφω δὲ κ.τ.λ.] The Syrian epitomator here leaves the text of this epistle. He first makes up a sentence of his own; 'Now I am near so as to arrive in Rome'. He then inserts two chapters (4, 5) from the Epistle to the Trallians. And he concludes with the farewell sentence of this epistle, ἔρρωσθε κ.τ.λ.

δι' Ἐφεσίων] For the names of some of the Ephesian delegates who were with Ignatius at Smyrna, see *Ephes.* 1, 2. These delegates are mentioned also in *Magn.* 15, *Trall.* 13. For the whole expression comp. *Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 12, in both which passages he says γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούρρου (the only Ephesian then remaining with him at Troas). See also 1 Pet. v. 12 διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ὑμῖν... δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα. In all these instances the preposition would seem to denote the amanuensis. And this would appear to be the case also in the passage before us. But in Polyc. *Phil.* 14 'haec vobis scripsi per Crescentem', Crescens would appear to be the bearer of the letter; and in Dionys. Cor. quoted in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν, Clement is the composer of the letter, though it is sent in the name of the whole Roman Church.

2. ἀξιομακαρίστων] See *Ephes.* inscr.

3. Κρόκος] See the note *Ephes.* 2.

4. τῶν προελθόντων με] No mention is made of these persons elsewhere. The letter however presupposes throughout that the Roman Church already possessed information of his condemnation and approaching visit to Rome; and such information could only be conveyed by a previous arrival from Syria. The Metaphrast, not understanding this obscure allusion, abridges the passage so as entirely to alter the

δηλώσατε ἐγγύς με ὄντα· πάντες γάρ εἰσιν ἄξιοι [τοῦ] Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν· οὓς πρέπον ὑμῖν ἐστιν κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαῦσαι. ἔγραψα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα τῇ πρὸ ἐννέα καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων. ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 5

1 δηλώσατε] G; δηλώσετε g (but l *mandastis* or *mandatis*); *manifestatis* L; *notificate* A_mS_m; def. AM. τοῦ Θεοῦ] G; θεοῦ g; def. M. 2 ὑμῖν ἐστιν] G; ἐστὶν ὑμῖν g; *est vos* L; def. M. 3 δὲ] GLS_mg (but om. l); om. AA_mM. τῇ...Σεπτεμβρίων] txt LMg (but σεπτεμβρίου in M); add. τουτέστιν αὐγούστου εἰκάδι τρίτῃ G; *ante ix kalendas septembres, mense augusto qui dies* 22 *erat* A; *ante ix kalendas ahekani* (*gr. et lat. septembris, hoc est* 24 *augusti*) A_m. The difference in the calculations in GAA_m shows that the additions have been made independently. S_m substitutes for the clause a local reckoning of time, *undecimo* (*die*) *mense ab.* 4 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GLMg; add. *dei nostri* Σ; præf. *domini nostri* Am; add. *gratia domini nostri vobiscum omnibus* A; add. *estote incolumes. gratia vobiscum* S_m. Add. ἀμήν GAS_mM; om. $ΣLA_mg$.

There is no subscription in $GLAA_mS_mM$. For Σg see the Appx.

sense; Κρόκος, τὸ ποθητὸν ὄνομα, τῶν συνελθόντων μοι ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ. ἔγραψα ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.

1. ἐγγύς με ὄντα] This would be the case, when the letter arrived in Rome and the message of Ignatius was delivered. There is therefore no difficulty in his using such language at Smyrna; see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 251.

ἄξιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] See *Ephes.* 2, where the same expression occurs.

2. κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαῦσαι] See the note on *Ephes.* 2.

3. τῇ πρὸ ἐννέα κ.τ.λ.] i.e. August 24. The Armenian martyrology alone has correctly reckoned the day. The others give the 21st, the 22nd, or the 23rd. The 21st is the equivalent to the 11th of Ab in the Syriac Martyrology (Mœsinger p. 26). For the common construction τῇ πρὸ ἐννέα κ.τ.λ. comp. e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 203 A τῇ πρὸ μιᾶς νωνῶν ὀκτωβρίων. So also we have such expressions as πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας, πρὸ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν, 'one day before', 'thirty days before', in Greek writings of this age: comp. e.g. John xii. 1 πρὸ ἓξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα, and see Winer § lxi. p. 697, together with the instances in Kypke *Obs. Sacr.* 1 p. 393 sq. It is the Greek equivalent to *ante diem nonam Kalendas Septembres*, though the construction in Latin is somewhat different.

4. ἔρρωσθε] See the note on *Ephes.* 21.

ἐν ὑπομονῇ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 2 Thess. iii. 5 κατευθύναι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. In Rev. i. 9 ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ, the right reading is ὑπομονῇ ἐν Ἰησοῦ. The expression apparently has the same sense here as in 2 Thess. iii. 5, but the meaning is doubtful. Most probably it is 'the patient waiting for Christ': comp. 1 Thess. i. 3 τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ., and see also Rom. viii. 25. In the LXX it is a translation of תקוה, מקוה, etc, 'expectatio', 'spes', e.g. Ps. lxii (lxi). 5, lxxi (lxx). 5, Jer. xiv. 8, xvii. 13, etc. The commentators however more commonly take it otherwise, 'such patience as Christ Himself showed'. The former sense is much more appropriate here.

5.

TO THE PHILADELPHIANS.

5.

TO THE PHILADELPHIANS.

THE name Philadelphia was borne by several cities (see below, p. 249). Of these perhaps the most important was the Syrian Philadelphia, the Rabbah or Rabbath-Ammon of the Scriptures; while the second in importance—if second—was the Lydian Philadelphia, with which Ignatius corresponded. But, though bearing the same name, they did not owe it to the same person. The Syrian city was so designated from the second Ptolemy of Egypt, who restored this ancient capital of the Ammonites; the Lydian city was called after the second Attalus of Pergamus (B.C. 159—138) its founder. Both these princes bore the surname Philadelphus. The foundation of the Lydian city is distinctly ascribed to the Pergamene king (Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀττάλου κτίσμα τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου), as indeed its situation would suggest. Yet we may be tempted to suspect an error in this statement. Joannes Laurentius the Lydian, a writer of the sixth century, himself a native of this Philadelphia, in a part of his work which is not preserved, related how it was founded by the Egyptians (*de Mens.* iii. 32, p. 45, ed. Bonn., ὅτι τὴν ἐν Λυδίᾳ Φιλαδέλφειαν Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπόλισαν); and this notice would seem to point to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had large possessions in Asia Minor (Theocr. *Idyll.* xvii. 88).

Philadelphia lies at the foot of the Tmolus mountains, which separate the valley of the Hermus on the north from that of the Cayster on the south, and is washed by the river Cogamus, an important tributary of the Hermus (Plin. *N. H.* v. 30 'Philadelpheni et ipsi in radice Tmoli Cogamo flumini appositi,' Joann. Lyd. *de Magistr.* iii. 26, p. 218, τῆς

ἐνεγκούσης με Φιλαδελφείας τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Τμώλῳ καὶ Λυδίᾳ κειμένης). It is situated in the loop which connects the valley of the Mæander with that of the Hermus, the valley of the Cayster being shut in between the two. Hence the importance of its position, as commanding the way to the pass between the two valleys. It is nearly equidistant from Tripolis to the west and Sardis to the east (33 miles from Tripolis, 28 from Sardis, *Anton. Itin.* p. 336; 34 miles from Tripolis, 30 [?] from Sardis, *Peuting. Tab.*), lying on the great high-road between Apamea and Smyrna, which leaves the Mæander close to Tripolis and touches the Hermus near Sardis. Along this road the great king led his countless hosts on his fatal expedition against Greece; and Callatebus, at which he halted on this occasion, and where he committed the plane-tree to the guardianship of one of the Immortals, must have been not far from the site of the later city of Philadelphia[1]. It was along this same road also that Cyrus marched with his Greek auxiliaries from Sardis to the Mæander (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 5, see Ainsworth's *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks* p. 13 sq); but no place within these limits is mentioned by name in Xenophon's account of his march. Descriptions of the road, and of the city of Philadelphia, will be found in Smith *Sept. Asiae Eccles. Not.* p. 32 sq; Chandler *Travels in Asia Minor* etc. I. p. 303 sq (ed. Churton); Arundell *Seven Churches* p. 163 sq; W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor* etc. II. p. 370 sq; Ainsworth l. c.; Fellows *Asia Minor and Lycia* p. 216 sq; Texier *Asie Mineure* III. p. 23 sq. For the physical features of the region see Tchihatcheff *Asie Mineure* P. I. p. 235 sq, 470 sq, P. IV. Vol. 3. p. 229 sq.

Philadelphia does not appear ever to have attained the magnitude or the wealth which its position might have led us to expect. The 'little power' (Rev. iii. 8 μικρὰν ἔχεις δύναμιν) of the Christian Church here

[1] Herod. vii. 31 ἰέναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ δημιοεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι κ.τ.λ. Philadelphia is still famous for a similar confection, called *halva*; von Hammer *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches* I. p. 220, Texier *L'Univers* p. 271. Xerxes is stated by Herodotus to have arrived at Sardis from Callatebus δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ, and as the distance between Philadelphia and Sardis is 28 or 30 miles, this would be a fair two days' march for a large army. On the other hand, some would place Callatebus about four hours higher up the valley of the Cogamus at Aineh Ghieul (see Hamilton *Asia Minor* II. p. 374), near which the tamarisk grows in great abundance. This is possible; but not so the position assigned to Callatebus in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. Philadelphia, 'not far from the Mæander'; for the Mæander must be some seventy miles from Sardis —a distance far too great for Xerxes' host to traverse in the time. Cyrus took three days, marching quickly with a much more manageable force (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 5).

probably reflected the comparative size of the city itself. It lies indeed in a region of great natural fertility; and, as is frequently the case with volcanic regions, this was especially a vine-growing country. The wines of Tmolus were among the most celebrated of antiquity (Virg. *Georg.* ii. 98, Plin. *N. H.* v. 30, xiv. 9). But this physical characteristic was at the same time its most terrible scourge. It borders on the region called *Katakekaumene*, which is to Asia Minor what the Phlegræan Plains are to Italy; and in a country where every city was more or less liable to such catastrophes, none suffered more cruelly from convulsions of the earth than Philadelphia. On this account the city itself contained a very small population, the majority preferring to live in the country and follow agricultural pursuits. Strabo, who gives us this information, expresses his surprise that even these few are hardy enough to brave the dangers. The earthquakes, he says, are constant: the houses are continually gaping asunder with the shocks: the architects are obliged to reckon with this fact in building (Strabo xii. 8, p. 579, xiii. 4, p. 628). In the terrible catastrophe during the reign of Tiberius, when twelve cities were thrown down in one night, Philadelphia was among the sufferers (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47; see also the Puteoli marble, *C. I. L.* x. 1624). Doubtless these subterranean forces were exceptionally active when Strabo wrote; but the account of a Philadelphian in the sixth century shows that the danger was not confined to any one epoch. This last-mentioned writer, Joannes Laurentius, also speaks of the hot springs in this region, as connected with its volcanic energy (*de Ostent.* 53, p. 349, ed. Bonn.)[1].

In the age of Pliny (*N. H.* v. 30) this city had no law-courts of its own, but belonged to the *jurisdictio* or *conventus* of Sardis (see *Colossians* p. 7 sq). Before the middle of the next century however a change appears to have been made; for the rhetorician Aristides speaks of the legate as holding courts here (*Op.* i. p. 530, ed. Dindorf, κυροῖ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ [v. l. Φιλαδελφείᾳ] δικαστηρίοις ἀπόντος ἐμοῦ; see Masson *Vit. Aristid. ib.* iii. p. cxviii sq). No great weight can be attached to the fact that the epithet 'splendid' is given to Philadelphia in a Smyrnæan inscription of the age of Valerian and Gallienus (*C. I. G.* 3206 ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ Φιλαδελφέων πόλει); nor again, do the titles of the two ruling bodies in the city, 'the most

[1] From this district also was obtained the highest quality of the commodity which the ancients called *spuma nitri*; Dioscorid. *Mat. Med.* v. 130 ἀφρὸς νίτρου ...οἷός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκ Φιλαδελφείας κομιζόμενος τῆς ἐν Λυδίᾳ. For the substance meant by ἀφρὸς νίτρου see the reff. in Steph. *Thes.* s. v. ἀφρόνιτρον, ed. Hase et Dind.

sacred,' or 'the most excellent Council,' and 'the most splendid People' (ἡ ἱερωτάτη [κρατίστη] βουλὴ καὶ ὁ λαμπρότατος δῆμος, *C. I. G.* 3416, 3421), imply very much. It is more important to observe that Philadelphia bore the name of 'Little Athens.' This designation was given to the city on account of its religious character. As the great Athens especially prided herself on being the most 'pious' city in Greece (see the passages in Wetstein on Acts xvii. 16, 22 sq), while from an opposite point of view the earliest historian of the Christian Church described the place as 'beset with idols' (Acts xvii. 16 κατείδωλον); so also this miniature Athens was distinguished by the number of its temples and the frequency of its festivals (Joann. Lyd. *de Mens.* iv. 40, p. 75, Μικρὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκάλουν τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν διὰ τὰς ἑορτὰς καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν εἰδώλων). This statement is borne out by the not very numerous extant inscriptions found in or near the city. Among the festivals celebrated there we read of the *Jovialia Solaria* (Δεῖα Ἅλεια Φιλαδέλφεια *C. I. G.* 3427, Δεῖα Ἅλεια ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ no. 3428, μεγάλα Ἅλεια no. 3416; see Boeckh's note, II. p. 804 sq, Lebas and Waddington no. 645), of the *Communia Asiae* (κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ, no. 1068, 3428), and of the *Augustalia Anaitea* (μεγάλα Σεβαστὰ Ἀναείτεια no. 3424, i. e. in honour of Artemis or Aphrodite Anaitis, a Persian and Armenian deity worshipped in these parts): while Asiarchs, panegyriachs, xystarchs, ephebarchs, hipparchs, etc., appear in considerable profusion. More especially mention is made of the 'priest of Artemis' (no. 3422) who seems to have been the patron-goddess of the city (see Mionnet IV. p. 97 sq, *Suppl.* VII. p. 398 sq); and the title of 'high-priest,' which occurs from time to time, probably belongs to this functionary.

It would seem from these facts that paganism had an exceptional vitality in this otherwise not very important place. At the same time, it is no less clear that Philadelphia was a stronghold of the Jews. The message to the Church in the Apocalypse contains a reference to 'the synagogue of Satan,' which is further defined as 'those that called themselves Jews, though they are not' (Rev. iii. 9); and in accordance with this notice the Epistle of Ignatius is largely occupied in controverting a stubborn form of Judaism which obviously constitutes the chief peril of the Christian Church in this city (see esp. §§ 6, 8, 9). The promise in the vision of Patmos that the Jews should come and worship 'before the feet' of the Philadelphian Church had been fulfilled meanwhile; but the influx of Jewish converts had been attended with the usual dangers.

The intimate connexion which subsisted between Philadelphia and

Smyrna, where Ignatius made his long halt, appears from several circumstances. Among the coins of Philadelphia are not a few which commemorate the 'concord' (ὁμόνοια) of the Philadelphians with the Smyrnæans (Mionnet, IV. pp. 100, 108, *Suppl.* VII. pp. 400, 401). The Anthology again contains a couplet recording some honour which Philadelphia, μνήμων ἡ πόλις εὐνομίης, had paid to a statue of one 'Philip ruler in Smyrna' (*Anthol.* II. p. 450). Again, an inscription at Smyrna mentions one Apollinaris, a citizen both of Smyrna and of Philadelphia, as of other places also (*C. I. G.* 3206). And lastly we hear of Philadelphian Christians crowned with martyrdom at Smyrna about the middle of the second century (*Mart. Polyc.* 19; see below, p. 243).

The earliest notice of Christianity in Philadelphia is the passage in the Apocalypse (iii. 7—13). But the language there used implies that this church had already existed for some years at least. In default of any information we fall back, as before (see above, pp. 102, 147), on the supposition that its evangelization was due to S. Paul and his companions; though here the distance from Ephesus, his head-quarters, was much greater than in the cases of Magnesia and Tralles.

Unlike the churches which have come before our notice hitherto Philadelphia had been visited in person by Ignatius. At the bifurcation, on the banks of the Lycus, his guards had taken the right-hand road which led in a more northerly direction over the Derwend pass through Philadelphia and Sardis, by the valleys of the Cogamus and Hermus, to Smyrna (see above, p. 2). At Philadelphia they appear to have made a halt of some duration. To this visit Ignatius incidentally alludes more than once in the course of the letter. He speaks of making the acquaintance of their bishop, whose modesty and reserve and gentleness he praises highly (§ 1). After the example of S. Paul, he appeals to the character of his intercourse with them. It was entirely free from tyranny or oppressiveness of any kind (§ 6). He alludes obscurely to an attempt on the part of certain persons to lead him astray—an allusion which (in the absence of information) it were lost time to attempt to explain. He reminds them that he had warned them emphatically 'with the voice of God' to give heed to the bishop and other officers of the church (§ 7). He had done all that one man could do (τὸ ἴδιον ἐποίουν) to promote unity. He recals a dispute—apparently held at Philadelphia—when the Judaizers had pleaded the ancient charters (τὰ ἀρχεῖα) against the Gospel, while he himself declared that Christ's Cross and Resurrection were their own witnesses and superseded any such appeal (§ 8).

Nor is this the only point in which the Epistle to the Philadelphians differs from the previous letters. It was also written from a different place. Since the despatch of the earlier letters, the saint had moved onward from Smyrna to Alexandria Troas, and was waiting there to embark for Europe. This interval had somewhat altered the position of affairs. Two persons had meanwhile joined him from the east after his arrival at Troas, or at all events after his departure from Smyrna —Philo, a deacon of Cilicia, and Rhaius Agathopus, a member of the Syrian Church. They had followed in his track, and halted at Philadelphia. Here they had received a hearty welcome from the main body of the church; but some persons—doubtless his Judaizing opponents—had treated them with contempt (§ 11). From them he probably heard of those misrepresentations of his conduct during his stay at Philadelphia, which he considers it necessary to rebut (§§ 6, 7).

But at the same time, they brought him more welcome news also. The prayers of the churches had been heard. The persecution at Antioch had ceased. He therefore urges the Philadelphians to despatch a deacon to Syria, as their representative, to congratulate the brethren there. Other churches which lay nearer, he tells them, had sent delegacies on a larger scale (§ 10).

But, though the letter contains this incidental charge, its direct purport and motive is different. The main burden is the heresy which troubled the Philadelphian Church. It had awakened his anxiety during his own sojourn there, and the later report of Philo and Agathopus had aggravated his alarm. What the nature of this heresy was, the tenour of his letter plainly indicates. He is attacking a form of Docetic Judaism (see the note *Trall.* 9), but more directly from its Judaic than from its Docetic side. The Docetism is tacitly reproved in the opening salutation, where he congratulates the Philadelphians as 'rejoicing in the Passion of our Lord without wavering,' and 'steadfast in the conviction of His Resurrection,' and salutes them 'in the blood of Jesus Christ which is eternal and abiding joy.' There are perhaps also allusions to it, when speaking of the eucharist he refers to the 'one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ' (§ 4), and when he describes himself as 'taking refuge in the Gospel as the flesh of Jesus' (§ 5). But the Judaism is openly attacked. A Jew talking Christianity, he says, is better than a Christian talking Judaism. If any disputant is silent about Christ, he is no better than a tombstone with its epitaph inscribed (§ 6). The Judaizers allege the ancient charters: but to himself Jesus Christ—His Cross and Resurrection—is the one inviolable charter (§ 8).

The prophets are to be loved and admired, because they foretold Christ (§ 5). The priests too are not to be despised, but the great High-priest is better than all. He is the door through whom patriarchs and prophets alike, not less than the Christian Church, must pass to the Father (§ 9). These heretics are described as treacherous wolves devouring the flock (§ 2). The heresy itself is a noxious herb, which does not belong to the husbandry of Jesus Christ (§ 3). As a safeguard against its assaults he recommends here, as elsewhere, unity and obedience to the bishops and officers of the Church (§§ 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). In saying this, he merely repeats a charge which he had given them orally (§ 7). More especially they must not separate themselves from the one eucharistic feast (§ 4). No schismatic can inherit the kingdom of God (§ 3).

When Ignatius wrote this letter from Troas, Burrhus the Ephesian, alone of the delegates who had been with him at Smyrna, still remained in his company (see the note on *Ephes.* 2). He was the amanuensis of the letter (§ 11).

It will be seen from the above account, that the impression of the Philadelphian Church left by the language of Ignatius is less favourable than that which we obtain from the message in the Apocalypse, where its constancy is commended (Rev. iii. 8, 10). The warning with which the Apocalyptic message closes was not superfluous; 'Hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown (ver. 11).' At the same time the main body of the Church appears to have been sound; for Ignatius praises the steadfastness of their convictions (inscr.), and declares that he has found 'sifting, and not division,' among them (§ 2). The next notices also in point of time are honourable to the Philadelphian Church. She numbered among her sons eleven martyrs, who suffered at Smyrna in the persecution which was fatal to Polycarp, A.D. 155 (*Mart. Polyc.* 19). We are also told of one Ammia a prophetess of Philadelphia (ἡ ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ Ἀμμία) who appears to have flourished early in the second century, for her name is mentioned in connexion with Quadratus more especially (Anon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18). The Montanists claimed her as a forerunner of their own prophetesses; but this claim the orthodox writer quoted by Eusebius indignantly denies. The name is probably Phrygian, and occurs commonly in inscriptions belonging to these parts (see *Colossians* p. 307). At the council of Nicæa this Lydian Philadelphia is represented by her bishop Hetœmasius (*Spic. Solesm.* I. p. 535, Cowper *Syriac Miscellanies* pp. 11, 28, 33), as is also the Syrian by her own bishop Cyrion. On

the other hand at the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381) the only Philadelphia which puts in an appearance is the Isaurian (*ib.* p. 37, Labb. *Conc.* I. p. 1135), both her more famous namesakes being unrepresented. In the meanwhile our Philadelphia has been toying with Semi-arianism. At the Synod of Philippopolis (A. D. 347) there was present one Quirius (Κύριος) bishop of Philadelphia (see Labb. *Conc.* II. p. 743), apparently the Lydian city, though the name of the bishop would suggest the Syrian; and at the Synod of Seleucia (A.D. 359) again, we meet with a Theodosius, bishop of Philadelphia, here expressly defined as the Lydian city (Labb. *Conc.* II. p. 922). At Ephesus (A.D. 431) the Lydian Philadelphia is represented by Theophanes or Theophanius (Labb. *Conc.* III. p. 1086); and at later councils also her bishops appear from time to time. For some centuries Philadelphia remained a suffragan see under Sardis, but at a later date it was raised to an independent metropolitan rank, though apparently not without some vicissitudes (see the *Notitiae* pp. 96, 132, 156, 226, 236, 246, ed. Parthey).

It was in the last struggle for independence that Philadelphia won an undying renown. The strategical importance of the site, which doubtless had led to the foundation of the city in the first instance, was also the cause of her chief woes. Philadelphia was besieged by every invading army in turn, Byzantine, Latin, and barbarian. Against the Turkish hordes the Philadelphians offered a manly resistance. For nearly a hundred years after the neighbouring places had succumbed, Philadelphia held out. 'The whole land beneath the sun,' writes the Byzantine historian, 'was subjugated by the Turks, but this city like a star shone still in the over-clouded mid-heaven' (Ducas iv. 4, p. 19, ed. Bonn.). It is said that she was sustained in her resistance by the commendation and the promise in the Apocalypse. At length she yielded to the assaults of the victorious Bajazet, 'the thunderbolt.' But even then her fall was due quite as much to the baseness of the Byzantine emperors as to the persistence of the Turkish invader. Philadelphia was part of the price paid by John and Manuel Palæologus for the support of the Turk against rival claimants to the throne of the Cæsars in their own household. The Greek emperor summoned the Philadelphians to surrender and receive a Turkish governor. They replied proudly that 'they would not, if they could help it, deliver themselves over to the barbarians.' But it was only a question of time. The siege, aided by famine, was successful; and the Greek emperors, fighting under Bajazet, were the first to enter the defeated city; οὕτω, concludes the historian, ἑάλω Φιλαδέλφεια ἡ τῆς Λυδίας πόλις εὐνομουμένη

Ἑλληνίς (Chalcocond. *de Reb. Turc.* ii. p. 64, ed. Bonn.). Probably Philadelphia had never been more prosperous than at this epoch, for it is described as 'of vast size and very populous' (Ducas l. c. ὑπερέχουσα τῷ μεγέθει καὶ πολύανδρος οὖσα). Nor was this siege the last trial endured by this city. If she was chastised with whips by the Ottoman Bajazet[1], she was chastised with scorpions under the Tartar Timour, the conqueror of Bajazet (Ducas xvi. p. 71, xxii. p. 122). But from first to last she has never altogether forfeited her claim to the proud title of a 'Greek' city.

The present name of Philadelphia, as given almost universally by English travelers, is *Allah Shehr*, 'the city of God.' The true form however seems to be *Ala Shehr*, 'the pied or striped city' (v. Hammer *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches* i. p. 219, not 'the white city,' as in Texier *L'Univers* p. 270, Murray's *Handbook for Turkey in Asia* p. 327), but no explanation is given of this epithet. The Apocalyptic message to this Church (Rev. iii. 12), containing the promise that 'the name of the city of God' shall be written 'on him that overcometh,' may possibly have led travelers and natives alike to wrest *Ala Shehr* into *Allah Shehr*. At all events the coincidence with the language of the Revelation is purely superficial. At the present time Philadelphia contains a population variously estimated at from seven or eight to fifteen thousand, of whom a larger proportion than is common in Turkish cities —perhaps a third or a fourth—are Christians. The number of churches again is differently stated, the highest number being thirty, and the

[1] T. Smith *Sept. As. Eccles. Not.* p. 33, speaking of this victory of Bajazet, writes; 'Sola conjectura est, quam jam profero, hujus stragis, cujus ille author erat, vestigia adhuc restare. Ad mille enim quingentos ab urbe [Philadelphia] passus versus austrum crassum murum ex ossibus humanis cum lapidibus gypso confusim permistis consistentem vidi; illum [Bayazidem] hoc irae suae in obstinatos hosce cives monimentum erexisse verisimile mihi videtur: mihi enim pene constat facinus adeo horrendum et ab omni humanitate prorsus alienum nonnisi a Turcis perpetrari posse.' Rycaut also mentions this wall built of human bones. The Turks have enough to answer for; but of this atrocity assuredly they were not guilty. This wall is a mass of vegetable matter incrusted with a calcareous deposit, as pointed out long ago by Woodward (*Addition to Catal. of Foreign and Native Fossils* p. 11, 1728). A specimen procured by him may still be seen in the Woodwardian Museum at Cambridge. Tchihatcheff (P. iv. Vol. 3, p. 230 note) tells us that the Turks in the neighbourhood glory in this supposed atrocity of a former sultan. He has so little acquaintance with the writings of his predecessors, that he supposes himself to have discovered the phenomenon and unearthed the legend, though this wall was mentioned by Smith two centuries ago, and the true explanation given by Woodward a century and a half ago.

lowest fifteen; but only five or six are in common use, while the greater number lie in ruins. The Christian community here is governed by a resident bishop; and altogether its ecclesiastical arrangements betoken a vitality and influence, such as is rarely found in the cities of Asia Minor.

The often-quoted passage of Gibbon may be quoted once again, as a just tribute to a city whose past history is exceptionally bright in the midst of the surrounding darkness.

'The captivity or ruin of the seven churches of Asia was consummated; and the barbarous lords of Ionia and Lydia still trample on the monuments of classic and Christian antiquity. In the loss of Ephesus the Christians deplored the fall of the first angel, the extinction of the first candlestick, of the Revelations; the desolation is complete; and the temple of Diana, or the church of Mary, will equally elude the search of the curious traveler. The circus and the three stately theatres of Laodicea are now peopled with wolves and foxes; Sardes is reduced to a miserable village; the God of Mahomet, without a rival or a son, is invoked in the mosques of Thyatira and Pergamus; and the populousness of Smyrna is supported by the foreign trade of the Franks and Armenians. Philadelphia alone has been saved by prophecy or courage. At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the emperors, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above fourscore years; and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans. Among the Greek colonies and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect; a column in a scene of ruins; a pleasing example, that the paths of honour and safety may sometimes be the same (*Decline and Fall* c. lxiv).'

The following is an *analysis* of the epistle.

'Ignatius to the Church of Philadelphia which is rooted firmly in the conviction of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ; greeting in the blood of Jesus Christ which is abiding joy, so long as there is obedience to the bishop and presbyters and deacons.'

'Your bishop has his authority from God and exercises it in love. I admire his gentleness and modesty. As the lyre to its strings, so is he strung to the commandments (§ 1). As children of truth, shun dissension. Follow the shepherd, lest ye be devoured by wolves (§ 2). Abstain from noxious herbs, which are not of Christ's husbandry. Be united with the bishop, that ye may be owned by God. No schismatic shall inherit the kingdom (§ 3). Be partakers in one eucharist. There

is one flesh, one cup, of Jesus Christ, one altar, one bishop (§ 4). I love you heartily, and therefore I warn you. By your prayers I hope to be made perfect, while I cling to the Gospel and the Apostles. We love the Prophets also, for they foretold Christ and were saved through Him (§ 5). Turn a deaf ear to Judaism. Whosoever speaks not of Christ, is no better than a gravestone. Flee from these snares of the devil. I thank God, that I oppressed no man, when I was with you (§ 6). They tried to mislead me in the flesh; but the Spirit cannot be misled. I told you plainly to obey your bishop and presbyters and deacons. It was the voice of the Spirit, enjoining unity (§ 7). I have done my best to promote harmony. God will forgive those who repent and return to unity. Men appeal to the archives against the Gospel; I know no archives but Jesus Christ—His Passion and Resurrection (§ 8). The ancient priesthood was good; but the great High-priest is better. Patriarchs and Prophets must enter through Him as the door. The Prophets foretold; the Gospel is the crown and fulfilment (§ 9).'

'Your prayers have been answered. The Church of Syria has peace. Send a deacon to congratulate them. The nearer churches have sent bishops and presbyters also (§ 10). I thank God that you gave a welcome to Philo and Agathopus. May their enemies be forgiven. The brethren at Troas salute you. I write by the hand of Burrhus. Farewell in Christ (§ 11).'

ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἠλεημένῃ καὶ ἡδρασμένῃ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ καὶ

ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΣ] *μαγνησιεῦσιν φιλαδελφεῦσιν ἰγνάτιος* G (the first word being the displaced subscription to the Epistle to the Magnesians which immediately precedes); *ignatius philadelphicis* L*; *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς φιλαδελφεῖς* (with the number ϛ in the marg.) g; *ad philadelphenses* (the form uncertain) A.

1 ὁ καὶ] See *Ephes.* inscr.

2 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] L; *κυρίου* Ἰ. Χ. Gg;

'IGNATIUS to the CHURCH OF PHILADELPHIA, which is founded on godly concord and rejoices in the passion and resurrection of the Lord: greeting in the blood of Christ, if she is united with her bishop and clergy whom He ordained.'

ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΣ] Here the copies of the genuine Ignatius and of the interpolator's text agree in taking the form Φιλαδελφεῖς, not Φιλαδελφηνοί. Steph. Byz., s. v. Φιλαδέλφεια, after mentioning several places of the name, adds *ὁ πολίτης* Φιλαδελφεύς, *τὸ δὲ* Φιλαδελφηνὸς *ἐπιχώριον*. This however refers possibly not to all, but only to the last mentioned, the Philadelphia of Syria; for he adds *οὕτω γὰρ Ἰώσηπος κ' τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας*. Yet the same Josephus, who there (*Ant.* xx. 1. 1) uses Φιλαδελφηνοί, in an earlier passage (xiii. 8. 1) has Φιλαδελφεῖς, both passages referring to the Syrian Philadelphia. The same variation occurs with regard to the Philadelphians of 'Asia.' In the coins we have constantly Φιλαδελφέων (Mionnet IV. p. 97 sq, Suppl. VII. p. 397 sq), and once (perhaps by an error) Φιλαδελφείων (IV. p. 103). In the inscriptions too the form is most commonly Φιλαδελφεύς, e.g. *C. I. G.* 3206, 3424, 3425, 3426; but *ῥεγιῶνος* Φιλαδελφηνῆς, no. 3436, and this must also have been the form in the mutilated inscription no. 3000. Joannes Lydus is styled Φιλαδελφεὺς in the headings of his works. So also it is written in Nicet. Chon. *Alex.* vii. 16, p. 341 sq (ed. Bonn.). In Suidas s. v. Σέξτος we have Ἡροδότου τοῦ Φιλαδελφαίου, a form which seems not to occur elsewhere. The Latins commonly say *Philadelphenus*, Plin. *N. H.* v. 29 (30), Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47. But the version of Ignatius has 'Philadelphicis (-sis),' and the version of the interpolated text 'Ad Philadelphienses'; while in the printed texts

ἀγαλλιωμένῃ ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀδιακρίτως
καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει αὐτοῦ, πεπληροφορημένῃ ἐν παντὶ

iesu christi domini nostri A. τῆς Ἀσίας] GL : *urbe asiae* A ; om. g (substituting ἐν ἀγάπῃ). 3 ἡδρασμένῃ] ἡδρασμένη (sic) G. Θεοῦ] Gg; om. A. 4 ἀγαλλιωμένῃ] G ; ἀγαλλομένῃ g. τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν] GL* (but L_1 *domini iesu christi*) g* (prob. but the Gk MSS add ἰησοῦ or ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ). [A] omits τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν here and substitutes *christi* for αὐτοῦ in the next clause.

of Jerome *Vir. Ill.* 16 it is 'Ad Philadelpheos.'

2. Φιλαδελφίᾳ] The form Φιλαδέλφεια with the diphthong appears in the inscriptions (e.g. *C. I. G.* 1068, 3428 four times), and generally in the best MSS of ancient writers; comp. Moschop. Περὶ σχεδ. p. 121 Φιλαδέλφεια πόλις τὸ φει δίφθογγον, φιλαδελφία δὲ ἰῶτα (quoted in Steph. *Thes.* s. v., ed. Hase et Dind.). So too it is scanned in Anthol. II. p. 450 Ἐκ Φιλαδελφείης ξεινήϊα κ.τ.λ.; comp. also Anon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 17, and Eusebius himself (speaking of this epistle) *H. E.* iii. 36 (though with a v. l.). Accordingly it is written *Philadelphea* on the Puteoli marble *C. I. L.* x. 1624. In Apoc. i. 11, iii. 7, however the uncial MSS are generally agreed in the form Φιλαδελφία, and so it occurs on coins, Mionnet IV. pp. 98, 100, *Suppl.* VII. p. 399, and in an inscription *C. I. G.* 9911; and with this spelling apparently it is found also in the MSS of *Mart. Polyc.* 19. I have therefore retained this form, which alone appears in the Ignatian MSS.

τῆς Ἀσίας] This town was one of several bearing this name. Another was in Isauria, a third in Egypt, a fourth (the ancient Rabbath-Ammon) in Palestine; see Steph. Byz. s. v. Thus here, as in the case of Tralles, τῆς Ἀσίας might have been added for the sake of identification, 'Asia' being of course the Roman province (see *Trall.* inscr.). The same words however are added in most texts in the case of Ephesus, where such specification was unnecessary (see *Ephes.* inscr.). Politically Philadelphia was in 'Asia,' but ethnographically it was in Lydia (Dioscorid. *Mat. Med.* v. 130 (131) Φιλαδελφίας...τῆς ἐν Λυδίᾳ, Steph. Byz. s. v. πόλις Λυδίας, Ptol. v. 2. 17, and the *Notitiae* generally), or in Mysia (Strabo xiii. 10, p. 628).

3. ἠλεημένῃ] See the note *Rom.* inscr. Here it is used absolutely, 'having found mercy.'

ἡδρασμένῃ ἐν] For this construction see *Smyrn.* 1, and possibly *Polyc.* 1 (see the note).

ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ] See *Magn.* 6, with the note.

4. ἀγαλλιωμένῃ κ.τ.λ.] '*rejoicing in the passion*,' i.e. 'joyfully recognising it and the benefits derived from it.' For the prominence of 'the passion' in these letters, see the note on *Ephes.* inscr. The connexion of 'steadfastness in concord' and 'rejoicing in the Passion' is to be noticed. The Docetic teaching at once threatened the unity of the Church and assailed the reality of Christ's death.

ἀδιακρίτως] '*without wavering*'; comp. *Rom.* inscr. πεπληρωμένοις χάριτος Θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως (with the note), and see also the note on ἀδιάκριτον *Ephes.* 3.

5. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει κ.τ.λ.] This is perhaps best taken with the preceding words ἀγαλλιωμένῃ κ.τ.λ., rather than with the following πεπληροφορημένῃ. For this co-ordination of the passion and the resurrection see

ἐλέει· ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶν χαρὰ αἰώνιος καὶ παράμονος· μάλιστα ἐὰν ἐν ἑνὶ ὦσιν σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐν γνώμῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,

2 παράμονος] GAg; *incoinquinatum* (ἄμωμος?) L. ἐὰν ἐν ἑνὶ ὦσιν] G; *si in uno simus* (v. l. *sumus*) L; ἐν ἑνὶ ωσιν g* (MSS, but prob. ἐὰν has been accidentally omitted); *si stetis in concordia* A. For the change of persons in AL see the lower

below § 9, *Ephes.* 20, *Magn.* 11, *Smyrn.* 7, 12; comp. *Smyrn.* 1. There is however no objection to the construction πληροφορεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει 'to be convinced of the resurrection'; comp. e.g. *Magn.* 11.

πεπληροφορημένῃ κ.τ.λ.] '*being fully convinced*,' i.e. of their reality. On the meanings of πληροφορεῖν itself, and on its different connexions with ἐν, see the note *Colossians* iv. 12 πεπληροφορημένοι ἐν παντὶ θελήματι, where, as here, the preposition denotes the sphere, the surroundings, of the conviction. Their firm belief was a manifestation of God's mercy; comp. the preceding ἠλεημένῃ καὶ ἡδρασμένῃ κ.τ.λ.

1. ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'whom I greet as ransomed with me and incorporate with Christ through His blood,' again an indirect condemnation of Docetism. Only those are included in his greeting who acknowledge with him the reality of Christ's passion; see below § 4 εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, and comp. *Ephes.* 1 ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ, *Smyrn.* 1 ἡδρασμένους ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ αἵματι Χριστοῦ.

ἥτις κ.τ.λ.] '*seeing that it*,' i.e. αἷμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, the gender of the relative being thus attracted to χαρά, as e.g. 1 Tim. iii. 15; comp. Winer § xxiv. p. 206 sq. For similar instances of attraction in these epistles see the note *Magn.* 7. The blood of Jesus Christ, sincerely recognised in itself and in its practical consequences, is the source of all abiding joy. This is the simplest construction. On the other hand Zahn (*l. v. A.* p. 350) takes the antecedent to ἥτις to be the whole sentence ἀγαλλιωμένῃ κ.τ.λ. But the interposition of another feminine relative ἥν, referring to a wholly different antecedent, and thus isolating ἥτις from the words in question, seems to me to be an insuperable objection to this construction, which otherwise would be very reasonable.

2. παράμονος] Comp. *Ephes.* inscr. εἰς δόξαν παράμονον κ.τ.λ. The word occurs occasionally in classical writers, but not in the LXX or N.T.

μάλιστα κ.τ.λ.] To be connected with ἀσπάζομαι κ.τ.λ.; comp. *Polyc.* 6 ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ κ.τ.λ.

ἐὰν κ.τ.λ.] '*if they*,' i.e. the Philadelphian Christians. He still uses the third person, because the address of the letter is not yet concluded; see 2 Joh. 1 τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς, contrasted with ver. 4 τῶν τέκνων σου. The difficulty has occasioned the substitution of the first or second person in the versions, and the reading μάλιστα ἐν ἑνὶ ὦσιν in the interpolator's text. See the upper note.

This sentence—a warning against dissension—is a sort of after-thought, which deranges the whole of the

5 οὗς κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον θέλημα ἐστήριξεν ἐν βεβαιωσύνῃ τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι.

I. Ὃν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνων οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲ δι'

note. 3 σὺν αὐτῷ] GL; om. Ag. 5 οὗς] GL; ὃς [g] (adding τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κ.τ.λ. afterwards); *qui* A (adding *nos* afterwards). Thus ὃς seems to have been an early corruption, which obliged Ag to supply the object to ἐστήριξεν in different ways. θέλημα] G; βούλημα g*. 7 οὐκ] οὐχ G.

subsequent passage. After the words ἣν ἀσπάζομαι κ.τ.λ. would naturally have followed καὶ εὔχομαι πλεῖστα χαίρειν (comp. *Magn.* inscr., *Trall.* inscr.). This however is forgotten; there is no opening benediction, such as we find in the other six letters; but instead of this Ignatius runs off into a justification of the Church officers thus accidentally mentioned (ἀποδεδειγμένοις κ.τ.λ.), and more especially into a eulogy of the bishop (ὃν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνων).

4. ἀποδεδειγμένοις] '*designated*,' 'appointed to office'; comp. Susann. 5 καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν δύο πρεσβύτεροι ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ κριταί κ.τ.λ., a very common classical usage. This word refers to the nomination or election by the human agents—whether the congregation or the officers of the Church—as the following words ἐν γνώμῃ κ.τ.λ. show.

ἐν γνώμῃ] i.e. 'with the approval of'; comp. *Ephes.* 3 οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὁρισθέντες ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώμῃ εἰσίν (with the note).

5. οὗς κατὰ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. Christ confirmed and established in their office the persons so appointed through human agency by the gift of His Holy Spirit; where τὸ ἴδιον θέλημα is opposed to the ἀπόδειξις of man.

I. 'I know well that your bishop does not owe his office to any human appointment or any spirit of vainglory, but to the love of God the Father and of Christ. His gentleness overwhelms me; his silence is more powerful than the speech of others; for he is attuned to perfect harmony with the commandments, like the strings in a lyre. Therefore I praise and bless his godly mind, knowing its virtues and perfections, its calmness and forbearance, which are of God.'

7. Ὃν ἐπίσκοπον] The relative refers to the previous σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ; but the antecedent being so distant, ἐπίσκοπον is added to make the reference clear. For the cause of the derangement in the sentence, which has given rise to this awkwardness of expression, see the note on μάλιστα κ.τ.λ. above. The interpolator has straightened the construction, Θεασάμενος ὑμῶν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνων κ.τ.λ.

ἔγνων] Ignatius had passed through Philadelphia on his way to Smyrna; see above p. 241, and § 6, 7 (with the notes). There is no indication in this letter or elsewhere, that the Philadelphian bishop had visited him at Smyrna with the delegates of other churches.

οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κ.τ.λ.] An obvious reflexion of Gal. i. 1 οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, where see the note on the difference of prepositions. Neither did he himself originate (ἀπό), nor did other men confer (διά), the office which he held.

ἀνθρώπων κεκτῆσθαι τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήκουσαν, οὐδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγάπῃ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὗ καταπέπληγμαι τὴν ἐπιείκειαν, ὃς σιγῶν πλείονα δύναται τῶν λαλούντων· συνευρύθμισται γὰρ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, ὡς χορδαῖς

1 διακονίαν] Gg; *administrationem* L; *dispensationem* (*domus-administrationem* = *οἰκονομίαν*) A. There is no reason to suppose (with Petermann) that L read *οἰκονομίαν*. In L *οἰκονομία* elsewhere (*Ephes.* 6, 18, 20) is always *dispensatio*, whereas *διακονία* is rendered by *ministratio* in § 10 below, *Magn.* 6, by *ministerium* in *Smyrn.* 12, and by this very word *administratio* in *Hero* 9. On the other hand the rendering of A certainly implies *οἰκονομίαν*, and we may suppose that this word was substituted in some texts, because *διακονία* seemed an unfit term to apply to a bishop. τὸ] gL; τὸν G, and this was also the reading of A, which translates *quae decet communem hominem*. 2 Θεοῦ...Χριστοῦ] GLA; Ἰ. Χ. καὶ θεου πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος κ.τ.λ. [g]. 4 πλείονα] GL; πλέον g; al. A. τῶν λαλούντων] *quam loquentes* (*rationales*) A; τῶν μάταια λαλούντων GL; τῶν πλέον λαλούντων g* (the Gk MSS, but 1 om. πλέον). The Armenian word means properly 'persons gifted with λόγος,' i.e. 'speech, reason, intelligence,' and its em-

1. εἰς τὸ κοινὸν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Smyrn.* 8 τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. For the expression ἀνήκειν εἰς see the note on Clem. Rom. 45. The verb takes a dative in Clem. Rom. 35 τὰ ἀνήκοντα τῇ ἀμώμῳ βουλήσει, *ib.* 62 τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ θρησκείᾳ ἡμῶν, Herm. *Sim.* v. 2 ἀνήκουσαν τῇ νηστείᾳ, and so in *Polyc.* 7.

2. οὐδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν] '*nor with vain-glory*.' Add to this the expression in § 8 μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθείαν πράσσετε, and for both combined comp. Phil. ii. 3 μηδὲν κατ' ἐρίθειαν μηδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν. For the different meanings of κενοδοξία see the note on *Magn.* 11.

Θεοῦ] The subjective genitive, as the antithesis to οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κ.τ.λ. suggests; comp. *Trall.* 6. God's love conferred the office upon him. The genitive is perhaps objective in *Rom.* inscr. (see the note).

3. οὗ] sc. τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

4. ἐπιείκειαν] '*modesty, moderation, forbearance*.' See the notes on Clem. Rom. 58, Ign. *Ephes.* 10. There is an oxymoron in καταπέπληγμαι, since ἐπιείκεια is the quality to reassure, not to dismay. Similarly in the following clause silence is said to be more eloquent than speech. Comp. *Ephes.* 6 ὅσον βλέπει τις σιγῶντα ἐπίσκοπον, πλειόνως αὐτὸν φοβείσθω. See the note there.

ὃς σιγῶν κ.τ.λ.] So Carlyle says of Cromwell (*Life and Letters*, Introd. c. 2) 'His words—still more his *silences* and unconscious instincts, when you have spelt and lovingly deciphered these also out of his words—will in several ways reward the study of an earnest man.' Comp. Aristoph. *Ran.* 913 sq. οἱ δ' ἐσίγων. ΔΙΟ. ἐγὼ δ' ἔχαιρον τῇ σιωπῇ καί με τοῦτ' ἔτερπεν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ νῦν οἱ λαλοῦντες. The interpolator and transcribers have enfeebled the expression by inserting πλέον or μάταια. The editors have retained the latter, apparently without misgiving.

5. συνευρύθμισται] '*is tuned in harmony with*'; comp. *Ephes.* 4 τὸ ...πρεσβυτέριον...οὕτως συνήρμοσται τῷ

κιθάρα. διὸ μακαρίζει μου ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπιγνοὺς ἐνάρετον καὶ τέλειον οὖσαν, τὸ ἀκίνητον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀόργητον [αὐτοῦ] ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

ployment here is a proof that the translator had neither πλέον nor μάταια in his text. The evidence of l seems to show that πλέον was omitted in the original text of g. See the lower note. 5 συνευρύθμισται] G; *patiens est et concordans est* A; συνήρμοσται g; *concordes estis* (συνευρύθμισθε?) L*. χορδαῖς κιθάρα] GL; *chordae citharae* (χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ or κιθάρας) A: χορδαὶ τῇ κιθάρᾳ g. 6 εἰς Θεὸν] GLg; *divinam* (ἔνθεον?) A; comp. the v. l. in *Trall.* 8. 7 τέλειον] G; τελείαν g. 8 αὐτοῦ sec.] G; om. Lg; al. A. 9 ζῶντος] GLg. The rendering of A is *scio quod perfecta est* (om. ἐνάρετον) *ea et non unquam conturbatur et irascitur sed vivit omni humilitate cum deo* (*per deum*). Petermann suggests that the translator read ζῶν for ζῶντος, or that he misunderstood the Syriac דאלהא חיא 'dei viventis,' separating the last word and interpreting it *vivit*. But a third solution seems at least as probable. May not the Syriac translator himself have separated ζῶντος from Θεοῦ and connected it with αὐτοῦ? See the lower note.

ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ. Here however the metaphor is not so clear. It is not easy to see in what sense the harp as a whole can be said to harmonize with the several strings; and, even if this difficulty were waived, the application of the metaphor is not good. Perhaps we should read χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ, as some authorities suggest. For ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, used absolutely, see the note on *Trall.* 13. If the lexicons may be trusted, not only is συνευρυθμίζειν a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, but neither εὐρυθμίζω nor συνεύρυθμος occurs elsewhere.

6. τὴν εἰς Θεὸν κ.τ.λ.] The same expression occurs *Rom.* 7: comp. *Polyc.* 1 σου τὴν ἐν Θεῷ γνώμην.

7. ἐνάρετον] The word does not occur in the LXX or N. T., but is found in 4 Macc. xi. 5, and in Clem. Rom. 62 τῶν ὠφελιμωτάτων εἰς ἐνάρετον βίον. It is a favourite word with the Stoics; see Phryn. p. 328 (Lobeck) παρὰ τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς κυκλεῖται τοὔνομα, οὐκ ὂν ἀρχαῖον, with Lobeck's note.

τέλειον] Here an adjective of two terminations, as e.g. Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 249 C, *Leg.* x. p. 951 B, Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* vii. 14 (p. 1153), *Pol.* i. 2 (p. 1252), and frequently. Compare δῆλος [Clem. Rom.] ii. 12.

τὸ ἀκίνητον κ.τ.λ.] In apposition to τὴν εἰς Θ. αὐτοῦ γνώμην, as explaining it. Ignatius here runs into Stoic phraseology (see the note on ἐνάρετον above). For ἀόργητος see the note on Clem. Rom. 19.

9. Θεοῦ ζῶντος] i.e. 'inspired by a living God.' There is not however much force in the epithet here, and perhaps ζῶντος should be separated from Θεοῦ and taken with αὐτοῦ, as the Armenian Version suggests; comp. § 3 ἵνα ὦσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες.

II. 'Therefore as children of truth, avoid dissension and false-teaching. Where the shepherd is there let the sheep follow; for many wolves are prowling about, ready to seize the stragglers in the race of God. But they will have no place, so long as you are at unity.'

II. *Τέκνα οὖν [φωτὸς] ἀληθείας, φεύγετε τὸν μερισμὸν καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας· ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμήν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε· πολλοὶ γὰρ λύκοι ἀξιό-*

1 *Τέκνα*] GLA Dam-Rup 5; *ὡς τέκνα* g. *φωτὸς ἀληθείας*] GL* (but a v. l. inserts *et*) g Dam-Rup; *lucis et veritatis* A. It is clear therefore that *φωτὸς ἀληθείας* is older than any existing authorities, though probably corrupt. The remedy however is not to insert a *καὶ*, as is commonly done: see the lower note. 2 *δὲ*] G (but the Casanatensian transcript has *μὲν*) g Dam-Rup; *autem* L; *et* A. 5 *ἑνότητι*] *ἐνώτητι* G. *οὐχ ἕξουσιν*] Gg; *non habent* L; *non est illis* A (but the freedom elsewhere used by A in translating the Syriac future deprives it of weight).

1. *Τέκνα κ.τ.λ.*] *Τέκνα φωτὸς* occurs, Ephes. v. 8; *υἱοὶ* [*τοῦ*] *φωτός*, Luke xvi. 8, John xii. 36, 1 Thess. v. 5. The reading of the Greek MSS *φωτὸς ἀληθείας*, 'of the light of truth,' cannot stand; for definite articles would almost certainly be required. The text might be mended by inserting a *καί*, as the Armenian Version gives 'light and truth.' On such a point however a version has little weight, since this would be a very obvious expedient for a translator. I am disposed to think that *τέκνα ἀληθείας* was the original reading of Ignatius; and that *φωτὸς* was first intended as a substitution or a gloss or a parallel, suggested by the familiar scriptural phrase *τέκνα* (*υἱοὶ*) *φωτός*.

μερισμὸν] So again §§ 3, 7, 8, *Smyrn.* 8. The word occurs both in the LXX, and in the N. T. (Heb. ii. 4, iv. 12), but not in this sense.

2. *κακοδιδασκαλίας*] See [Clem. Rom.] ii. 10 *κακοδιδασκαλοῦντες*, with the note.

3. *λύκοι*] So S. Paul, Acts xx. 29 *λύκοι βαρεῖς...μὴ φειδόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου*; comp. John x. 12. In *ἀξιόπιστοι* there is perhaps an allusion to the 'sheep's clothing' of Matt. vii. 15 (comp. *Clem. Hom.* xi. 35, Iren. i. praef. 1, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 1. p. 4). For the metaphor see also Epictetus *Diss.* iii. 22. 35 *τί οὖν εἶ; ποιμὴν ταῖς ἀληθείαις. οὕτω γὰρ κλάεις, ὡς οἱ ποιμένες, ὅταν λύκος ἁρπάσῃ τι τῶν προβάτων αὐτῶν· καὶ οὗτοι δὲ πρόβατά εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀρχόμενοι*: comp. *ib.* i. 3. 7 *οἱ μὲν...λύκοις ὅμοιοι γινόμεθα, ἄπιστοι καὶ ἐπίβουλοι καὶ βλαβεροί· οἱ δὲ λέουσιν κ.τ.λ.* Rhodon (in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 13) calls Marcion *ὁ Ποντικὸς λύκος*, and at a later date it is not uncommon as a designation of heretics.

ἀξιόπιστοι] '*specious, plausible, deceitful*,' as in *Polyc.* 3 (where however the bad sense is not so directly prominent); comp. *Trall.* 6. *καταξιοπιστευόμενοι* (with the note). Suidas distinguishes between the earlier and later sense of this word, *Ἀξιόπιστος οὐχὶ ὁ κατάπλαστος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τερατείᾳ χρώμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ πιστὸς καὶ δόκιμος καὶ ἀξιόχρεως*. For this later and bad sense comp. *Epist. ad Diogn.* 8 *τοὺς κενοὺς καὶ ληρώδεις ἐκείνων λόγους ἀποδέχῃ τῶν ἀξιοπίστων φιλοσόφων*, Lucian *Alex.* 4 *πιθανὴν καὶ ἀξιόπιστον καὶ ὑποκριτικὴν τοῦ βελτίονος*, Charito iv. 9 *ἐμνημόνευσε Καλλιρόης ἀξιοπίστῳ τῷ προσώπῳ* (comp. *ib.* i. 4), Apollon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18. *Θεμίσων ὁ τὴν ἀξιόπιστον πλεονεξίαν ἠμφιεσμένος*. So too *ἀξιοπιστία*, Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 13. 3 *παντάπασιν ὑπ' ἀξιοπιστίας ἦσαν ἀνεύρετοι*, Tatian *ad Graec.* 25 *κεκραγὼς δημοσίᾳ μετ' ἀξιοπιστίας*, Aristid. *Art. Rhet.* i. 4 (*Op.* II. p. 745, ed. Dind.) *ἀξιοπιστίας δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπικατα-*

πιστοι ἡδονῇ κακῇ αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν τοὺς θεοδρόμους· 5 ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἑνότητι ὑμῶν οὐχ ἕξουσιν τόπον.

III. Ἀπέχεσθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ἅστινας οὐ γεωργεῖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτείαν

6 Ἀπέχεσθε] GL [Dam-Rup]; add. οὖν g; *jam* (*ergo*) A (prob. representing οὖν, if it be not an insertion of a translator or of a scribe). ἅστινας οὐ γεωργεῖ Ἰ. Χ.] GL; ἅστινας Ἰ. Χ. οὐ γεωργεῖ g; ὧν χριστὸς ἰησοῦς οὐ γεωργεῖ Dam-Rup (so the MS, but Lequien omits οὐ); *quas dominus noster iesus christus non plantavit* A (omitting the rest of the sentence). 7 αὐτοὺς] Gg* (MSS, though edd. read αὐτάς) Dam-Rup; *ipsos* L (not *ipsas*, as commonly given); def. A. There is therefore no authority for αὐτάς. φυτείαν] φυτίαν G.

ψεύδεσθαι (with the whole chapter, which treats of ἀξιοπιστία in all its forms); and ἀξιοπίστως, Polyb. iii. 33. 17 τοῖς ἀξιοπίστως ψευδομένοις (comp. xii. 9. 3, xxviii. 4. 10), Tatian *ad Graec.* 2 ἀξιοπίστως ἠσωτεύσατο, Joseph. *B. J.* i. 25. 2, Anon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 16. In this sense the word differs from πιθανός, as implying a show of severe honesty or downrightness. It is frequently found however in a good sense, even in late writers, e.g. Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 1, 20, ii. 37, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 2 (p. 327), ii. 5, 6 (pp. 442, 445), vii. 8, 9 (p. 862). The manner in which it slips into a bad sense will appear from Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 11 (p. 302) μὴ μόνον εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀξιοπίστους φανῆναι.

4. ἡδονῇ κακῇ] This is the bait which they hold out to their victims; see the parallel passage *Trall.* 6, where the same phrase occurs.

αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν] As in 2 Tim. iii, 6; and so Iren. I. praef. 1 διὰ τῆς πανούργως συγκεκροτημένης πιθανότητος ...αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν αὐτούς (comp. *ib.* i. 3. 6), quoted by Pearson. In all these cases it is said of the machinations of heretical teachers.

θεοδρόμους] '*the runners* in the stadium *of God*,' who is the great ἀγωνοθέτης. It is the metaphor of the Christian δρόμος, which occurs so frequently in S. Paul; see the note on *Rom.* 2, and comp. also Clem. Rom. 6, 7, [Clem. Rom.] ii. 7 (with the notes). The idea here is much the same as in Gal. v. 7 ἐτρέχετε καλῶς· τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν; The word θεοδρόμος occurs again *Polyc.* 7, but in a somewhat different sense, 'God's courier.'

5. ἐν τῇ ἑνότητι κ.τ.λ.] 'So long as you are united, they will find no place for their machinations.'

III. 'Beware of these false teachers, as of noxious weeds, which were not planted by the Father and are not tilled by Christ. Not that I found any dissension among you, but on the contrary purity of faith. Those who belong to God and Christ attach themselves to the bishop; and those too, who repent and enter again into the unity of the Church, are owned by God and live after Christ. Be not deceived. No man who follows a leader of schism can inherit the kingdom of God. He, who adheres to a false doctrine, dissevers himself from the Passion.'

6. βοτανῶν] '*weeds*.' See the note on *Trall.* 6, where the same metaphor occurs.

7. γεωργεῖ] Comp. John xv. 1 ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ γεωργός ἐστιν, 1 Cor. iii,

πατρός. οὐχ ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μερισμὸν εὗρον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιυλισμόν. ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν· καὶ ὅσοι ἂν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ οὗτοι Θεοῦ ἔσονται, ἵνα ὦσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν

1 πατρός] Gg; τοῦ πατρὸς Rup. ἀποδιυλισμόν] *abstractionem* L (comp. *Rom.* inscr. ἀποδιυλισμένοις, translated *abstractis*); ἀποδιϋλισμένον G; *clamor* A; def. g. The rendering of A is explained by Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 270. The same Syriac root ܨܠܠ signifies *colare* (διυλίζειν, e.g. Pesh. Matt. xxiii. 24) and *clarum sonitum reddere*; see Bernstein *Lex. Syr. Chrestom.* s. v. 2 Θεοῦ εἰσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GLS$_1$; *dei sunt* A; χριστοῦ εἰσιν [g]. 6 ἀδελφοί μου] GLS$_1$ Dam-Rup 1 Anon Syr$_1$

9 Θεοῦ γεώργιον...ἐστε. Here the Father is represented as planting the field and as sending Christ to till it.

αὐτούς] i.e. 'these heretical teachers,' who are intended by the κακαὶ βοταναί. The reading is certainly αὐτούς, not αὐτάς (see the critical note); and the sudden change to the masculine is the same here as in the parallel passage, *Trall.* 11 φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακὰς παραφυάδας...οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ εἰσιν φυτεία πατρός.

φυτείαν πατρός] A reference to Matt. xv. 13 πᾶσα φυτεία, ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου κ.τ.λ., as in the parallel passage *Trall.* 11 already cited. There is also doubtless an indirect reference to the parable of the tares sown by the Evil One, Matt. xiii. 24 sq. This reference has been seen by the interpolator; for to the words διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτείαν πατρός he adds ἀλλὰ σπέρμα τοῦ πονηροῦ.

1. οὐχ ὅτι] This sentence must be taken as parenthetical. Ignatius guards against appearing to censure the Philadelphians in what he has said. The words ὅσοι γὰρ κ.τ.λ. are connected with the previous sentence, ἄστινας...πατρός. For this corrective οὐχ ὅτι see the note on *Magn.* 3.

εὗρον] '*I found.*' This implies that Ignatius had himself visited Philadelphia; see above p. 241, and the notes on § 1 ὃν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνων, § 6 ὅτι ἐβάρησα κ.τ.λ., § 7 ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὤν.

ἀποδιυλισμόν] '*filtration.*' See the note on *Rom.* inscr. ἀποδιυλισμένοις ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου χρώματος. The false teachers had been at Philadelphia; but the Philadelphian Christians had strained out these dregs of heresy. They had separated themselves from the heretics; but this separation deserved the name of 'filtering,' rather than of 'division.'

2. Θεοῦ εἰσιν] For this phrase see the note on *Ephes.* 5.

5. κατὰ Ἰησοῦν κ.τ.λ.] So again *Magn.* 8. Similarly, κατὰ χριστιανισμὸν ζῆν *Magn.* 10, κατὰ Θεὸν ζῆν *Ephes.* 8, κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ζῆν *Ephes.* 6, κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῆν *Magn.* 9, κατὰ ἰουδαισμὸν ζῆν *Magn.* 8, κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν *Trall.* 2, *Rom.* 8.

6. μὴ πλανᾶσθε] As in 1 Cor. vi. 9, xv. 33, Gal. vi. 7, James i. 16. Here the phrase is clearly suggested by 1 Cor. vi. 9 sq, whence the words βασίλειαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ also are borrowed. Comp. *Ephes.* 16, where there is the same connexion of phrases suggested by S. Paul's language.

ζῶντες. μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· εἴ τις σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝ ΘΕΟΥ̃ ΟΥ̓ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ̃· εἴ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ περιπατεῖ, οὗτος τῷ πάθει οὐ συγκατατίθεται.

10 IV. Σπουδάσατε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι·

(but for the Syriac authorities see Clem. Rom. ii. § 13); *fratres* (here) A; ἀδελφοί (before μὴ πλανᾶσθε) g. σχίζοντι] txt GL Dam-Rup; add. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας [g]; add. *ecclesiam* Anon-Syr$_1$; add. *ecclesiam dei* S$_1$; *separatoris ecclesiae* A. 7 κληρονομεῖ] GLA Dam-Rup Anon-Syr$_1$; κληρονομήσει g; *haereditabit* S$_1$. The future is taken from S. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, Gal. v. 21. 8 τῷ πάθει] GL; add. *christi* S$_1$A. The sentence is paraphrased in g, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν χριστοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ κοινωνός.

σχίζοντι] '*making a rent*,' '*causing a schism*.' For this absolute use of σχίζειν comp. Orig. *Comm. in Matth.* x. § 16 (III. p. 462) οὐ σχίζων ἀπ' αὐτῆς (i.e. τῆς συναγωγῆς), Dion. Alex. *Ep. ad. Novat.* (in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 45) ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ σχίσαι, passages referred to in E. A. Sophocles *Lex.* s. v. It is not so used in the LXX or N. T.

8. ἀλλοτρίᾳ] '*strange*,' i.e. 'heretical,' as in *Trall.* 6 ἀλλοτρίας βοτανῆς, *Rom.* inscr. ἀλλοτρίου χρώματος, Papias in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39 τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν. So too ξένος, Heb. xiii. 9.

τῷ πάθει] See the note on *Ephes.* inscr.

οὐ συγκατατίθεται] '*has no part or agreement with*,' '*dissociates himself from*'; Exod. xxiii. 1, 32, Susann. 20, Luke xxiii. 51; comp. συγκατάθεσις 2 Cor. vi. 16. The full phrase would be συγκατατίθεσθαι ψῆφον, or κλῆρον, 'to cast in one's vote or lot with.' It is a good classical word. The meaning of Ignatius here is explained by the following sentence, σπουδάσατε μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι. These heretics separated themselves and set up a eucharistic feast of their own. By thus severing themselves from the true eucharist of the Church, they severed themselves from the passion of Christ and all the benefits flowing therefrom; see *Smyrn.* 6 with the note.

IV. 'Therefore take care to keep one eucharistic feast only; for Christ's flesh is one and His blood is one; there is one altar and one bishop with his priests and deacons. Do this, and ye will do after God's bidding.'

10. μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Smyrn.* 8 τοὺς δὲ μερισμοὺς φεύγετε ...μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, κ.τ.λ. The heretics disobeyed this rule. These passages in Ignatius (comp. also *Smyrn.* 6, and perhaps *Ephes.* 13) are the earliest instances of εὐχαριστία applied to the Holy Communion except perhaps *Doctr. Apost.* 9 περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε κ.τ.λ.: comp. Justin Martyr *Apol.* i. 64, 65 (p. 97 sq) μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος...καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία...τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ

μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ· ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἷς ἐπίσκοπος, ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις τοῖς συνδούλοις μου· ἵνα ὃ ἐὰν πράσσητε, κατὰ Θεὸν πράσσητε. 5

2 *εἰς ἕνωσιν*] GL; *concordiae* S_1; om. A; al. g. 3 *ὡς*] G; *et* L (but perhaps we should read *ut*; see the converse error in *Rom.* 4, and comp. *Ephes.* 21); *sicut et* A; *καὶ* [g]. Should we read *ὡς καὶ* with A? *διακόνοις*] G; *τοῖς διακόνοις* [g]. 6 *Ἀδελφοί μου*] not omitted in A, as stated by Petermann; but

αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι (comp. *Dial.* 117, p. 345), Iren. iv. 18. 5 *ἡμῶν δὲ σύμφωνος ἡ γνώμη τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ... ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, κ.τ.λ.*, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 2 (p. 178) *εὐχαριστία κέκληται, χάρις ἐπαινουμένη καὶ καλή*, Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 57 *ἔστι δὲ σύμβολον ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐχαριστίας, ἄρτος εὐχαριστία καλούμενος*; comp. Tertull. *ad. Marc.* i. 23 'super alienum panem alii deo gratiarum actionibus fungitur.' On the question whether the eucharist was at this time still connected with the agape or not, see the note on *Smyrn.* 8.

With this passage compare 1 Cor. xi. 18, 20 *πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν...συνερχομένων οὖν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, οὐκ ἔστιν κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν κ.τ.λ.* The heretics of Ignatius' time violated this bond of union, though not in the same way, but by holding separate eucharistic feasts; see the note on *Smyrn.* 6, 8.

1. *μία γὰρ σὰρξ κ.τ.λ.*] Doubtless suggested by 1 Cor. x. 16, 17 *τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστιν; ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν· οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν.* The 'one flesh' here is the one eucharistic loaf betokening the union in the one body of Christ.

2. *εἰς ἕνωσιν*] '*unto unity*,' i.e. 'so that all may be one by partaking of His own blood.' For the word *ἕνωσις* see the note on *Magn.* 1.

ἓν θυσιαστήριον] Comp. Cyprian *Epist.* xliii. 5 (p. 594, Hartel) 'Aliud altare constitui aut sacerdotium novum fieri praeter unum altare et unum sacerdotium non potest. Quisque alibi collegerit, spargit.' It would be an anachronism to suppose that Ignatius by the 'altar' here means the 'Lord's table.' Even in Irenæus, though he is distinctly speaking of the eucharist in the context (see the passage quoted above), yet only a spiritual altar is recognised; *Haer.* iv. 18. 6 'offerimus eum ei, non quasi indigenti sed gratias agentes [*εὐχαριστοῦντες*] dominationi ejus et sanctificantes creaturam...sic et ideo nos quoque offerre vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione. Est ergo altare in caelis (illuc enim preces nostrae et oblationes diriguntur) et templum, etc.' Compare also the passages of Clement and Origen quoted in the note on *Ephes.* 5, and see *Philippians* p. 265 sq. Probably Ignatius here means by the term (to use Clement's definition) the *ἄθροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων*. See the notes on *Ephes.* 5, *Trall.* 7. For

V. Ἀδελφοί μου, λίαν ἐκκέχυμαι ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὑπεραγαλλόμενος ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς· οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ, ἀλλ' Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔτι ὢν ἀναπάρτιστος. ἀλλ' ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν [εἰς Θεόν] με ἀπαρτίσει, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ κλήρῳ ἠλεήθην ἐπιτύχω,

attached to the former sentence. 9 ἀναπάρτιστος] gLA; ἀνάρπαστος G. εἰς Θεόν] Gg; om. L [A]. 10 κλήρῳ ἠλεήθην] GL; ἐκλήθην g. The reading of GL seems to underlie the rendering of A, which paraphrases the sentence loosely *ita ut dignus fiam hac portione et in ea requiescam.*

different applications of the image see *Magn.* 7, *Rom.* 2 (with the notes).

3. πρεσβυτερίῳ] See the note on *Ephes.* 2.

4. συνδούλοις] See the note on *Ephes.* 2.

κατὰ Θεὸν] See the note on *Magn.* 1.

V. 'Brethren, my love for you is unbounded, and I wish therefore to warn you—yet not I, but Jesus Christ, whose prisoner I am, anxious and fearful as yet, because not yet made perfect. But your prayers will perfect me, so that in God's mercy this my lot may be fulfilled, and I may obtain the martyr's crown. I cling to the Gospel as the flesh of Christ, and to the Apostles as the presbyters of the Church. Yes, and we love the prophets also, because they foretold the Gospel and awaited the coming of Christ. Thus they were saved by faith through union with Him, being worthy of all love and honour; to whom also Christ bore witness, and who are enrolled in the Gospel of our common hope.'

6. ἐκκέχυμαι] Implying profuse demonstrations of love, as not unfrequently, e.g. Arist. *Vesp.* 1469, Lucian *Salt.* 81, Polyb. v. 106. 7 εἰς πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐξεκέχυντο, i.e. 'were lavish in their loyalty and devotion'; see also Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 27). So the Latin 'effundi,' e.g. Cic. *Att.* iv. 9 'in nos vero suavissime hercule est effusus.'

7. ὑπεραγαλλόμενος] So ὑπερδοξάζειν *Polyc.* 1, ὑπερεπαινεῖν *Ephes.* 6.

ἀσφαλίζομαι] '*I warn you*,' '*put you on your guard*.' The word means properly 'to shut up fast,' 'to make secure for oneself,' e.g. LXX Neh. iii. 15, Wisd. xiii. 15; comp. *Clem. Hom.* ii. 45 ὁ τὸ περιέχον σῶμα ἐν ἀπείρῳ πελάγει πνεύματι βουλῆς ἀσφαλισάμενος. See Bekker *Anecd.* p. 456 τὸ ἀσφαλίζεσθαι βάρβαρον. It is however a common word from Polybius downward.

8. ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος] Comp. § 7, *Ephes.* 3, *Trall.* 1, *Rom.* 1. For the feeling of Ignatius respecting his bonds see the notes on *Ephes.* 3, 11, *Magn.* 1.

φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον] Comp. *Trall.* 4 νῦν γάρ με δεῖ πλέον φοβεῖσθαι.

9. ἀναπάρτιστος] See the parallel passage *Ephes.* 3 εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, οὔπω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. The word ἀναπάρτιστος occurs Diog. Laert. vii. 63. It is vain in the face of the authorities, the requirements of the context, and the parallel passage, to attempt with Voss to defend ἀνάρπαστος here.

10. ἀπαρτίσει] The word was condemned as a solœcism by the purists; but the condemnation must

προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς

1 Ἰησοῦ] GL; ιησοῦ χριστοῦ g; *christi* A.

be taken with some qualification. It is used several times by Aristotle. See Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 447 sq.

κλήρῳ] Of martyrdom; see the note *Trall.* 12.

ἠλεήθην] After S. Paul's manner of speaking, 2 Cor. iv. 1 καθὼς ἠλεήθημεν, οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν, 1 Tim. i. 13, 16 ἀλλὰ ἠλεήθην...ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἠλεήθην: comp. Rom. xi. 30, 31. So too 1 Pet. ii. 10. See also *Rom.* inscr. (note). For ἐλεεῖσθαι ἐν comp. *Smyrn.* inscr.

ἐπιτύχω] The construction is ἵνα ἐπιτύχω τοῦ κλήρου ἐν ᾧ ἠλεήθην, 'that I may secure, make good, the lot, in which (i.e. in the way of obtaining which) God's mercy placed me': comp. *Trall.* 12 τοῦ κλήρου οὗπερ ἔγκειμαι [MS οὗ περίκειμαι] ἐπιτυχεῖν, *Rom.* 1 εἰς τὸ τὸν κλῆρόν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν. So too *Mart. Polyc.* 6 τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον ἀπαρτίσῃ.

1. προσφυγὼν] This can hardly be connected with ἠλεήθην (as Zahn proposes *I. v. A.* p. 575), seeing that ἐπιτύχω intervenes. Nor is there any objection to connecting it with ἵνα...ἐπιτύχω. The participle here signifies not 'by taking refuge,' but 'inasmuch as I took refuge.' In other words it is not necessarily part of the contingency implied in ἵνα.

ὡς σαρκὶ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. because it gives the earthly life, records the actual works of Christ, as the Logos *incarnate*; comp. § 9 ἐξαίρετον δέ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ. The metaphor is eucharistic. Somewhat similarly Origen *in Lev. Hom.* vii. § 5 (II. p. 225) interprets the words of John vi. 53 sq, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα κ.τ.λ., 'carnibus et sanguine verbi sui...potat et reficit omne hominum genus'; and so too Euseb. *Eccl. Theol.* iii. 12 ὥστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα κ.τ.λ., Anon. *Brev. in Psalm.* cxlvii (Hieron. *Op.* VII. p. 530 Appx) 'Ego corpus Jesu evangelium puto, sanctas scripturas puto, doctrinam ejus; et quando dicit *Qui non comederit carnem meam* etc.' These passages are quoted by Ussher. See also the notes on *Trall.* 8, *Rom.* 7, for similar eucharistic metaphors. There is probably an indirect allusion to Docetism here.

τοῖς ἀποστόλοις κ.τ.λ.] The Apostles stand in the same relation to the Church at large, in which its own presbytery does to each individual church. So conversely *Trall.* 2 ὑποτάσσεσθαι καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (comp. *Smyrn.* 8). See the notes on *Magn.* 6, 13, *Trall.* 3.

The expression obviously points to some authoritative *writings* of the New Testament. The 'Apostles,' like the 'Prophets,' must have been represented in some permanent form to which appeal could be made. So far the bearing of the passage seems to be clear. But it is not so obvious whether Ignatius refers to two classes of writings included in our New Testament, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον the Gospel or Gospels, and οἱ ἀπόστολοι the Apostolic Epistles (perhaps including the Acts), or to one only, οἱ ἀπόστολοι as expositors of the εὐαγγέλιον, in which latter case it would comprise the Gospels as well as the Epistles. The former view is taken by Ussher, Pearson, and Leclerc, and more recently by Westcott *Introduction to the Gospels* p. 416, and Hilgenfeld *Einleitung in das N. T.* p. 72; while Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 431 sq) and others interpret εὐαγγέλιον

ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. καὶ τοὺς προ-

2 πρεσβυτερίῳ] GLg; *ministris* (*diaconis*) A.

in the latter way, not of the book, but of the teaching. The parallel passages are § 9 below οἱ γὰρ ἀγαπητοὶ προφῆται κατήγγειλαν εἰς αὐτόν, τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπάρτισμά ἐστιν ἀφθαρσίας, *Smyrn.* 5 οὓς οὐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφητεῖαι οὐδὲ ὁ νόμος Μωσέως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 7 προσέχειν δὲ τοῖς προφήταις, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῖν δεδήλωται κ.τ.λ. These passages point to the latter view, which regards the Apostles as the expositors of the Gospel. They cannot however be considered decisive in themselves, since 'the Gospel' might here be broken up into 'the Gospel' and 'the Apostles,' just as 'the Prophets' are broken up in *Smyrn.* 5 into 'the Prophets' and 'the Law of Moses.' But the use of εὐαγγέλιον in the context here (εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι and συνηριθμημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ) is a more powerful argument, and seems to show that the idea of written documents is not intended in the word εὐαγγέλιον itself, but only involved in the subsequent mention of the 'Apostles.' In this case the description of the Old and New Testaments as 'the Prophets' and 'the Apostles' respectively may be compared with Justin's statement *Apol.* i. 67 (p. 98 D) τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται, or the language in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement § 14 τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, or the classification of the *Muratorian Canon* (Tregelles, p. 58) 'neque inter prophetas completum numero neque inter apostolos.' Towards and after the close of the second century the separation of the 'Gospels' from the 'Apostles' becomes common, e.g. Iren. i. 3. 6 τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 3 (p. 836) τό τε εὐαγγέλιον ὅ τε ἀπόστολος, Tertull. *de Praescr.* 36 'evangelicis et apostolicis literis,' and elsewhere; see Reuss *Gesch. der heil. Schr. N. T.* § 300. There is indeed nothing to prevent the same author from using both modes of speaking in different places; comp. e.g. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 10 (p. 543) νόμος τε ὁμοῦ καὶ προφῆται σὺν καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ εἰς μίαν συνάγονται γνῶσιν, with *ib.* v. 5 (p. 664) τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμοίως τοῖς προφήταις ἅπασι, vi. 11 (p. 784) συμφωνίαν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν νόμου καὶ προφητῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλων σὺν καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. But we should certainly not expect it in the same passage, and therefore there is no ground for interpreting the language here in a way which would perhaps (we cannot say, certainly) be an anachronism in the age of Ignatius. Lessing attempted to handle Ignatian criticism here and burnt his fingers (*Sämmtl. Schrift.* xi. 2, pp. 187, 197, 237, ed. Maltzahn; passages referred to by Zahn *l. v. A.* pp. 431 sq, 575). He stated that there was no trace of a *collection* of N. T. writings in the fathers of the first two centuries, and being confronted with this passage declared it to be corrupt. His emendation is an exhibition of reckless audacity, all the more instructive as coming from a great man; προσφυγὼν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐκκλησίας ὡς ἀποστόλοις· καὶ τοὺς διακόνους δὲ ἀγαπῶ, ὡς προφήτας Χριστὸν καταγγείλαντας καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πνεύματος μετασχόντας οὗ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι.

2 καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ κ.τ.λ.]

φήτας δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν, διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναμένειν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν ἐν ἑνότητι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὄντες ἀξιαγάπητοι καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι

1 *ἀγαπῶμεν*] GL; *diligamus* L; *ἀγαπῶ* g; *diligo* A. Perhaps it was treated as two words *ἀγαπῶ μὲν*: see the lower note. 5 *καὶ συνηριθμημένοι*] GL; om. g. A translates the passage *quos testificatus est dominus noster iesus*

For what reason are the prophets thus suddenly introduced? The motive is clearly apologetic; but what is the accusation or the antagonism against which the words are directed? Is it aimed at Judaizers who overrated the Old Testament in comparison with the Gospel? or at Anti-judaic Gnostics or Marcionites who depreciated or even rejected it? In the former case the force of the words will be, 'We do not disparage the prophets any more than yourselves; only we maintain the superiority of the Gospel; the prophets themselves look forward and bear witness to the Gospel.' And this sense is required by the context, *ἐὰν δέ τις ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἑρμηνεύῃ κ.τ.λ.*, i.e. 'but if any one, while upholding the Prophets (the Old Testament), so interprets them as to teach Judaism, etc.' It is moreover supported by the very close parallel in §§ 9, 10, where Ignatius represents his Judaizing opponents as alleging against him the archives (i.e. the records of the Old Testament), while he himself concedes the greatness of the Mosaic priesthood (*καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς*), but maintains the superiority of the great High-priest of the new covenant (*κρεῖσσον δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς*), declaring that all the saints under the old dispensation entered through Him into the presence of God, and that the prophets heralded the Gospel. See especially the note on § 9 *καλοὶ καὶ κ.τ.λ.*

1. *ἀγαπῶμεν*] Not an imperative, 'let us love,' as the Latin Version 'diligamus,' but an indicative, 'we love.' It may be a question however, whether we should not read *ἀγαπῶ μὲν*, to which the antithetical clause would be *ἐὰν δέ τις ἰουδαϊσμὸν κ.τ.λ.*; comp. *Trall.* 4 *ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν κ.τ.λ.*

εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κ.τ.λ.] For the construction and sentiment alike comp. § 9 *οἱ ἀγαπητοὶ προφῆται κατήγγειλαν εἰς αὐτόν*, Barnab. 5 *οἱ προφῆται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν.* For the sentiment see also the notes on *Magn.* 8, 9; for the construction comp. *λέγειν εἰς*, Acts ii. 25, Ephes. v. 32, and see Winer § xlix. p. 495.

3. *ἐν ᾧ καὶ κ.τ.λ.*] '*in whom also* (i.e. when He actually appeared to them) *they believed and so were saved*'; comp. § 9 below. On the salvation of the prophets through Christ, as involving the descent into Hades, see the note on *Magn.* 9.

ἐν ἑνότητι] '*in an unity which centres in Jesus Christ*,' i.e. they were incorporated in one and the same body with the faithful members of the Church; comp. § 9 *πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἑνότητα Θεοῦ.*

4. *ἀξιαγάπητοι*] '*worthy of this love*, which we accord to them,' a reference to *καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν.* On the compounds of

ἅγιοι, ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένοι καὶ συνηριθμημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος.

VI. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἑρμηνεύῃ ὑμῖν, μὴ ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ. ἄμεινον γάρ ἐστιν παρὰ ἀνδρὸς περι-

christus quod fideles computantur (*numerantur*) *in evangelio*, thus clearly recognising συνηριθμημένοι. 7 δέ] GL; *et* A; om. [g]. τις] GA[g]; om. L. ὑμῖν] LA; ἡμῖν G; al. g.

ἄξιος in Ignatius see the note on *Ephes.* 4 ἀξιονόμαστον.

5. ἅγιοι] Connected by previous editors with the preceding words, but it seems to go better with those following.

συνηριθμημένοι] i.e. 'included among those who participate in the privileges of the Gospel.' It is wrongly explained by Smith '*prophetae* cum apostolis *in evangelio connumerati*, utpote de quibus utrisque insigne testimonium illic reliquit Christus.' There is no reference to the written record in εὐαγγελίῳ here.

6. τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος] '*our common hope*,' i.e. Christ, as appears from § 11 below ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν; and so elsewhere in Ignatius; see the notes on *Ephes.* 1, *Magn.* 11. Zahn (*J. v. A.* pp. 430, 435) suggests reading τῆς καινῆς ἐλπίδος, comparing *Magn.* 9 εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος; but I cannot think this an improvement. Not to mention that ἡ κοινὴ ἐλπίς occurs more than once elsewhere in Ignatius, the epithet here is especially appropriate, as enforcing the main idea of the passage (comp. ἐν ἑνότητι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and συνηριθμημένοι) that all alike, whether they lived before or after the coming of Christ, are united in a *common* Saviour.

VI. 'But if anyone so interprets them as to find Judaism in them, listen not to him. It is better to hear the circumcised teaching Christianity than the uncircumcised teaching Judaism. But in either case, if they speak not of Jesus Christ, they are no better than tombstones inscribed with men's names. Flee therefore from the snares and devices of the Evil One, lest your love wax feeble: and meet together all of you in concord. I thank God that my conscience acquits me of oppressing any one, while I was among you. And I pray that my words then spoken may not rise up in judgment against you.'

7. ἰουδαϊσμὸν] See the note on *Magn.* 8.

ἑρμηνεύῃ] '*propound*'; as Celsus in Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 58 (I. p. 485) οὐδὲ δυνήσονται τοῖς παισὶν ἑρμηνεύειν ἀγαθόν (quoted by Pearson), where as here the accusative describes not the text interpreted but the result attained by interpretation. The reference here is doubtless to the interpretation put upon the language of the prophets who have been mentioned in the last sentence, so as to support Judaizing practices, just as below (§ 8) Ignatius represents his opponents as appealing to the ἀρχεῖα against him.

8. ἄμεινον γάρ κ.τ.λ.] Who is meant by the ἀκρόβυστος in this sentence? Is he to be identified with the τις in the preceding clause, so that ἀκούειν παρὰ ἀκροβύστου in the latter place corresponds to ἀκού-

τομὴν ἔχοντος χριστιανισμὸν ἀκούειν ἢ παρὰ ἀκροβύστου ἰουδαϊσμόν. ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότεροι περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ λαλῶσιν, οὗτοι ἐμοὶ στῆλαί εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων. φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακοτεχνίας καὶ ἐνέδρας τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, μήποτε θλιβέντες τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ

7 ἐξασθενήσετε] g ; ἐξασθενήσεται G ; *infirmemini* LA. ἀλλὰ] GAg ; *sed et* L. 8 εὐχαριστῶ δὲ] GL ; εὐχαριστῶ (om. δέ) A [g*] (but v. l. εὐχαριστῶς). 9 μου] GLA ; om. [g]. 11 ἐν μικρῷ] GL ; ἢ ἐν μικρῷ g ; dub. A (where ἢ...ἢ may perhaps be represented by *vel etiam*). δέ] GL* (but a v. l. omits

ετε αὐτοῦ in the former? In this case the *teachers* would be represented, not as Jewish Christians, but as Gentile Christians with strong Judaic tendencies. This seems the most natural interpretation; nor can I with Zahn (*I. v. A.* 368 sq) see any serious objection to it. These opponents of Ignatius indeed are represented as intimately acquainted with the Old Testament and taking their stand upon it (§ 8 ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις κ.τ.λ., comp. *Smyrn.* 5 οὓς οὐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφητεῖαι οὐδὲ ὁ νόμος Μωσέως); but the effective proselytizing of Jews and Judaic Christians among persons of Gentile origin is a patent fact, and there is no reason why proselytes so made should not have taken up the position of proselytizers themselves in Philadelphia. On the other hand it is possible, though I think not probable, that the ἀκρόβυστος is the *recipient*, not the *promulgator*, of the false interpretation. Under any circumstances the ἰουδαϊσμός, i.e. Jewish manner of living, which was enforced, would include the observance of sabbaths (comp. *Magn.* 9), rigorous restrictions respecting meats and drinks, etc., and in short such practices as are condemned in Col. ii. 16, 21, but not circumcision, as the word ἀκροβύστου shows. Though circumcision was insisted upon by the earliest Judaizers (see Gal. v. 2 sq, vi. 12 sq), this requirement was soon dropped as impracticable. In the *Clementine Homilies* for instance, notwithstanding their strong Judaic tendencies, nothing is said about it. Thus the heresy combated by Ignatius was only an ἰουδαϊσμὸς ἀπὸ μέρους, as Epiphanius describes the Judaism of Cerinthus (*Haer.* xxviii. 1).

1. χριστιανισμόν] See the note on *Magn.* 10.

ἀκροβύστου] Though the word ἀκροβυστία occurs many times in S. Paul (see also Acts xi. 3), ἀκρόβυστος is not once found in the N. T. Nor does it occur in the LXX, though found in other of the Hexaplaric Versions, Exod. vi. 12, Josh. v. 7.

2. ἀμφότεροι] i.e. whether περιτομὴν ἔχων or ἀκρόβυστος.

περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 6.

3. στῆλαί κ. τ. λ.] Comp. Matt. xxiii. 27 παρομοιάζετε τάφοις κεκονιαμένοις. So old men are styled τύμβοι, Eur. *Med.* 1209, *Heracl.* 168, Arist. *Lys.* 372; comp. Lucian *Dial. Mort.* vi. 2 ἔμψυχόν τινα τάφον; and σορός, e.g. Athen. xiii. p. 580. So too the Latin 'sepulcrum,' Plaut. *Pseud.* i. 4. 19. The closest parallel however

ἐξασθενήσετε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ. εὐχαριστῶ δὲ τῷ Θεῷ μου, ὅτι εὐσυνείδητός εἰμι ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τις καυχήσασθαι οὔτε λάθρα οὔτε φανερῶς, ὅτι ἐβάρησά τινα ἐν μικρῷ ἢ ἐν μεγάλῳ. καὶ πᾶσι δέ, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησα, εὔχομαι ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτὸ κτήσωνται.

δὲ)] om. gA (but A omits καὶ also). 12 μαρτύριον] G; μαρτυρίαν g. κτήσωνται] g; *possideant* L; κτίσωνται G; *fiat iis* A. So in *Trall.* 8 G has ἀνακτίσασθε for ἀνακτήσασθε.

is in Laberius (Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 7) 'sepulcri similis nil nisi nomen retineo,' quoted by Voss; comp. also Lucian *Tim.* 5 ἦν που καὶ ὁδῷ βαδίζων ἐντύχω τινὶ αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ τινὰ στήλην παλαιοῦ νεκροῦ ὑπτίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἀνατετραμμένην παρέρχονται μηδὲ ἀναγνόντες. So Jerome (*Op.* VI. p. 105), referred to by Ussher, explains στῆλαι in the LXX, Hos. x. 1, of the heretics, because 'terrae suae bona verterunt in titulos mortuorum, quia omnis doctrina eorum non ad viventes refertur, sed ad mortuos etc.' The Pythagoreans used to erect 'cenotaphs' (Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 12, iii. 51) to those who were untrue to the principles and practice of their school; comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 9 (p. 680) στήλην ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι οἷα νεκρῷ, Iambl. *Vit. Pythag.* 17 στήλην δή τινα τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ μνημεῖον ...χώσαντες, a practice to which Zahn directs attention in his note. The false teachers in Ignatius however are compared not to the dead, but to the sepulchres themselves.

5. φεύγετε κ.τ.λ.] See *Polyc.* 5 τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεῦγε (with the note).

τοῦ ἄρχοντος κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 17.

6. θλιβέντες κ.τ.λ.] '*worn out*, wearied, *by his suggestions*.'

7. ἐξασθενήσετε] '*grow weak*'; comp. Matt. xxiv. 12 ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν, Apoc. ii. 4 τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν πρώτην ἀφῆκες.

ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ.] '*meet together*,' i.e. for public worship and the eucharist; comp. 4 σπουδάσατε μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι. For ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ comp. *Trall.* 13.

9. εὐσυνείδητος] See *Magn.* 4 with the note.

10. ὅτι ἐβάρησα κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. xi. 9 ἐν παντὶ ἀβαρῆ ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐτήρησα, xii. 16 ἐγὼ οὐ κατεβάρησα ὑμᾶς (v. l. κατενάρκησα), 1 Thess. ii. 9 πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν (comp. 2 Thess. iii. 8). See also the protest of Samuel, 2 Sam. xii. 3 τίνα κατεδυνάστευσα ὑμῶν ἢ τίνα ἐξεπίασα ὑμῶν; Hefele supposes that Ignatius refers to the yoke of Jewish ordinances: but he was extremely unlikely to be charged with imposing such a burden. The parallel of S. Paul's language would rather suggest that he is speaking of using his position and authority tyrannically, whether (as in S. Paul's case) to burden them with his maintenance, or (as the following words suggest) to overawe and crush any free expression of opinion. This apology obviously implies that he had heard of such accusations brought against him at Philadelphia. The report was probably conveyed to him by Philo and Agathopus (§ 11). See Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 266 sq.

11. καὶ πᾶσι δέ κ.τ.λ.] '*yea, and for all those among whom I spoke, I*

VII. *Εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα μέ τινες ἠθέλησαν πλανῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ὄν· οἶδεν γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ*

1 καί] GLA; om. g. τινες ἠθέλησαν] GL; ἠθέλησάν τινες g. 2 τὸ πνεῦμα] GLA; add. μου [g]. 4 ἐκραύγασα] GLAg* (but some texts of g add γάρ); add. *igitur* S_1. μεταξὺ ὤν] GLS_1A; μεταξὺ ὢν g* (vulg.): see the lower note. 5 Θεοῦ φωνῇ] LS_1A; paraphrased οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ θεοῦ g; om. G. 6 διακόνοις] G; τοῖς διακόνοις g. οἱ δ' κ.τ.λ.] οἱ δὲ πτέσαντές με ὡς προειδότα τὸν μερισμόν τινων λέγειν ταῦτα· μάρτυς δέ μοι κ.τ.λ. G; *quidam autem suspicati* (add. *sunt* L_2) *me ut praescientem divisionem quorundam dicere haec; testis autem mihi* etc L; *et sunt quidam qui cogitaverunt de me quod tanquam cognoverim divisiones quorundam haec dixerim;*

pray that they may not find my words *a testimony against them*'; comp. *Trall.* 12 (with the note). For the dative with εὔχεσθαι see the references in Rost u. Palm s. v.

VII. 'Though certain persons attempted to deceive me in the flesh, yet the Spirit is not deceived. It knows its own movements, and it penetrates into the most secret recesses. When I was among you, I told you plainly, speaking with the voice of God, to give heed to your bishop and presbyters and deacons. Some men suspect that I said this, knowing the dissensions which impended. But indeed I did not learn it of flesh and blood; the Spirit cried aloud, saying, "Do nothing without the bishop; defile not your bodies which are the temples of God; cherish unity; avoid dissensions; be imitators of Jesus Christ, as He was of His Father."'

1. ἠθέλησαν κ.τ.λ.] '*desired to lead me astray*,' i.e. 'to impose upon me by their deceit'; comp. *Magn.* 3 οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις κ.τ.λ. Markland's interpretation of πλανῆσαι 'deceptorem esse' (i.e. 'would make me out a deceiver') is refuted by the following οὐ πλανᾶται, and indeed by the whole context. It is vain to speculate on the circumstance to which Ignatius alludes. The expression κατὰ σάρκα points to some deceit practised upon him (and perhaps successfully) in the common affairs of life; comp. esp. *Ephes.* 8 ἃ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα πράσσετε, *Rom.* 9 τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα. In this province they might deceive him, but in the sphere of the Spirit no deception was possible. The obscurity of the allusion is a strong testimony to the genuineness of the letter.

2. τὸ πνεῦμα] i.e. 'the Spirit which is working in me.'

3. οἶδεν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] John iii. 8 οὐκ οἶδας πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, said of the wind, as the symbol of the Spirit. The coincidence is quite too strong to be accidental. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that the passage in the Gospel is prior to the passage in Ignatius. The application in the Gospel is natural. The application in Ignatius is strained and secondary; nor is his language at all explicable, except as an adaptation of a familiar passage. 'Though no one else can trace the movements of the Spirit,' Ignatius would say, 'yet the Spirit knows full well its own movements.'

καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 Cor. ii. 10 τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐραυνᾷ, xiv.

κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει. ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὤν, ἐλάλουν μεγάλῃ φωνῇ, Θεοῦ φωνῇ· Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις. οἱ δ' ὑποπτεύσαντές

testatur autem nobis etc S_1; *et sunt quidam qui cogitaverunt de me quomodo cognovi ego divisiones quorundam et dixi hoc; testatur mihi* etc A; εἰ δὲ ὑποπτεύετέ με ὡς προμαθόντα τὸν μερισμόν τινων λέγειν ταῦτα, μάρτυς μοι κ.τ.λ. g* (but l has *hi vero despexerunt me* etc, thus showing that the earlier reading of g more closely followed G). It seems clear that the original of all these was οἱ δ' ὑποπτεύσαντές με ὡς προειδότα τὸν μερ. τιν. λέγ. ταῦτα, μάρτυς δέ μοι κ.τ.λ. G has preserved this with the corruption of πτέσαντες for ὑποπτεύσαντες; L has translated it literally (for the *sunt* of L_2 is obviously a later addition); S_1 (followed by A) has set the syntax straight; and g (as it now stands) has paraphrased the sentence, mending the grammar at the same time. See the lower note.

25 τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται, Ephes. v. 12, 13 μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐλέγχετε· τὰ γὰρ κρυφῆ γινόμενα κ.τ.λ.

4. ἐκραύγασα] For the expression see Joh. xi. 43 φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκραύγασεν: comp. Tatian *Orat.* 17 κεκραγότος ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου Κατακούσατέ μου, and see the note on *Ephes.* 19 μυστήρια κραυγῆς. Bunsen (*Ign.* p. 73) translates ἐκραύγασα 'Ich schrieb einen Brief,' and suggests that the writer alludes to passages in the letter to Polycarp (I suppose to § 4, 6). By such free renderings anything may be made of anything. Moreover the letter to Polycarp does not profess to be written from Philadelphia, but from Troas.

μεταξὺ ὤν] '*when I was among you.*' It is evident from the whole context that Ignatius had himself visited Philadelphia. He must therefore have taken the northern road through Sardis to Smyrna, instead of the southern which would have led him to Ephesus on his way thither (see above, p. 241). Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 268) adopts the reading μεταξὺ ὢν ἐλάλουν, 'in the midst of my discourse,' which is found in the common text of the Long Recension, and is rendered (though incorrectly) in the Latin Version of the same, 'inter eos quibus loquebar.' The Greek MSS however of the Long Recension do not altogether support this reading; while in the Greek MS of the uninterpolated text, and in all the Versions of it (Syrian, Armenian, Latin), it is consistently read μεταξὺ ὤν, ἐλάλουν. The change of tense ἐκραύγασα, ἐλάλουν, is no serious objection to this latter reading, which is otherwise much more natural.

5. Θεοῦ φωνῇ] The words are omitted in the Greek MS by homœoteleuton, as in a parallel instance *Trall.* 7. The paraphrase of the interpolator, οὐκ ἐμὸς κ.τ.λ. (see the critical note), gives the right sense. For a similar claim where the writer declares himself to be speaking with the voice of God, see Clem. Rom. 59 (with the note).

Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Polyc.* 6 τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε...ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις.

6. οἱ δ' ὑποπτεύσαντες κ.τ.λ.] '*but these persons suspecting me.*' There is no authority for any earlier form of the text than this; see the critical note. We must therefore suppose,

με, ὡς προειδότα τὸν μερισμόν τινων, λέγειν ταῦτα. μάρτυς δέ μοι ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἔγνων· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν, λέγον τάδε· Χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε· τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε· τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀγαπᾶτε· τοὺς μερι- 5
σμοὺς φεύγετε· μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

1 *ὡς προειδότα*] GL; *ὡς προμαθόντα* g. Zahn supposes that the reading of S_1A (see the last note) was *ὥσπερ εἰδότα*, and adopts this reading. But the omission of the preposition in rendering *προωρισμένη Ephes.* inscr. (ΣA), and *προορῶν Trall.* 8 (A), renders the inference somewhat doubtful. And, even if it were certain, this reading does not seem so well supported, or so good in itself, as *ὡς προειδότα*. 2 *δέ*] GLS_1; om. [A] [g] [Antioch 14] [Dam-Rup 5]: see the last note. *μοι*] GL[A]g Antioch; *μου* Dam-Rup; *nobis* (לי for לו) S_1. *ἐν ᾧ*] GLS_1A Antioch Dam-Rup; *δι' ὃν* g: see the note on *Magn.* 5. *ἀπὸ σαρκὸς*

either that some word such as *ἠτιῶντο* has fallen out, or that the sentence is an anacoluthon. This latter seems the more probable hypothesis. For similar instances, where in the hurry of dictating under pressure of circumstances sentences are left unfinished, see the notes, *Ephes.* 1 Ἀποδεξάμενος κ.τ.λ. Otherwise we might adopt Zahn's conjecture, *εἰ δὲ ὑπώπτευσάν τινές με* κ.τ.λ., thus making *μάρτυς δέ μοι* the apodosis..

2. *ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι*] See § 5 with the note.

ἀπὸ σαρκὸς κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xvi. 17 *σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψεν* κ.τ.λ.

3. *λέγον* κ.τ.λ.] See *Rom.* 7 *ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον, Δεῦρο* κ.τ.λ. (with the note). If the masculine *λέγων* be correct here, it may be compared with *ἐκεῖνος* in Joh. xvi. 13, 14; but no dependence can be placed on the reading in such a case. There is the same v. l. also in *Rom.* 7. The passage has been misunderstood to mean that 'an apocryphal writing is quoted as Holy Scripture' (*Supernatural Religion* I. p. 273, ed. 2: see Westcott *Canon* p. 60, ed. 4). Ignatius is plainly speaking throughout this passage of a spiritual revelation to himself.

4. *Χωρὶς* κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Magn.* 7.

τὴν σάρκα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. 9 *δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα*, with the note. See also the notes on *Ephes.* 9, 15.

5. *ἕνωσιν*] Comp. *Polyc.* 1 *τῆς ἑνώσεως φρόντιζε*, and see the note on *Magn.* 1.

τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε] Comp. § 2 above (with the note), and *Smyrn.* 8.

6. *μιμηταὶ* κ.τ.λ.] i.e. of His *ἐπιείκεια*; comp. *Ephes.* 10, and see the note on *μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ Ephes.* 1.

VIII. 'I therefore did my best to promote union. Where dissension is, there God has no dwelling-place. Now the Lord will forgive all who repent and return to the unity of God and to fellowship with the bishop. I have faith in the grace of Christ, who will shake off your chains; but I exhort you to do nothing in a sectarian spirit. I heard

VIII. *Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴδιον ἐποίουν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἕνωσιν κατηρτισμένος. οὗ δὲ μερισμός ἐστιν καὶ ὀργή, Θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ. πᾶσιν οὖν μετανοοῦσιν ἀφίει ὁ Κύριος, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἑνότητα Θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. πιστεύω τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς λύσει ἀφ' ὑμῶν πάντα δεσμόν· παρακαλῶ δὲ*

ἀνθρωπίνης] GL Antioch Dam-Rup; *ab hominibus* S_1A; *ἀπὸ στόματος ἀνθρώπου* g. 3 *ἐκήρυσσεν*] G Antioch [Dam-Rup]; *clamabat* S_1A; *praedicavit* L; *ἐκήρυξέ μοι* g. *λέγον*] Antioch; *λέγων* Gg* (some MSS; but v. l. *λέγον*); *dicens* L; *et dicebat* S_1A; om. Dam-Rup: see the lower note. 4 *τοῦ*] G Antioch; om. g Dam-Rup. 5 *τηρεῖτε*] g Dam-Rup; *τηρῆτε* G. 6 *καί*] GLA[g]; om. Dam-Rup. 10 *μετανοοῦσιν*] G; *τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν* g. 11 *Κύριος*] GL*A; *ὁ θεὸς* g. *συνέδριον*] G; *συνεδρείαν* (or *συνεδρίαν*) g*; *concilium* L; *coetus* A. 13 *ὃς*] GL; *ὅτι* g; *quod is* A. *ὑμῶν*] GLA; *ἡμῶν* g*. *δὲ*] G; *autem* L; *οὖν* g (but *autem* l); om. A.

some persons saying *I will not believe it, unless I find it in the charters.* I said to them, *It is so written.* They answered, *You are begging the question.* But to me the charter, the inviolable charter, is Jesus Christ and His Cross, His Death and His Ascension, and faith through Him. In these I hope to be justified through your prayers.'

8. *τὸ ἴδιον*] '*my own part*'; as e.g. Isocr. *Archid.* 8 (p. 117) *εἰ δεῖ τοὐμὸν ἴδιον εἰπεῖν*, Lucian *de Merc. Cond.* 9 *ὡς ἔγωγε τοὐμὸν ἴδιον κ.τ.λ.*, passages quoted in the lexicons.

9. *κατηρτισμένος*] '*settled.*' The Latin translator here, as elsewhere, has rendered it 'perfectus,' as if *ἀπηρτισμένος*. On the meaning of *καταρτίζειν* 'to settle, reconcile, pacify,' see the note on *Ephes.* 2.

11. *εἰς ἑνότητα Θεοῦ*] Comp. § 9 below, *Smyrn.* 12, *Polyc.* 8, where the same expression occurs. See also the note on *ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ Magn.* 6. The *ἑνότης* here is the result of the *ἕνωσις* mentioned just before. For the abridged expression *μετανοεῖν εἰς ἑνότητα* comp. *Smyrn.* 5 *μετανοήσωσιν εἰς τὸ πάθος*, and see the note on *Ephes.* 1 *δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας.*

συνέδριον κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'the bishop with his council of presbyters as assessors.' In *Apost. Const.* ii. 28 the presbyters are styled *σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στέφανος· ἔστι γὰρ συνέδριον καὶ βουλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.* See the notes on *Magn.* 6, 13, *Trall.* 3. A civil *συνέδριον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* at Philadelphia is mentioned *C. I. G.* 3417 (comp. 3422).

13. *λύσει κ.τ.λ.*] Is. lviii. 6 *λύε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας*, from which passage the interpolator has substituted *σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας* for *δεσμόν* here. The passage of Isaiah is quoted, Barnab. 3, Justin *Apol.* i. 37 (p. 77), *Dial.* 15 (p. 233), Iren. iv. 17. 3, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 18 (p. 470), *Apost. Const.* ii. 53, viii. 5, and seems to have been a very favourite citation in the early Church. In the original the 'bonds of wickedness' refer to the oppression of the weak, and apparently in a literal sense to the chains of slaves and of debtors. In the LXX however it may be a question whether *σύνδεσμον* is not in-

ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν κατ' ἐρίθειαν πράσσετε ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν. ἐπεὶ ἤκουσά τινων λεγόντων ὅτι Ἐὰν μὴ ἐν

1 *πράσσετε*] g; *facite* A; *πράσσειν* GL: see the lower note. *χριστομαθίαν*] G; *χριστομαθείαν* g* (with a v. l. *-μαθίαν*). There is no authority of any value for *χρηστομαθείαν*. All all render *χριστο-* not *χρηστο-*. 2 *ἐπεὶ*

tended to mean 'a conspiracy' (comp. ver. 9 *σύνδεσμον καὶ χειροτονίαν*), as it is used in Jer. xi. 9 and elsewhere in the LXX. In *Apost. Const.* ii. 53 *ἐξακολούθει τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου νόμῳ Λύε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας· ἐπὶ σοὶ γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ὁ σωτὴρ ἔθετο ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας κ.τ.λ.*, *ib.* viii. 5 *λύειν δὲ πάντα σύνδεσμον κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*, it is understood of the remission of sins (comp. Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18). There may or may not be an allusion to this passage of Isaiah here. In any case it seems to refer to the power of evil generally, as in the words of the collect 'though we be tied and bound with the chain of our sins, yet let the pitifulness of Thy great mercy loose us.' Hilgenfeld however refers it to the oppressive yoke of Judaism; Uhlhorn to the overbearingness of the heretical teachers. See also the note on *Ephes.* 19 *ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς κ.τ.λ.*

1. *κατ' ἐρίθειαν*] '*in a sectarian spirit.*' From Phil. ii. 3 *μηδὲν κατὰ ἐρίθειαν μηδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν*: see the note on § 1, where the other member of S. Paul's sentence appears. For the meaning of *ἐρίθεια*, '*partisanship*,' '*factiousness*,' see the note *Galatians* v. 20.

πράσσετε] See the note on *Trall.* 6.

χριστομαθίαν] So *χριστομαθής*, Modest. *Encom. in B. Virg.* 1 *ὅσοι φιλομαθεῖς ἦγουν χριστομαθεῖς* (*Patrol. Graec.* LXXXVI. p. 3080, a reference given in E. A. Sophocles s.v.); comp. *χριστόνομος Rom.* inscr.

2. *ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις*] '*in the archives.*' For *ἀρχεῖον* comp. Dion. Hal. *A. R.* ii. 26 *μέχρι τῆς εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα* (v. l. *ἀρχαῖα*) *τὰ δημόσια ἐγγραφῆς*, Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 20 *ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις* (v. l. *ἀρχαίοις*) *τῶν Φοινίκων*, *B. J.* ii. 17. 6 *τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα ἔφερον, ἀφανίσαι σπεύδοντες τὰ συμβόλαια κ.τ.λ.*, Apollon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18 *τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχεῖον*, African. in Euseb. *H. E.* i. 7 *ἀναγράπτων εἰς τότε ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις ὄντων τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γενῶν*, Euseb. *H. E.* i. 13 *τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεισῶν*. The word occurs in the following inscriptions found at Smyrna itself; *C. I. G.* 3137, 3264, 3266, 3281, 3282, 3286, 3295, 3318, 3335, 3349, 3356, 3382, 3386, 3394, 3400. It signifies originally 'the government house,' 'the magistrates' office.' Hence it comes to mean 'the record-office'; and hence, like the English word 'archives,' it is used indifferently of the place where the documents are kept and the collection of documents themselves; nor is it always easy to separate the one meaning from the other. The word is naturalised in Chaldee (see Levy *Lex. Chald.* s. v. ארכיון) and in Syriac (see Payne Smith *Thes. Syr.* s. v. ܐܪܟܝܘܢ). The meaning here is as follows. The opponents of Ignatius refuse to defer to any modern writings, whether Gospels or Epistles, as a standard of truth; they will submit only to such documents as have been preserved in the archives of the Jews, or in other words, only to the Old

τοῖς ἀρχείοις εὕρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω· καὶ

ἤκουσα] G; *quia audivi* L; ἤκουσα γάρ g; *sed quoniam audivi* A. 3 ἀρχείοις] g; *scripturis antiquis* (*prioribus*) A; ἀρχαίοις G; *veteribus* L. ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ] GL; τὸ εὐαγγέλιον or τοῦ εὐαγγέλιου g*. A also seems to have read τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, for it translates *si in scripturis antiquis non laudatur* (*glorificatur*) *evangelium, non credimus ei.*

Testament Scriptures. Thus the ἀρχεῖα and the εὐαγγέλιον are opposed as the Old Testament and the New, so that the antithesis is similar to that in [*Clem. Rom.*] ii. 14 τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι. A wholly different interpretation however has not uncommonly been given to the passage, e.g. by Voss (apparently), Smith, and several later writers; τὰ ἀρχεῖα being explained as referring to the original autographs or authentic MSS of the Evangelical writings, with which is contrasted τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, the Gospel as written and preached in Ignatius' time. In other words his antagonists are represented as complaining that the Gospels had been tampered with; comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 7 ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας (quoted by Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 379), where however the words perhaps refer rather to misinterpretation than to corruption of our Lord's sayings. But this restriction of εὐαγγέλιον is unnatural; and altogether the interpretation is unsuited to the age and character of these Judaizing antagonists. Nor again is it easily reconcilable with γέγραπται.

There can be no doubt, I think, that ἀρχείοις ought to be read here; as by Voss, Cotelier, Smith, Rothe (*Anfänge* p. 339), and others. For (1) The argument requires that the same form should stand in all the three places; and, if this be so, there can be no question which word should be preferred on external authority. For ἀρχεῖα alone is read in the second and third places, while even in the first the weight of authority is in favour of ἀρχείοις rather than ἀρχαίοις. (2) While τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχεῖα, 'the inviolable archives,' is an intelligible phrase, no very satisfactory meaning can be attached to τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχαῖα. (3) It is more probable that the more usual word ἀρχαίοις should be substituted for the less usual ἀρχείοις than conversely, as indeed we find to have been done elsewhere. For the common substitution of ἀρχαῖα for ἀρχεῖα see Wyttenbach on Plut. *Mor.* p. 218 C. On the other hand Credner (*Beiträge* I. p. 15) reads ἀρχαίοις, ἀρχαῖα, ἀρχαῖα, consistently, and so Hefele (in his later editions), Dressel, Hilgenfeld (*A. V.* p. 236), and others.

Some of those who retain ἀρχαίοις take it as a masculine, 'the ancient writers' (comp. Matt. v. 21, 27, 33); and Markland even proposes at the second occurrence of the word to read ἀρχαῖοί ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, comparing the line quoted in Pliny *Ep.* iv. 27 'Unus Plinius est mihi *priores*'; but he does not say what he would do with the third passage τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχεῖα. The view of Bull (*Works* VI. p. 208, ed. Burton), that ἀρχαῖοι signifies 'the old rabbis or doctors,' has nothing to recommend it.

3. ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ κ.τ.λ.] The construction is, if I mistake not, '*Unless I find it* (the point at issue) *in the archives, I do not believe it* (because it appears) *in the Gospel.*' The parallelism demands this. [This

λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς ὅτι Γέγραπται, ἀπεκρίθησάν μοι ὅτι Πρόκειται. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρχεῖά ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχεῖα ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ

2 Πρόκειται] GL, and so too [g*] (but with a v. l. προκρίνεται); *superfluum est* A. ἀρχεῖα] Gg; *principium* L; *scriptura prior* A. Ἰησοῦς Χριστός] G; *Iησοῦς ὁ χριστὸς* g. 3 ἄθικτα] ἄθηκτα G; *inapproximabilia* L; *qui non*

construction I find is supported by Hilgenfeld *Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* XVII. p. 116; but he reads ἀρχαίοις for ἀρχείοις.] On the other hand the passage seems to be almost universally taken, '*Unless I find it* (i.e. the Gospel) *in the archives* (or *in the ancients*), *I do not believe in the Gospel*,' with the very rare construction which occurs Mark i. 15 πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. A third interpretation is adopted by Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 378 sq, and *ad loc.*) after Holsten (in Dressel, p. 180), '*Unless I find it in the archives*, that is, *in the Gospel, I do not believe it*'; but the Greek order and parallelism are strongly against this mode of breaking up the sentence; not to say that the apposition of the ἀρχεῖα with the Gospel is in itself an anachronism. Zahn takes the view that these objectors appeal to the original documents of the New Testament, as evidence for the true Gospel.

1. Γέγραπται] i.e. 'in the Old Testament Scriptures,' as *Ephes.* 5, *Magn.* 12, according to the common use of γέγραπται in the N. T.; comp. Clem. Rom. 4, 14, 17, 29, 36, etc. Though it is not impossible that Ignatius might have applied γέγραπται to some Evangelical or Apostolical writings (as e.g. Barnab. 4; comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 12), yet quite independently of the requirements of the context the word would refer much more naturally to the Old Testament. Ignatius meets these objectors on their own ground; they ask for proof from 'the charters' (τοῖς ἀρχείοις), and he points to the passages in the Old Testament.

What the points at issue were, the following words ὁ σταυρὸς κ.τ.λ. will suggest. The old question εἰ παθητὸς ὁ Χριστός (Acts xxvi. 23; comp. Justin. *Dial.* 36, 76, pp. 254, 302) had still to be discussed. The Cross was still a stumbling-block to these Docetic Judaizers, as it had been in the Apostolic age to the Jews, though from a different point of view. They denied the reality of Christ's birth and death and resurrection; see the note on *Trall.* 9. It was therefore necessary to show from the Hebrew Scriptures, not only (as in the Apostolic age) ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν (Acts xvii. 3; comp. Luke xxiv. 26, 46, Acts iii. 18), but also that He 'must needs' have been born in the flesh.

2. Πρόκειται] '*This is the question before us, this remains to be proved*': comp. Arist. *Eccl.* 401 περὶ σωτηρίας προκειμένου, Dion. Hal. *Ars Rhet.* vii. 5 (p. 274) οὗ περὶ αὐτοῦ νῦν πρόκειται, Plut. *Mor.* p. 875 A, Galen *Op.* v. p. 126, *Clem. Hom.* xix. 12 νῦν ἀποδεῖξαί μοι πρόκειται (comp. *ib.* v. 8, xix. 13), Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 8 (p. 676) πρόκειται δ' ἡμῖν τί ποιοῦντες...ἀφικοίμεθα (comp. *Strom.* i. 10, p. 344, ii. 21, p. 500, vi. 15, p. 801, vii. 1, 10, pp. 829, 867), Athenag. *Suppl.* 18 οὐ γὰρ προκείμενόν μοι ἐλέγχειν, Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 22, ii. 3, iii. 1, iv. 38, 52, 53, 60, v. 2, vi. 19, 41, 51, vii. 2, 30, 48, and so

ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ· ἐν οἷς θέλω ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν δικαιωθῆναι.

rapitur A (attaching it to Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς and omitting ἀρχεῖα). In the corresponding place g* has ἄθικτον, for which some texts substitute αὐθεντικόν. ἀρχεῖα] G; *principia* L; om. A; ἀρχεῖον [g]. 4 ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ] GL; ἡ περὶ τούτων g; *ejus* A.

frequently. Hence τὸ προκείμενον 'the subject under discussion'; e.g. Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 22, 35, Epict. iv. 1. 46, *Clem. Hom.* xix. 1, Clem. Al. *Quis div. salv.* 26 (p. 950), Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 24, 44, iv. 21, v. 1, vi. 1, viii. 16, 65; and τὰ προκείμενα Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2. 5. Many other interpretations have been adopted; e.g. by Pearson 'It stands already written' (comparing Athen. xiv. p. 646 πρόκειται τὸ μαρτύριον), and so Bull (in the passage cited below) as an alternative, as also several later writers; by Bull (*Works* VI. p. 208) 'It is rejected by us'; by Credner (*Beiträge* I. p. 16) 'It is obvious,' 'So ist die Sache ausgemacht,' and so other writers; by Hug (*Introd. to the N. T.* I. p. 105) 'This is to be preferred' (comparing Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh.* i. 8); together with others which it is unnecessary to give. All these fail, either as forcing a meaning on πρόκειται which is alien to it, or as yielding a sense which is unsuited to the context. The emendation of Voss, who inserts a negative, ὅτι οὐ πρόκειται, and the conjecture of Pearson (see Smith p. 84), who substitutes οὗτι for ὅτι, may likewise be dismissed, notwithstanding the great names of their authors. They do not gain any support from the language of the interpolator, οὐ γὰρ πρόκειται (v. l. προκρίνεται) τὰ ἀρχεῖα τοῦ πνεύματος, but just the contrary; for this language is put by him into the mouth, not of the objectors, but of Ignatius himself. It is clear therefore that the interpolator read in his text πρόκειται, which he interpreted, '*The archives* (i.e. the Old Testament Scriptures) *are to be preferred*,' and he makes Ignatius answer the objectors accordingly.

ἐμοὶ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'Though I have condescended to argue, though I have accepted their appeal to the Old Testament Scriptures, yet to myself such an appeal is superfluous: Jesus Christ *is* the archives; He contains in Himself the documentary proofs of His person and mission': comp. *Clem. Recogn.* i. 59 'non ideo credendum esse Jesu, quia de eo prophetae praedixerint, sed ideo magis credendum esse prophetis, quod vere prophetae sint, quia eis testimonium Christus reddat, etc.'

3. ἄθικτα] '*inviolable*'; an appropriate epithet of ἀρχεῖα, being used especially of sacrosanct places and things.

5. ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ κ. τ. λ.] i.e. 'through your prayers'; compare *Ephes.* 20 with the note.

δικαιωθῆναι] Comp. *Rom.* 5.

IX. 'The priests deserve respect, I allow; but much more the High-priest. He alone is entrusted with the holiest things of all, the hidden mysteries of God. He Himself is that door of the Father, through whom patriarchs and prophets and apostles and the whole Church must alike enter into the unity of God. But the Gospel has the pre-eminence in that it sets forth the advent, the passion, the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The prophets indeed fore-

IX. *Καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς· κρεῖσσον δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ· αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρός, δι' ἧς εἰσέρχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ*

1 *καὶ*] GL; *μὲν* g: om. A. *κρεῖσσον*] GL; *κρείσσων* g* (though some MSS read *κρείσσω*); dub. A. 3 *αὐτὸς ὢν*] GL; *οὗτός ἐστιν* [g] (but the whole context is changed); *et hic est* A (but A commonly changes participles into finite verbs). 4 *εἰσέρχονται*] GLA; *εἰσῆλθον* [g]. 6 *Θεοῦ*]

told Him; but the Gospel is the crown and completion of immortality. All things together are good, if your faith is joined with love.'

1. *Καλοὶ καὶ κ.τ.λ.*] The contrast here is between the Levitical priesthood, and the great High-priest of the Gospel, i.e. between the old and new dispensations. This is recognised by most commentators, and indeed is so directly demanded by the context, that it is strange any other interpretation should have been maintained. The interpolator however has altered the passage, so as to make a reference to the three orders of the Christian ministry, *Καλοὶ μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου διάκονοι, κρείσσων δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κ.τ.λ*, interpolating several words so as to disconnect *αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα* from *ἀρχιερεύς*, which he evidently intends to be understood of the Christian bishop. This has misled Cotelier, who interprets *ἱερεῖς* of the Christian presbyters, and so too others (e.g. Greenwood *Cathedra Petri* I. p. 73). Rothe (*Anfänge* I. p. 732) applies it to the Christians of Philadelphia generally, as the *ἱερεῖς* of the new dispensation (comp. Rev. i. 6, v. 10, xx. 6).

But what form of antagonism has the writer in view, when he says *καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς*? Is the statement *aggressive*, as against those who disparaged the Old Testament dispensation? or *concessive*, as towards those who rated it too highly? Were these antagonists Antijudaic or Judaic? The latter view alone seems consistent with the sequence of the writer's thoughts. There is no indication that the antagonists contemplated here are different from those mentioned in the previous context, who were plainly Judaizers; and moreover the stress of the sentence itself is not on the eminence of the Aaronic priesthood, but on the superior eminence of the High-priest and the Gospel.

κρεῖσσον] The neuter is justified by such passages as Matt. xii. 41, 42 *πλεῖον Ἰωνᾶ...Σολομῶνος*; comp. also Winer § lviii. p. 649 sq.

ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς] After the Epistle to the Hebrews, ii. 17, iii. 1, iv. 14, v. 5, 10, vi. 20, vii. 26, viii. 1, ix. 11; see esp. vii. 7, 19, 22, 23, 26, *ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος...ἐπεισαγωγὴ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος...κρείττονος διαθήκης...οἱ μὲν πλείονές εἰσιν ἱερεῖς γεγονότες διὰ τὸ θανάτῳ κωλύεσθαι παραμένειν, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ μένειν κ.τ.λ....τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν* [*καὶ*] *ἔπρεπεν ἀρχιερεύς*. For this term *ἀρχιερεύς* applied to Christ in early writers, see the note on Clem. Rom. 36; and to the references there given add *ib.* 61 *διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν*, Melito *Fragm.* 15 (Otto) 'in sacerdotibus princeps sacerdotum,' Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 12 (p. 93), *Strom.* iv. 23 (p.

5 Ἰακὼβ καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία. πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἑνότητα Θεοῦ. ἐξαίρετον δέ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος,

GA[g]. The reading of the MSS of L, *fidei*, is obviously corrupted from *dei*. The reminiscence of Ephes. iv. 13 would assist the corruption. *7 σωτῆρος*] LA[g]; om. G. Petermann inserts *σωτῆρος* after *παρουσίαν*, but this is solœcistic. Zahn places it as I have done; and this position is suggested by g, which has *τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*.

633), Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iii. 7 'verus summus sacerdos patris, Christus Jesus,' iv. 35 'authenticus pontifex Dei patris' (comp. iv. 9).

2. *ὁ πεπιστευμένος κ.τ.λ.*] The reference is to the special privilege of the high-priest, who alone was allowed to enter into the holy of holies, as in Heb. ix. 7—12, x. 19 sq. This coincidence, combined with those noticed in the preceding note, shows, I think, that Ignatius must have had the Epistle to the Hebrews in his mind.

ὃς κ.τ.λ.] '*for He alone etc.*' This clause explains the symbolism of 'being entrusted with the holy of holies.' The furniture of the adytum, the ark of the covenant, the pot of manna, the rod of Aaron, the tables of the law, etc, which were committed to the keeping of the high-priest alone, represent the secret counsels of God; comp. Heb. ix. 3 sq.

3. *αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα*] 'He not only enters into the presence-chamber of the Father, but is Himself the door'; doubtless an allusion to John x. 9 *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα· δι' ἐμοῦ ἐάν τις εἰσέλθῃ, σωθήσεται.* For similar references to Christ, as the door or gate, see the note on Clem. Rom. 48. See especially the allegory in Hermas *Sim.* ix. 12. It is worth observing also that this image occurs in the message to the Philadelphian Church, Rev. iii. 8 *ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἀνεῳγμένην κ.τ.λ.*

4. *Ἀβραὰμ κ.τ.λ.*] For the manner in which Ignatius regards the privileges of the Gospel as extended to the patriarchs, etc, see the notes on § 5 above, and esp. on *Magn.* 9. In the allegory of Hermas those stones which represent the patriarchs and prophets, not less than those which represent the apostles, are carried through the gate for the building of the tower, i.e. the Church; *Sim.* ix. 4, 15.

6. *πάντα ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.*] '*All these* elements, whether they belong to the old dispensation or to the new, are brought *to the unity of God*,' i.e. all are united together in the same God through the same Christ; § 5 above, *πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν ἐν ἑνότητι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, where the idea is the same. For the expression *ἑνότης Θεοῦ* see the note on § 8.

ἐξαίρετον κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Smyrn.* 7 *ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῖν δεδήλωται καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τετελείωται.*

7. *τὴν παρουσίαν*] The reference is obviously to the first advent, the incarnation, though the word, when not specially defined, generally refers to the second advent. The word does not occur in this sense in the N. T., except possibly in 2 Pet. i. 16. See for instances elsewhere, *Test. Duod. Patr.* Levi 8, Juda 22, *Clem. Hom.* ii. 52, *Clem. Recogn.* i. 59 'praesentia et adventus Christi,' Iren. iv. 7. 1, iv. 10. 1 sq, Clem. Alex.

Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀνάστασιν. οἱ γὰρ ἀγαπητοὶ προφῆται κατήγγειλαν εἰς αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπάρτισμά ἐστιν ἀφθαρσίας. πάντα ὁμοῦ καλά ἐστιν, ἐὰν ἐν ἀγάπῃ πιστεύητε.

X. *Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν, καὶ κατὰ*

1 Κυρίου] GLA; om. [g]. αὐτοῦ] GLA (which translates it after τὴν ἀνάστασιν); αὐτὴν g. τὴν] g; καὶ τὴν GA (but A inserts *et* before τὸ πάθος also and otherwise alters the form of the sentence). In one MS of L *et* is inserted, in the other omitted. See the lower note. 2 κατήγγειλαν] G; *annunciaverunt* L; κατήγγελον [g] (MSS, but with a v. l.); *praedicaverunt* A. 4 πιστεύητε]

Strom. i. 5 (p. 331), i. 18 (p. 370). Early writers are careful to distinguish the two παρουσίαι of Christ; e.g. Justin *Apol.* i. 52 (p. 87), *Dial.* 14 (p. 232), 32 (p. 249); comp. *ib.* 49 (p. 268), 120 (p. 350); Iren. iv. 33. 1 sq; *Can. Murat.* p. 35 (ed. Tregelles); Tertull. *Apol.* 21; *Clem. Recogn.* i. 49, 69. The passages in the *Recognitions* I should have overlooked, but for Hesse *Das Murat. Fragm.* p. 112.

1. τὸ πάθος κ.τ.λ.] For the absence of conjunctions comp. *Polyc.* 6 τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις. The καὶ before τὴν ἀνάστασιν in the Greek MS of Ignatius is almost certainly an interpolation. It produces an almost impossible Greek sentence, and demands another καὶ before τὸ πάθος: see the notes on *Trall.* 7, 12. Whether we should read αὐτοῦ or αὐτὴν, is a less easy question; probably the former, both because it is better supported, and because αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν would emphasize the Resurrection as compared with the Passion, in a way which the language of Ignatius elsewhere does not justify, the chief stress being commonly laid on the Passion.

2. κατήγγειλαν εἰς] For this construction see the note on § 5.

3. ἀπάρτισμα ἀφθαρσίας] '*the completed work of immortality*,' as the law was the first stage; where ἀπάρτισμα corresponds to τετελείωται in the parallel passage, *Smyrn.* 7 quoted above. In 1 Kings vii. 9 (Symm.) ἀπαρτίσματα are the coping stones, the tops of the walls, commonly called θριγκοί. The word differs from ἀπαρτισμός (Luke xiv. 28), as the result from the operation. By ἀφθαρσία is meant the indestructible, eternal life, which is the object of the Gospel; comp. *Polyc.* 2 τὸ δὲ θέμα ἀφθαρσία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος, [Clem. Rom.] ii. 7 τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀγῶνα. The word however involves the idea of moral incorruption, which is inseparable from eternal life; see the notes on *Ephes.* 17, *Magn.* 6.

4. πάντα ὁμοῦ καλά] i.e. 'whether belonging to the old dispensation or the new'; comp. καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς κ.τ.λ., and πάντα ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.

X. 'Since the Church of Antioch has rest owing to your prayers and your Christian compassion, it is your duty to send a deacon thither, as God's ambassador, to congratulate them and to glorify Christ's name. Happy the man, who shall be entrusted with this office. The mission will redound to your glory. If you really desire to send such a person,

τὰ σπλάγχνα ἃ ἔχετε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀπηγγέλη μοι εἰρηνεύειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ὡς ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ, χειροτονῆσαι διάκονον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν, εἰς τὸ συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις καὶ δοξάσαι

G; *creditis* L; al. Ag. 5 κατὰ sec.] GL; om. g; al. A. 8 πρέπον] txt GLg; add. οὖν S_1A (but they alter the former part of the sentence). 9 διάκονον] GL; *ministrum aliquem* (*unum*) S_1; *aliquem bonum ministrum* A; ἐπίσκοπον g. 10 συγχαρῆναι] GLS_1A; συγχωρηθῆναι g. καὶ δοξάσαι] GLg; *et glorificent* S_1; *qui glorificant* A.

you will not find it impossible. The churches nearest to Syria have sent bishops, and others presbyters and deacons.'

5. Ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ.] When Ignatius wrote his four letters from Smyrna, he was still anxious about the Church of Antioch, and desired the prayers of his correspondents for its welfare; see the note on *Ephes.* 21. By the time that he arrived at Troas however, or soon after, he had heard that the persecution was ended, and in the three letters written from thence he charges his readers to send delegates to congratulate this church on the restoration of peace; comp. *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7. The words κατὰ τὴν κ.τ.λ. are connected, not with ἀπηγγέλη, but with εἰρηνεύειν.

6. τὰ σπλάγχνα] i.e. 'your Christian compassion and love'; comp. *Philippians* i. 8 ἐπιποθῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν σπλάγχνοις Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ (with the note).

7. τῆς Συρίας] As in *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7. So it is specified also *Clem. Hom.* xi. 36, xii. 1: see also e.g. *C. I. G.* 3425. The addition was not unneeded, though this was the principal place bearing the name; for Appian (*Syr.* 57) relates that Seleucus founded (ἔκτισεν) sixteen cities which he called Ἀντιόχεια after his father, and Steph. Byz. s. v. enumerates fourteen bearing the name. Ignatius however inserts such specifications where there was not this reason; see e.g. *Ephes.* inscr. ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας, *Smyrn.* inscr. ἐν Σμύρνῃ τῆς Ἀσίας, with the notes. This Antioch, the great Antioch, was not unfrequently called ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ (e.g. Strabo xv. 1. p. 719, xvi. 2. p. 749, Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 2. 1) or ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνης (Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* 21; comp. Plin. *N. H.* v. 18 'Epidaphnes cognominata') or ἡ πρὸς Δάφνην (Hierocl. *Synecd.* 711) or ἡ πρὸς Δάφνῃ (Mionnet v. p. 36 sq) or ἡ περὶ Δάφνην (Steph. Byz. s. vv. Ἄκρα, Μερόη); but the associations connected with the grove of Daphne would not recommend this designation to Ignatius; see I. p. 41 sq.

8. πρέπον ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ.] See the similar directions to the Smyrnæans in *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7.

9. Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν] A similar messenger is called θεοπρεσβύτης *Smyrn.* 11, θεοδρόμος *Polyc.* 7.

10. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ.] '*when they are assembled together*' in church; comp. § 6, and Ephes. 5, 13. The Latin translator has merely adopted the common Vulgate rendering of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό *in idipsum*, but commentators (e.g. Smith, Jacobson) have misapprehended it.

καὶ δοξάσαι] It is possible to con-

τὸ ὄνομα· μακάριος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς καταξιωθήσεται τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας· καὶ ὑμεῖς δοξασθήσεσθε. θέλουσιν δὲ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδύνατον ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Θεοῦ· ὡς καὶ αἱ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι ἔπεμψαν ἐπισκόπους, αἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους.

1 τὸ ὄνομα] GL; add. τοῦ θεοῦ g; add. *domini* S_1A. Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ] gA; ἰησοῦ χριστῷ GLS_1. καταξιωθήσεται] GL; κατηξιώθη g. A has a future, S_1 a present. 2 δοξασθήσεσθε] GLg; *glorificabitis* S_1; dub. A. 3 δὲ] GLg; om. S_1; *et* A. οὐκ ἔστιν] GL; *non est...hoc* S_1; *non quidquam est* A; οὐ πᾶσιν g. 4 καὶ αἱ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι] G; *et quaedam propinquae ecclesiae* L* (see appx); καὶ ἀεὶ αἱ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι g; *sanctae ecclesiae illae quae* S_1;

nect these words with either χειροτονῆσαι or πρεσβεῦσαι or συγχαρῆναι. The first mode of connexion is recommended by the subsequent clause καὶ ὑμεῖς δοξασθήσεσθε. The third is favoured by the proximity, and probably this consideration should prevail. The second has nothing to recommend it.

1. τὸ ὄνομα] '*the Name*'; see the note on *Ephes.* 3.

καταξιωθήσεται] See the note on *Ephes.* 20.

2. καὶ ὑμεῖς κ.τ.λ.] Perhaps to be connected closely with δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα, the intervening words μακάριος ...διακονίας being parenthetical; comp. e.g. § 11 εἰς λόγον τιμῆς· τιμήσει αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.

3. θέλουσιν δὲ κ.τ.λ.] 'Where there is a will, there is a way.' With ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Θεοῦ must be understood τοῦτο ποιεῖν, or words to this effect.

5. αἱ δὲ] '*but others*,' presumably those which were not so near and whose bishop could not be spared.

XI. 'Philo the deacon from Cilicia, who is assisting me in the Word, and Rhaius Agathopus, who follows me from Syria, bear witness to the kindly hospitality which they received from you. I am thankful for it, and I pray that God may requite you. May Christ's grace redeem those who treated them otherwise. Salutations from the brethren in Troas, whence I write to you by the hand of Burrhus, whom the Ephesians and Smyrnæans have sent with me to do honour to me. The Lord Jesus Christ in whom they trust will do honour to them. Farewell in Christ Jesus, our common hope.'

6. Περὶ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] The persons here mentioned had followed in the track of Ignatius. They would therefore pass through Philadelphia, as he had done (see § 1, 6, 7, with the notes). From Philadelphia they went to Smyrna, where also they were hospitably entertained (*Smyrn.* 10). It appears from the language of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans, that he had already left Smyrna, before they arrived. They therefore followed him to Troas. They were doubtless the bearers of the good news that the persecution at Antioch had ceased. They would probably also accompany him further; and, if so, they would be those companions of Ignatius about whom Polycarp enquires, *Phil.* § 13 'et de

XI. *Περὶ δὲ Φίλωνος τοῦ διακόνου ἀπὸ Κιλικίας, ἀνδρὸς μεμαρτυρημένου, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐν λόγῳ Θεοῦ ὑπηρετεῖ μοι, ἅμα Ῥαίῳ Ἀγαθόποδι, ἀνδρὶ ἐκλεκτῷ, ὃς*

sanctae ecclesiae quae A. Petermann supposes that this reading is to be explained by a confusion of ܩܕܝܫܬܐ *sanctae* and ܩܪܝܒܬܐ *propinquae*. It seems quite as likely however that ΑΓΙΑΙ may have been corrupted from ΚΑΙΑΙ, the word *ἔγγιστα* being omitted. 6 *ἀπὸ Κιλικίας ἀνδρὸς*] GLA; *ἀνδρὸς ἀπὸ κιλικίας* g. 7 Θεοῦ] GLA; om. g* (but 1 adds *dei*). 8 Ῥαίῳ Ἀγαθόποδι] see the lower note; *ρεω . ἀγαθόποδι* (with the interpunctuation) G; *reo agathopode* L; *reo fratre et agathopode* A; *γαίῳ* (or *γαΰτᾳ*) *καὶ ἀγαθόποδι* g*. See also *Smyrn.* 10, where L, in addition to Ag, inserts the conjunction.

ipso Ignatio et de his qui cum eo sunt [*τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ*] quod certius agnoveritis, significate'; see Pearson *V. I.* p. 171. In the opinion of those critics who maintain the genuineness of the Antiochene Martyrology, they were also the eye-witnesses and narrators of the saint's voyage and sufferings (§ 7 *τούτων αὐτόπται γενόμενοι*). So for instance Ussher (*App. Ign.* p. 54), Ruinart (*Act. Sinc. Mart.* p. 55, Ratisbon. 1859), Smith (p. 42, who says, 'vix a quoquam dubitari aut potest aut debet'), and many later writers. The first person however does not commence, as on this hypothesis it ought, at Troas, but off Puteoli (§ 5 *ἡμεῖς*); see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 42.

τοῦ διακόνου κ.τ.λ.] The Pseudo-Ignatius makes him a deacon of Tarsus, *Tars.* 10 *ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Φίλων ὁ διάκονος ὑμῶν* (a letter purporting to be written from Philippi). In the genuine Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 13, he sends a salutation to the Smyrnæans.

7. *ἀνδρὸς μεμαρτυρημένου*] The same phrase is used of the Seven in Acts vi. 3. On the meaning of *μεμαρτυρημένου* see the note on *Ephes.* 12.

ἐν λόγῳ Θεοῦ] i.e. 'the preaching of the Gospel,' as e.g. Acts vi. 2 *καταλείψαντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Col. i. 25 *πληρῶσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Rev. i. 9 *διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ*. In the parallel passage *Smyrn.* 10 *εἰς λόγον Θεοῦ* the expression has a wholly different sense. Zahn however treats the two phrases as equivalent and compares Phil. iv. 17, etc.

ὑπηρετεῖ] By doing the work of a deacon or attendant; comp. Acts xiii. 5 *εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην*.

8. *Ῥαίῳ*] I have ventured on this correction of the reading for two reasons. (1) I have not succeeded in finding the proper name Rheus elsewhere, whereas Raius (Raiius, Rahius) occurs several times *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* II. 1129, 4975[48], III. 6183, V. 4078, and the feminine Raia, *C. I. L.* II. 3499, III. 2400, 2502, V. 973; see also the indices to Vols. IX. X. (2) This form explains both the readings of the MSS. By a common itacism it would become Ῥέῳ, as in the MS of Ignatius; by a slight corruption, ΓΑΙΩΙ for ΡΑΙΩΙ, it would produce the Γαΐῳ of the interpolator's text. As Raius is a nomen, and Agathopus a cognomen, the combination is correct. In a Greek inscription at Palmyra (*C. I. G.* 4482) the name Ῥααῖος occurs.

Ἀγαθόποδι] A common name, more especially in the case of slaves and freedmen; see for Greek inscrip-

ἀπὸ Συρίας μοι ἀκολουθεῖ ἀποταξάμενος τῷ βίῳ· οἳ καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν ὑμῖν. κἀγὼ τῷ Θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἐδέξασθε αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁ Κύριος. οἱ

1 ἀποταξάμενος] GLA; ἀποταξάμενοι g. 2 ὑπὲρ] G; *pro* LA; περὶ g (substituting ὑπὲρ ὧν for ὅτι in the next clause). 4 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] gL; τοῦ ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ G; *domini nostri iesu christi* A. The reading of G seems to have arisen from the accidental omission of κυρίου ἡμῶν, for τοῦ ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ can hardly stand. 5 τῶν ἀδελφῶν] GAg; *multorum* L. 6 Βούρρου] G; *burrum* L; βούργου g (without any v. l.); A has *burdum* here, as also in *Ephes.* 2, *Smyrn.* 12. Petermann supposes that this is owing to a confusion in the Armenian letters for *d* and *g*, which closely resemble each other, so that the

tions, *C. I. G.* 268, 270, 1380, 2454, [2837], 2878, 3847 d, 3977, 4716 d, etc; Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* vi. 4 (p. 48); for Latin, *C. I. L.* II. 2431, 2864, 4463, 4550, III. 633, 1825, 2113, 3017, 3141, 3959, V. 744, 806, 1128, 1185, 1251, 6388, etc. In *C. I. L.* II. 4463 it is connected with other familiar names, CVRA . AGATHOPI . TROPHIMI.POLYCARPI.LIBERTORVM. As an early Christian name it appears in the Roman catacombs (de Rossi *Roma Sotterranea* II. p. 47 sq, III. p. 286 (?); comp. *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* Gennaro 1863), being sometimes confused with Agapetus. It is also used as the name of a confessor in the *Ancient Syrian Martyrology*, published by Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Jan. 1866 (from a MS itself dated A.D. 412), under Nisan (April) 4th. For an illustration of the meaning of Agathopus, comp. August. *Ep.* 17 ad Max. (II. p. 22) 'Namphanio [a Punic proper name] quid aliud significat quam boni pedis hominem, i.e. cujus adventus afferat aliquid felicitatis, sicut solemus dicere, secundo pede introisse, cujus introitum prosperitas aliqua consecuta sit?', quoted by Pearson on *Smyrn.* 10 (but he wrongly calls it an epistle *of* Maximus *to* Augustine). The meaning will account for the frequency of the name, as one 'fausti ominis.' Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* iii. 7 (p. 538), quotes a letter of the heretic Valentinus to one Agathopus. Voss (on *Smyrn.* 10) expressed a belief that he is the same person with our Agathopus, and defended his opinion in his answer to Blondel (see Pearson *V. I.* p. 645 sq, ed. Churton). This identification is likewise maintained by Pearson (on *Smyrn.* 10) and by Grabe (*Spic. Patr.* II. p. 53). Chronologically it is quite defensible, since Agathopus is apparently a young man now, and Valentinus flourished within some 20 or 30 years of Ignatius' death. Moreover it would help to explain those anticipations of Valentinian phraseology which we find in Ignatius (see e.g. *Ephes.* inscr., *Magn.* 8, *Trall.* 1, *Rom.* inscr., 6, 7); for it would show that Ignatius moved in the same circles. The identification therefore seems far from improbable. But, the name being so common, too much stress must not be laid on it.

In the interpolator's text this person is divided into two, 'Gaius (for Rhaius) *and* Agathopus,' both here and in *Smyrn.* 10. There can be little doubt however that this is a mistake; for (1) The addition ἀνδρὶ

δὲ ἀτιμάσαντες αὐτοὺς λυτρωθείησαν ἐν τῇ χάριτι Ἰη-
σοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν
τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούρρου πεμ-

Greek reading underlying this authority would be *βούργου*. This explanation might pass here and in *Smyrn.* 12, where also g has *βούργου*; but it fails to account for the reading of A in *Ephes.* 2, where there is no various reading *βούργου* in the Greek, and where even g has the form in ρρ (though with some variations in the vowels). The true explanation of the Armenian reading in all the three passages is that which Petermann himself gives on *Ephes.* 2; that it arises from a confusion of the Syriac letters ܪ and ܝ, *d* and *r*. The substitution of *βοῦργος* for *βοῦρρος*, here and in *Smyrn.* 12, has a parallel in the substitution of *γαίῳ* for *ῥαίῳ* just above.

ἐκλεκτῷ κ.τ.λ. shows that a single person is mentioned; (2) In the spurious Ignatian Epistles (*Ant.* 13, *Philipp.* 15; comp. *Tars.* 10) only two persons are represented as being with Ignatius on this journey, *Φίλων καὶ Ἀγαθόπους οἱ διάκονοι*. As these false letters emanated from the same author who interpolated the genuine letters, he is inconsistent with himself, unless indeed the *καὶ*, here and in *Smyrn.* 10, crept into his text at a later date. It would appear from *Smyrn.* 10 (see the note), that Agathopus, like Philo, was a deacon, for the two are there called *διάκονοι Χριστοῦ* (the word probably being used in its official sense). The Pseudo-Ignatius (ll. cc.) is explicit on this point.

1. *ἀποταξάμενος* κ.τ.λ.] '*having bidden farewell to* this lower *life*'; comp. Philo *Leg. ad Cai.* 41 (II. p. 593) *ἵνα μὴ ὁ σὸς Ἀγρίππας ἀποτάξηται τῷ βίῳ*, [Clem. Rom.] ii. 6 *δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τούτῳ* [*τῷ αἰῶνι*] *ἀποταξαμένους ἐκείνῳ* [*τῷ μέλλοντι*] *χρᾶσθαι*, with the note. For the distinction between *βίος* the lower and *ζωὴ* the higher life, see the note on *Rom.* 7.

2. *μαρτυροῦσιν ὑμῖν*] i.e. 'bear witness to your hospitality': comp. 3 Joh. 5, 6, *εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοῦτο ξένους, οἳ ἐμαρτύρησάν σου τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐνώπιον ἐκκλησίας* κ.τ.λ.

3. *ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς*] i.e. *ἀποδέξεται* or *ἀποδέξαιτο*: comp. *Ephes.* 2 *κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναψύξαι* [v. l. *ἀναψύξει*], *Smyrn.* 9 *κατὰ πάντα με ἀνεπαύσατε, καὶ ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* (with the note). See also the note on *Smyrn.* 5 *μᾶλλον δὲ* κ.τ.λ. for other similar modes of expression.

οἱ δὲ ἀτιμάσαντες] These were doubtless the heretical teachers who had opposed Ignatius himself when he was in Philadelphia; see above §§ 6, 7, 8.

4. *λυτρωθείησαν*] '*be ransomed*,' and set free from this chain of sin, in which they are at present bound; see above § 8 *τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς λύσει ἀφ' ὑμῶν πάντα δεσμόν*. For this word as a theological term compare (besides the passages in the N. T.) Barnab. 14, 19, [Clem. Rom.] ii. 17.

5. *ἡ ἀγάπη*] See the note on *Trall.* 3.

6. *διὰ Βούρρου*] He acted as the amanuensis of Ignatius. For this Burrhus see the note on *Ephes.* 2, and for the meaning of the preposition *διὰ* the note on *Rom.* 10.

πεμφθέντος] In accordance with the wish expressed *Ephes.* 2 *εὔχομαι παραμεῖναι αὐτὸν* κ.τ.λ.

φθέντος ἅμα ἐμοὶ ἀπὸ Ἐφεσίων καὶ Σμυρναίων εἰς λόγον τιμῆς. τιμήσει αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς ὃν ἐλπίζουσιν σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι, πίστει, ἀγάπῃ, ὁμονοίᾳ. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν. 5

1 ἐμοί] GLA; om. g. 2 τιμήσει αὐτούς] G; *honoret ipsos* L; *quos honorabit* A; *οὓς ἀμείψεται* [g]. ὁ Κύριος] GLg; om. A. 3 ἐλπίζουσιν] Gg; *sperent* L; def. A. σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι] Lg; *corpore et spiritu et mente* A; σαρκί, ψυχῇ (om. πνεύματι) G. πίστει] GLg; om. A. 4 Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ] GLA; *κυρίῳ ἰησοῦ χριστῷ* g. κοινῇ] GLg; om. A. 5 ἡμῶν] txt GL; add. ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι g; add. *gratia vobiscum: amen* A.

There is no subscription in GLA. For g see the Appx.

1. ἀπὸ Ἐφεσίων κ.τ.λ.] Though himself an Ephesian, he was the joint delegate of both churches; see *Smyrn.* 12.

εἰς λόγον τιμῆς] '*to do me honour*,' εἰς λόγον meaning 'to the account of,' 'on the score of'; comp. *Smyrn.* 10 εἰς λόγον Θεοῦ, and see the note on *Philippians* iv. 15.

2. τιμήσει αὐτούς] This responds to the foregoing τιμῆς; comp. *Smyrn.* 9 ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τετίμηται.

3. σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι] For this threefold division of the human personality see the notes on 1 Thess. v. 23. The omission of πνεύματι (contracted πΝ̄Ι) in some authorities is easily explained owing to the beginning of the next word πι-.

4. ἔρρωσθε] See the note on *Ephes.* 21.

τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι] See the notes on *Ephes.* 1, *Magn.* 11.

6.

TO THE SMYRNÆANS.

6.

TO THE SMYRNÆANS.

IT would not be possible, even if it were advisable, to discuss the notices of Smyrna and the Smyrnæan Church with the same fulness which has been aimed at in the introductions to previous epistles. The history of a city which struck its roots into the most remote antiquity, which claimed Theseus or Tantalus or an Amazon as its founder and Homer as its most illustrious child, which has had a continuous authentic history of twenty-five centuries, and which is at this day the most flourishing and populous centre of commerce in the Levant, must be too well known to require, and too copious to admit, the scale of treatment which seemed suited to Magnesia and Tralles and Philadelphia. Such details moreover, as are necessary to understand the position of Christianity in Smyrna at this time, have found their proper place in the notice of Polycarp.

This letter, like the preceding one to the Philadelphians, was written from Troas, and probably about the same time. The *personnel* therefore is the same. Burrhus is again his amanuensis (§ 12). Philo and Rhaius Agathopus are again mentioned as having received a kindly welcome from his correspondents (§ 10). Directions are again given for the dispatch of a representative to congratulate the Church of Antioch (§ 11). But at Smyrna he had made a longer halt, and apparently had established more affectionate relations, than at Philadelphia. Hence he sends special salutations to certain classes of persons, and to certain individuals by name (§ 13).

The main purport of the letter is the condemnation of the same Judaic Docetism which he assails elsewhere (see pp. 16, 103, 147 sq,

242 sq). But whereas in the Philadelphian letter it is attacked chiefly from its Judaic side, here on the contrary he denounces mainly its Docetism (§§ 1—6). Yet at the same time its Judaism appears incidentally from an allusion to the tuition which these heretics had received from the Law and the Prophets (§ 5). Their separatism and their contentiousness are dwelt upon more fully here than in his other letters, and the duty of unity is strenuously enforced in consequence.

The following is an *analysis* of the epistle.

'IGNATIUS to the CHURCH OF SMYRNA, which abounds in faith and love and lacks no spiritual grace; abundant greeting.'

'I give glory to Christ who has bestowed so much wisdom on you, that ye fully believe in the blood of Christ and are convinced of His incarnation, His baptism, His passion. The cross was the standard round which Jew and Gentile alike were summoned to rally (§ 1). These things were realities, not phantoms, as some persons, phantom-like themselves, imagine (§ 2). The Lord appeared to Peter and to the disciples after the resurrection. They handled Him. He ate and drank with them (§ 3). These things I say to warn you. If the life and death of Christ were unreal, then my sufferings also are unreal (§ 4). These heretics have failed to learn from either the Law or the Gospel. It is a mockery to praise me, and yet to deny my Lord. I would gladly forget the existence of these men (§ 5). Even angels will be condemned, if they believe not in the blood of Christ. Beware of these heretics. They abstain from deeds of love (§ 6). They hold aloof from the eucharist of the Church. Yet love only is life. Shun them therefore, and avoid dissension (§ 7). Obey your bishop. The bishop is the centre of the individual congregation, as Christ is the centre of the universal Church. The bishop is the fountain-head of all authority (§ 8). Be wise in time. May God requite you for your kindness to me (§ 9). I thank you also for your welcome of Philo and Agathopus. God will reward you (§ 10). The Church of Antioch at length has peace. Send ye a delegate to rejoice with them. This will be a worthy work; and it is within your reach (§ 11).'

'Salutations from Troas. Burrhus, your representative, is my amanuensis. I salute your bishop, your clergy, your laity (§ 12). I salute the families of the brethren, and the holy widows. Philo sends salutations. I salute Gavia and Alce and Daphnus. Farewell (§ 13).'

ΠΡΟΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΥΣ.

Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἠλεημένῃ ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι, πεπληρωμένῃ ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἀνυστερήτῳ οὔσῃ παντὸς χαρίσματος, θεοπρεπεστάτῃ

ΠΡΟΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΥΣ] *τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστ̄ σμυρναίοις* (numbered α in the marg.) G; *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς σμυρναίους* g*; *ad smyrnaeos* A; *item alia epistola sancti ignatii martyris qui vocatur theophorus, quod est qui fert deum, quam scripsit ad smyrnaeos* (numbered β in the marg.) C. For L see the Appx. 1 ὁ καὶ] ὁ (om. καὶ) C; for the other authorities see *Ephes.* inscr. Θεοφόρος] txt GLAg; add. *qui scribit* C. Θεοῦ πατρὸς] txt GLAC; add. ὑψίστου g. 2 ἠγαπημένου] GL; add. υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ gAC.

'IGNATIUS to the CHURCH OF SMYRNA, which is of God the Father and His beloved Son, and through His mercy abounds in faith and love, being deficient in no spiritual gift; greeting in a pure spirit and in the word of God.'

2. *τοῦ ἠγαπημένου*] '*The beloved*,' or '*His beloved*'; comp. Ephes. i. 6 *ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ*. So too Barnab. 3 *ὃν ἡτοίμασεν ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ, ib.* 4 *ἵνα ταχύνῃ ὁ ἠγαπημένος αὐτοῦ, ἡ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου* Ἰησοῦ [*διαθήκη*], Clem. Rom. 59 *τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδός σου*. This title 'Dilectus' is the common designation of the Messiah in the *Ascensio Isaiae*, e.g. i. 4, 5, 7, 13, iii. 13, 17, 18, iv. 3, 6, etc.

ἠλεημένῃ ἐν] '*having been pitied in*,' i.e. 'having in God's mercy been endowed with.' For the construction and meaning see *Philad.* 5 *ἐν ᾧ κλήρῳ ἠλεήθην* (with the note). Comp. also 1 Cor. vii. 25 *ὡς ἠλεημένος ὑπὸ Κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι*, Ign. *Rom.* 9 *ἠλέημαί τις εἶναι*.

3. *ἐν πίστει κ.τ.λ.*] For this preposition with *πληροῦν* see Ephes. v. 18, Col. i. 9, and perhaps Ephes. i. 23. With *πληροφορεῖν* it is more common; see the note, *Colossians* iv. 12. For the connexion *πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ* see the note on *Ephes.* 1.

4. *ἀνυστερήτῳ κ.τ.λ.*] Probably suggested by 1 Cor. i. 7 *ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι*; comp. *Polyc.* 2 *ἵνα μηδενὸς λείπῃ καὶ παντὸς χαρίσματος περισσεύῃς*. The word *ἀνυστέρητος*, though a very obvious form, is not very common.

θεοπρεπεστάτῃ] See the note on *Magn.* 1.

καὶ ἁγιοφόρῳ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Σμύρνῃ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν ἀμώμῳ πνεύματι καὶ λόγῳ Θεοῦ πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

I. Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα· ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατηρτισμένους ἐν

2 πνεύματι] GLCg; *fide* A. λόγῳ] txt GLAg; add. *sancto* (app.) C (having transposed *θεοῦ* and connected it with *πνεύματι*). 3 Δοξάζω] LA Cg Sev-Syr 2; δοξάζων G. Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν κ.τ.λ.] GL Sev-Syr (comp. Ephr-Ant); *iesum christum qui* etc. (om. *τὸν θεὸν*) AC; *τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν* Ἰ. Χ. *τὸν δι' αὐτοῦ* κ.τ.λ. g. οὕτως] GACg Sev-

1. ἁγιοφόρῳ] '*ferax sanctorum*,' says Pearson. The analogy of other Ignatian compounds however, such as *θεοφόρος*, *χριστοφόρος*, *ναοφόρος*, etc, points to another meaning, 'carrying holy things,' rather than 'producing holy men.' See the notes on Θεοφόρος *Ephes.* inscr., and on *ἐστὲ οὖν* κ.τ.λ. *Ephes.* 9 (in which last passage the word *ἁγιοφόρος* itself occurs), for this metaphor derived from religious processions. The 'sacred vessels,' which the Church of Smyrna bears, are its Christian graces and virtues.

Σμύρνῃ] For the form of this word see the note on *Polyc.* inscr.

τῆς Ἀσίας] On this specification see the notes *Ephes.* inscr., *Trall.* inscr., *Philad.* inscr. It was not wanted in this instance to distinguish the place from any other bearing the same name. A part of Ephesus was indeed called Smyrna at one time, but this name no longer remained, when Ignatius wrote (Strabo xiv. 1, p. 633 sq); and moreover Ephesus itself was equally in 'Asia.'

ἐν ἀμώμῳ πνεύματι κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ephes.* inscr. *πλεῖστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ χαίρειν*, *Rom.* inscr. *πλεῖστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ἀμώμως χαίρειν.* The words *ἐν ἀμώμῳ* κ.τ.λ. therefore are to be attached to what follows. On *ἀμώμῳ* see the note *Ephes.* inscr.

2. λόγῳ Θεοῦ] Regarded here as an inward monitor; comp. 1 Joh. i. 10, ii. 14, and see the note on *Colossians* iii. 16.

πλεῖστα χαίρειν] See the note *Ephes.* inscr.

I. 'I give glory to Christ who has bestowed this wisdom upon you. I perceive that your faith is steadfast, being nailed to the Cross, and that your love is firm in the conviction of Christ's blood. Ye believe that Christ was truly born of a virgin, was truly baptized, was truly nailed to the Cross. From the fruit of this tree we are sprung. Through His resurrection God has held up a standard to Jew and Gentile alike, that all may flock to it, and be united in the one body of His Church.'

3. Δοξάζω] The finite verb is here adopted in preference to the participle, both because the great preponderance of authority is in its favour, and because the variation is very slight (δοξάζω, δοξάζῶ); comp. *Polyc.* 1 ὑπερδοξάζω. It is quite possible however that Δοξάζων is right and that we have here again an anacoluthon (the sentence being interrupted by a succession of subordinate clauses and never finished), as in *Ephes.* 1 Ἀποδεξάμενος κ.τ.λ., *Rom.*

5 ἀκινήτῳ πίστει, ὥσπερ καθηλωμένους ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ ἡδρασμένους ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ αἵματι Χριστοῦ, πεπληρο-

Syr; om. L (but see Appx). 4 γὰρ] GLCg Sev-Syr; om. A. 5 τοῦ Κυρίου] txt GCg* (but Gk MSS add. ἡμῶν); add. *nostri* L[A][Sev-Syr] (but the two last are valueless, since the addition is always made in the Syriac). 6 καὶ sec.] GL[A]g Sev-Syr; om. C. 7 Χριστοῦ] G; τοῦ χριστοῦ g.

1 Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος κ.τ.λ.; see the notes on both passages.

τὸν Θεὸν τὸν κ.τ.λ.] '*the God who thus made you wise.*' For reasons which are explained in the note on *Ephes.* inscr., τὸν Θεὸν must be closely connected with the words following. Ignatius does not appear ever to call Jesus Christ God absolutely. Ephraim of Antioch, quoted by Photius (*Bibl.* 229, p. 258), refers to this passage, καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος δὲ Ἰγνάτιος καὶ μάρτυς, Σμυρναίοις ἐπιστέλλων, ὁμοίως κέχρηται τῷ ἄρθρῳ (i.e. uses the article with Θεός, when speaking of our Lord); but the inference to be drawn from the presence of the article is somewhat modified by the additional words τὸν οὕτως κ.τ.λ. Though the words τὸν Θεὸν are wanting in two important authorities, they seem to be genuine, as they are appealed to by two fathers. The omission would be easy owing to the repetition of similar letters ΤΟΝΘΝΤΟΝΟΥΤΩΣ.

οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα] '*made you thus wise,*' as described in the opening salutation. For the expression comp. 2 Tim. iii. 15 τὰ δυνάμενά σε σοφίσαι κ.τ.λ. See also Ps. xviii (xix). 8, civ (cv). 22, cxviii (cxix). 98.

4. ἐνόησα] '*I perceived,* when I was staying among you.'

κατηρτισμένους] '*settled*'; see the note on *Ephes.* 2.

5. ἀκινήτῳ] Comp. *Philad.* 1, *Polyc.* 1.

ὥσπερ καθηλωμένους] Col. ii. 14 προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ. For the metaphor see Gal. ii. 20 Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι (comp. vi. 14), *Rom.* 7 ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται. Here however the 'nailing fast on the Cross' implies especially a firm belief in the reality of the crucifixion, as opposed to the theories of Docetism; comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 7 ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ. See also *Trall.* 11 ἐφαίνοντο ἂν κλάδοι τοῦ σταυροῦ, *Ephes.* 18 περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, *Philad.* 8 τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχεῖα ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ (with the note), where under different images the necessity of this belief is enforced. For ἐν with καθηλοῦσθαι comp. e.g. Arist. *Ran.* 618 ἐν κλίμακι δήσας. So the Latin 'figere *in* cruce, *in* parietibus.'

6. σαρκί τε κ.τ.λ.] For this favourite Ignatian phrase see the note on *Ephes.* 10.

7. ἡδρασμένους ἐν] For the construction see *Philad.* inscr. (note).

ἐν τῷ αἵματι] This again implies a belief in the reality of the passion; see the note on *Philad.* inscr.

πεπληροφορημένους κ.τ.λ.] '*having a full conviction with respect to our Lord as being truly descended from David etc.*' For the different meanings of πληροφορεῖν see the note on *Colossians* iv. 12.

φορημένους εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, υἱὸν Θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν, γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου, βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ

1 ἡμῶν] txt GC Theodt Sev-Syr; add. *ἰησοῦν χριστόν* gLA. ἀληθῶς] GL Theodt (after *πεπληροφορημένους*, Schulze) Sev-Syr; *ὡς ἀληθῶς* g (transposing it and placing it after *πεπληροφορημένους*); *vere* C (connecting it with *πεπληροφορημένους*); om. A. 2 Δαυεὶδ] δᾶδ GC. θέλημα] GLC Sev-Syr; *naturam* A; *θεότητα* Theodt; def. g. δύναμιν] txt A Theodt; add. *θεοῦ* GLC Sev-Syr; def. g: see the lower note. 3 *γεγεννημένον*] Theodt (Schulze); *qui natus est* A Sev-Syr; *genitum* LC; *γεγενημένον* G; def. g. ἀληθῶς] not omitted in A, as stated by Zahn, who is misled by

1. *ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ*] See the note on *Ephes.* 18.

2. *υἱὸν Θεοῦ*] For the same antithesis comp. *Ephes.* 20 (with the note). See esp. Rom. i. 3 *τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει*, which passage Ignatius doubtless had in his mind.

θέλημα] '*the Divine will*'; see the note on *Ephes.* 20. Again *δύναμιν* is used absolutely, as in Rom. i. 3 just quoted. The addition of Θεοῦ in the common texts is a transcriber's expedient, owing to ignorance of this absolute use of *θέλημα*. Theodoret strangely substitutes *θεότητα* for *θέλημα*. This reading again may be due in part to the same ignorance. The Armenian translator likewise has substituted another word. See Justin *Dial.* 61 (p. 284) *ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς θελήσει γεγεννῆσθαι* compared with *ib.* 128 (p. 358) *γεγεννῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς δυνάμει καὶ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ*, Tatian *ad Graec.* 5 *θελήματι δὲ τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐτοῦ προπηδᾷ λόγος* compared with *ib.* *ὁ λόγος προελθὼν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δυνάμεως*, passages quoted by Pearson.

3. *γεγεννημένον*] So we must certainly read with Theodoret (as printed by Schulze, but Sirmond has *γεγενημένον*), as e. g. Justin *Dial.* 66 (p. 291) *ἐκ παρθένου γεγέννηται*: comp. *Ephes.* 18 *ὃς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη*, *Trall.* 9 *ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη*. This word should probably be read also in Hippol. *Haer.* vii. 38, where the MS has *τοῦτον δὲ οὐκ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι*. For the meaning of *γεγεννημένον*, '*born*,' see the note on *Ephes.* 18.

4. *ἵνα πληρωθῇ κ.τ.λ.*] According to Matt. iii. 15 *οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην*. Nothing is said respecting the *motive* of Jesus in coming to baptism in the other Canonical Gospels. On the other hand the Gospel of the Hebrews, which Ignatius is supposed to quote below § 3, gave an account of the matter which is inconsistent with this motive; Hieron. *c. Pelag.* iii. 2 (II. p. 782) 'In Evangelio juxta Hebraeos ... narrat historia; Ecce mater Domini et fratres eius dicebant ei; Ioannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum; eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis: Quid peccavi ut vadam et baptizer ab eo? nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi ignorantia est.' In the *Praedicatio Pauli* also it is said that Christ 'ad accipiendum Ioannis baptisma paene invitum a matre sua Maria esse compulsum,' *Retract. de Bapt.* 17 (Cyprian. *Op.* III. p. 90, ed. Hartel).

5. *Ποντίου Πιλάτου*] For the reason

Ἰωάννου ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί· ἀφ' οὗ καρποῦ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ*

Petermann's translation. 5 *καθηλωμένον*] GL Theodt; *καθηλωμένου* g* (some authorities); dub. AC Sev-Syr. 6 *ἐν*] GLC(?)g; om. Theodt; dub. Sev-Syr. As A is derived from the ambiguous Syriac, it has no authority on this point. *καρποῦ*] GLAC Sev-Syr (not *καρπῶν*, as Zahn; for the word פארא is very commonly used in the plural, as a rendering of *καρπός*: see the note on *Trall.* 11, p. 176); *καὶ* g. *ἡμεῖς*] GLC; add. *ἐσμὲν* g.

of this specification see the note on *Magn.* 11. Here the date is still further defined by the mention of Herod.

'Ηρώδου τετράρχου] The part taken by Herod is mentioned by S. Luke alone in the Canonical writings; Luke xxiii. 7—12, 15, Acts iv. 27. This Herod Antipas is called 'tetrarch' also in Matt. xiv. 1, Luke iii. 19, ix. 7, Acts xiii. 1, to distinguish him from his predecessor Herod the Great who is *ὁ βασιλεύς* (Matt. ii. 1, comp. Luke i. 5), and from his successor Herod Agrippa who is also *ὁ βασιλεύς* (Acts xii. 1). The absence of the definite article however before the word obliges us to translate *ἐπὶ... Ἡρώδου τετράρχου* 'before Herod as tetrarch,' or more probably 'when Herod was tetrarch' (=*τετραρχοῦντος ...Ἡρώδου* Luke iii. 1).

6. *ἀφ' οὗ καρποῦ*] '*from which fruit*'; comp. Tertull. *adv. Jud.* 13 'Et lignum, inquit, attulit fructum suum [Joel ii. 22], non illud lignum in paradiso quod mortem dedit protoplastis, sed lignum passionis Christi, unde vita pendens etc.' The Cross is regarded as a tree (*ξύλον*); comp. *Trall.* 11 *ἐφαίνοντο ἂν κλάδοι τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ ἦν ἂν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄφθαρτος.* The symbolism of the tree of life planted in paradise, as referring to the Cross of Christ, dates from a very early time; Justin Martyr *Dial.* 86 (p. 312 D), Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11 (p. 689 sq) *ἀλληγορῶν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ξύλον ζωῆς ὠνόμασεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ πεφυτευμένον...ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Λόγος ἤνθησέν τε καὶ ἐκαρποφόρησεν σὰρξ γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς γευσαμένους τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ ἐζωοποίησεν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἄνευ τοῦ ξύλου εἰς γνῶσιν ἡμῖν ἀφῖκται.* This application of the tree of life would probably be made by Papias; comp. Anastas. Sinait. *Hexaem.* vii. (p. 961 Migne), and see *Contemporary Review*, October 1875, p. 844. Similarly Melito saw a reference to the Cross in the tree of Gen. xxii. 13, *Fragm.* 12 (p. 418 Otto) *φυτὸν Σαβέκ, τουτέστιν ἀφέσεως, ἐκάλεσε τὸν σταυρόν*, and Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* l. c. p. 690) so applies also the *ξύλον ζωῆς* (which however he quotes *δένδρον ἀθανασίας*) in Prov. iii. 18. If the reading *καρποῦ* be correct, Christ Himself seems to be regarded as the fruit hanging upon the tree; and *ἀφ' οὗ καρποῦ* is further explained by *ἀπὸ τοῦ θεομακαρίστου αὐτοῦ πάθους.* We may be said to spring from that fruit, inasmuch as the taste of it gives us life; see Clem. Alex. l. c. The Latin translator renders *ἀφ' οὗ καρποῦ a cujus fructu*, which Pearson explains 'ligni quod hic subintelligitur,' taking *ξύλου* to be the antecedent of *οὗ*. But it is more naturally rendered *a quo fructu.* Zahn takes the same construction as Pearson, but makes Χριστοῦ the antecedent of *οὗ*. The clause *ἀφ' οὗ...πάθους* must be taken

τοῦ θεομακαρίστου αὐτοῦ πάθους· ἵνα ἄρῃ σύσσημον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἴτε ἐν Ἰουδαίοις εἴτε ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ.

II. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἔπαθεν δι' ἡμᾶς [ἵνα σωθῶ- 5

1 θεομακαρίστου] g; *divine beatissima* L (i.e. θεομακαρίστου, the word having been mistaken for a superlative); θεομακαρίτου G; dub. A Sev-Syr; *beati* (μακαρίου) C. 3 εἴτε ἐν...εἴτε ἐν] gC; ἔντε ἐν...ἔντε ἐν G; *et in...et in* L. ἑνὶ] GLAg Sev-Syr; om. C. 5 γὰρ] GLg Sev-Syr; om. CA (but supplied in the marg.). ἵνα σωθῶμεν] GL Sev-Syr; *ad vivificandum nos* A (but in the marg. *ut salvemur*); om. C[g]. 6 ὡς] GLCg; om. A (but it omits the context ἔπαθεν ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς owing to homœoteleuton) Sev-Syr. ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν] GL Sev-Syr; ἀνέστη g (but below it adds ὁ λόγος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ναὸν...ἀνέστησεν);

as parenthetical, so that ἵνα ἄρῃ is connected with the preceding sentence. The punctuation in the common editions (Cureton, Jacobson, Hefele, Dressel) is wrong.

1. θεομακαρίστου] Comp. *Polyc.* 7. The word occurs also Method. *de Sym. et Ann.* 5 (p. 107 Jahn) μακαρία σὺ ἐν γενεαῖς γυναικῶν, θεομακάριστε. The other form θεομακαρίτου is worse supported and is exposed to a double objection, as a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and as being somewhat out of place here (since μακαρίτης is used of the blessed dead). Zahn retains it and endeavours to justify it as a transference from the dead to the death.

ἄρῃ σύσσημον] '*raise an ensign aloft.*' The reference is to Isaiah xlix. 22, lxii. 10 (comp. v. 26), where the LXX has αἴρειν σύσσημον to describe the raising of Jehovah's standard in Jerusalem, about which (in the prophet's image) men should rally from all parts of the earth. Ignatius sees the fulfilment of this in Christ's resurrection. Hence the words εἴτε ἐν Ἰουδαίοις εἴτε ἐν ἔθνεσιν, which follow; for the gathering of the Gentiles is a prominent feature in the context of the evangelical prophet. Jerome says on Is. v. 26 (*Op.* IV. p. 88), 'Legi in cujusdam commentariis, hoc quod dicitur *Levabit signum in nationibus procul et sibilabit ad eum de finibus terrae* de vocatione gentium debere intelligi, quod elevato signo crucis et depositis oneribus peccatorum velociter venerint atque crediderint.' The commentator to whom Jerome alludes is probably, as Pearson suggests, Origen. There is nothing of the kind in Eusebius. But the idea seems to have been present to the mind of Lactantius *Div. Inst.* iv. 26. There is perhaps a reference to this same prophetic image of a standard in John xii. 32 κἀγὼ ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πάντας ἑλκύσω πρὸς ἐμαυτόν. The expression αἴρειν σύσσημον occurs also Diod. Sic. xi. 22, 61, xx. 51. The word σύσσημον, which signifies properly 'a *concerted* signal' (Diod. Sic. xx. 51 τὸ συγκείμενον... σύσσημον, comp. Mark xiv. 44), was used even by Menander, who however is roundly scolded by Phrynichus for the solœcism (ed. Lobeck, p. 418). There is mention of the '*vexillum* crucis' in *Fragm.* 5 of the passages ascribed to Polycarp by Victor of Capua. The word τρόπαιον is frequently

μεν]· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν· οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὄντες· καὶ καθὼς φρονοῦσιν, καὶ συμβήσεται αὐτοῖς, οὖσιν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ δαιμονικοῖς.

resurrexit a mortuis A; *resurrexit* C. 7 τὸ δοκεῖν] G; τῷ δοκεῖν g (some MSS); *secundum videri* L. And so again just below. A has *opinione* in the first passage, and *opinio* in the second. 8 αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι] GLA; πέπονθεν [g]; al. C. καὶ] GLA; om. C; al. g. 9 ἀσωμάτοις καὶ δαιμονικοῖς] GL; *daemonia sine corpore* C; *incorporei sicut daemones* A; al. g.

used by Athanasius of the cross or crucifixion of Christ (see the note on the *Festal Letters* p. 97, Oxf. transl.), as well as by later fathers. This image would gain currency through the *Labarum* of Constantine; but it appears before his time, as the passage of Methodius p. 103 (referred to by Zahn) shows, and indeed might be suggested by Col. ii. 15. The conjectural reading σύσσωμον, which is adopted by Bunsen, destroys the point of the expression.

3. πιστοὺς] The Docetæ, who denied the reality of the Cross, did not fall under this category; see the note on ἄπιστοι § 2.

ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι] Doubtless a reminiscence of S. Paul's teaching, Ephes. ii. 16 ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ (where also the context, ver. 18, contains a reference to the evangelical prophet, Is. lvii. 19), iii. 6 εἶναι τὰ ἔθνη...σύσσωμα, iv. 4 ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα, etc.; comp. Hermas *Sim.* ix. 18 ἔσται ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἓν σῶμα. And for the exact expression see Col. i. 18 τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας (comp. ver. 24, Ephes. i. 23, iv. 12 sq, v. 23, 29, 30). The corresponding part of the image, μέλη, appears in *Ephes.* 4, *Trall.* 11. Pearson writes on ἑνὶ σώματι, 'Hic usus erat signi militaris, ut colligerent se et in unum congregarent, si quando erant dispersi aut dissipati.'

II. 'He thus suffered for our salvation. His passion and His resurrection were realities, and not phantoms, as some think. To such persons it shall happen according to their thoughts; for they are unreal and visionary.'

6. ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν] This is different from the language of the N. T., where Christ is always said to be raised by the Father. Accordingly the interpolator has substituted ἀνέστη, as Jacobson points out. Below, § 7, the doctrine is stated in the scriptural way, σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος...ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν.

7. ἄπιστοι] He calls the Docetæ unbelievers, because they denied the reality of Christ's humanity; comp. also below § 5 τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ὄντα ἄπιστα κ.τ.λ. See the note on *Trall.* 10, where they are likewise so called.

8. αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Trall.* 10, where similar language is used.

9. καὶ συμβήσεται] '*so shall it happen.*' For instances of καὶ in the apodosis answering to ὡς (καθώς) in the protasis comp. e.g. Gal. i. 9, Phil. i. 20, 1 Joh. ii. 18, and see Winer § liii. p. 548 sq, A. Buttmann p. 311.

III. Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ

1 γὰρ] GL Theodt; δὲ C[g] Euseb; *atqui* A. 2 οἶδα] GLCAg Euseb Theodt; *vidi* L (prob. a mistranslation rather than a v. l. εἶδον, since

The passage is wrongly punctuated in the common editions. For the sense comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 1 ἐν τῷ γὰρ φρονεῖν μικρὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, μικρὰ καὶ ἐλπίζομεν λαβεῖν.

ἀσωμάτοις κ.τ.λ.] '*being unsubstantial and phantom-like*,' in their opinions: comp. Hieron. *Comm. in Isai.* xviii. (*Op.* IV. p. 774) 'nec daemonia subsistant, quia jam a Deo qui vere est exciderunt, nec sectae haereticorum, quae nullam retinent veritatem, sed in umbrarum similitudinem transeunt et intereunt,' where there is a similar comparison. For δαιμονικοῖς see the note on δαιμόνιον § 3. In ἀσωμάτοις there is possibly an allusion to the σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας (at the end of § 1) in which they have no part. The two adjectives are chosen with a view to the δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον in the narrative which follows. The word δαιμονικός occurs in Athenag. *Suppl.* 25, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 12 (p. 789), as well as in Plutarch. Pearson distinguishes between δαιμονικός (=δαιμονιώδης) and δαιμονιακός (=δαιμονιαζόμενος). The distinction is fundamentally just, but the one sense frequently runs into the other.

III. 'I myself am convinced that He was still incarnate even after the resurrection. He told Peter and his companions to handle Him and assure themselves that He was not a phantom. They did so. They were convinced, and in this conviction they despised death. Nay, He even ate and drank with them in the flesh, though in the spirit He was one with the Father.'

1. καὶ μετὰ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'not only during His natural life, of which they deny the reality, but *even after His resurrection*.' See the irony of Tertull. *de Carn. Chr.* 5 'Fuit itaque phantasma *etiam post resurrectionem*, cum manus et pedes suos discipulis inspiciendos offert, Aspicite, dicens, etc.'

ἐν σαρκὶ κ.τ.λ.] '*I know and believe Him to be in the flesh*.' For οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω comp. Rom. xiv. 14 οἶδα καὶ πέπεισμαι. Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 16), clearly deriving the quotation at second hand from Eusebius and referring the passage by inadvertence to the Epistle *to Polycarp*, translates 'in carne eum vidi et credo quia sit,' as if it were εἶδον, and evidently supposes that Ignatius had seen our Lord in the flesh. Similarly the Latin Version here 'in carne ipsum vidi et credo existentem.' This interpretation would be encouraged by the story, built upon a misinterpretation of Θεοφόρος (see on *Ephes.* inscr.), that he was the child whom our Lord blessed. Chrysostom distinctly states the opposite, *Hom. in S. Ign.* 4 (II. p. 599) τὸν οὐδὲ ἑωρακότα αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἀπολελαυκότα αὐτοῦ τῆς συνουσίας. Pearson conjectured that the false interpretation arose from John xx. 8 καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐπίστευσεν.

2. καὶ ὅτε κ.τ.λ.] The reference is plainly to the same incident which is related in Luke xxiv. 36 sq; see esp. vv. 38, 39 ἐδόκουν πνεῦμα θεωρεῖν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς...Ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. The words however, in which it is told, are different. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 36) is at a loss to say from what source this incident was taken (οὐκ

αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα· καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ

Jerome so translates the οἶδα of Euseb). *modo* (οὕτως) C ; *dominum* A.

ὄντα] GLg Euseb Theodt; *hoc*

οἶδ' ὁπόθεν ῥητοῖς συγκέχρηται). Jerome however states that it was taken 'de evangelio quod nuper a me translatum est,' i.e. the Gospel to which he has referred before in the same treatise, 'evangelium quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos, et quod a me nuper in Graecum Latinumque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origenes saepe utitur' (*Vir. Ill.* 2), and which at this time he was disposed to regard as the original Hebrew of S. Matthew; 'Ipsum Hebraicum [Matthaei] habetur usque hodie in Caesariensi bibliotheca quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit; mihi quoque a Nazaraeis, qui in Beroea urbe Syriae hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit' (*Vir. Ill.* 3); though afterwards he spoke less confidently on this point; *in Matt.* xii. 13 'quod vocatur *a plerisque* Matthaei authenticum' (*Op.* VII. p. 77); *c. Pelag.* iii. 2 'in Evangelio *juxta Hebraeos*...sive ut *plerique* autumant, *juxta Matthaeum*, quod et in Caesariensi habetur bibliotheca' (*Op.* II. p. 782). In another passage also *Comm. in Isai.* xviii. praef. (*Op.* IV. p. 770) he writes 'quum enim apostoli eum putarent spiritum, vel, juxta evangelium quod Hebraeorum lectitant Nazaraei, *incorporale daemonium*, dixit etc.' But this statement, though thus repeated and explicit, is attended with difficulties; for (1) Eusebius was well acquainted with the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. There was a copy preserved in his own city, Caesarea, in the library which had been collected by his friend Pamphilus, was probably attached to his own Church or palace, and certainly was habitually used by him; and he makes it his business to record all references to these apocryphal gospels in early writers, and does so in other cases. Yet he cannot verify the quotation in this instance, notwithstanding the striking words δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον which would be likely to dwell on his mind. (2) Origen, who was also well acquainted with the Gospel according to the Hebrews, ascribes the words not to this but to an entirely different apocryphal writing, *de Princ.* praef. 8 (I. p. 49) 'Si vero quis velit nobis proferre ex illo libello qui *Petri Doctrina* appellatur, ubi salvator videtur ad discipulos dicere, *Non sum daemonium incorporeum*, primo respondendum est ei, quoniam ille liber inter libros ecclesiasticos non habetur, et ostendendum quia neque Petri est ipsa scriptura, neque alterius cujusquam qui spiritu Dei fuerit inspiratus'. With these facts before us it is reasonable to suppose either (1) That it was a lapse of memory in Jerome. His memory sometimes plays him strange tricks. Thus he quotes, as from 'Ignatius vir apostolicus et martyr,' the most notable passage in the Epistle of Barnabas; *c. Pelag.* iii. 2 (II. p. 783). Or inasmuch as, having translated the book, he was not likely to have made this mistake, it seems more probable that (2) His copy contained a different recension of the Gospel according to the Hebrews from that which was known to Origen and Eusebius. This Gospel bore various titles and there is every reason to think that it went through various recensions. The copy in the Caesarean library would represent

Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἥψαντο, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν κραθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ

1 *ἦλθεν*] Gg Theodt; *ἐλήλυθεν* Euseb. 3 *κραθέντες*] G; *convicti* (*κρατηθέντες*?) L; *quum prehendissent eum* C; al. g. A has *crediderunt qui eucharistiae-participes-fuerunt* (lit. *communicaverunt*) *et coenaverunt antea corpus et sanguinem ejus*. The first clause is evidently a gloss (prob. later and certainly erroneous) of the second; and the rendering generally points to *κραθέντες*. The rendering of C may represent *κρατήσαντες*, but prob. is a loose paraphrase of *κραθέντες*. See the lower note. 4 *αἵματι*] A; *πνεύματι* GLC; al. g:

the text as Origen and Eusebius had it. Though Jerome refers to the existence of this copy, apparently for the sake of vouching for the respectability of the Gospel, there is no reason to suppose that he had seen it. His own, as he tells us, was a transcript made at Beroea: and this incident seems to have been a later accretion incorporated either from Ignatius or from the *Teaching of Peter* or from some other source. As regards Ignatius himself, it is impossible to say whether he got it from oral tradition or from some written source. Under any circumstances the more elaborate language (*δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον*) shows that it is later than the account in S. Luke, which is told in simple and natural language (*πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει*).

1. *τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον*] i.e. *τοὺς ἕνδεκα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς*, as the company gathered together on this occasion is described in the parallel narrative, Luke xxiv. 34. The expression *οἱ περὶ Πέτρον* might in late Greek signify Peter alone (see Kühner II. p. 231, Winer § xlix. p. 506 sq); but it commonly implies others as well (e.g. Acts xiii. 13), and here the plurals following, *αὐτοῖς*, *λάβετε*, etc. are decisive. Zahn points out that it is the expression used in the alternative ending to S. Mark's Gospel found in L and some other authorities, *τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν*.

2. *δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον*] '*an incorporeal spirit*.' Origen (l. c.) supposes that the author of the *Doctrina Petri* used this epithet *ἀσώματον*, not in its philosophical sense (='immaterial'), but as meaning composed of some subtle substance and without a gross body like man. He says also that the Scriptures of the Church do not countenance the use of the word. Similarly in Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 14 (p. 971) we read *τὰ δαιμόνια ἀσώματα εἴρηται, οὐχ ὡς σῶμα μὴ ἔχοντα· ἔχει γὰρ σχῆμα· διὸ καὶ συναίσθησιν κολάσεως ἔχει· ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς σύγκρισιν τῶν σωζομένων σωμάτων πνευματικῶν σκιὰ ὄντα, ἀσώματα εἴρηται*. As the *Preaching of Peter* (*Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*), which is supposed to have been the same work, was well known both to Clement of Alexandria and to the Valentinians, we may suspect that the explanation in this excerpt has special reference to this saying of that apocryphal writing. Zahn infers from the introductory *καὶ ὅτε* here (instead of *ὅτε γὰρ*), that we have a direct citation; but the inference is precarious. When Celsus assumes that the Christians regard angels as *δαίμονες*, Origen is careful to reply that to the Christian ear *δαίμων*, *δαιμόνιον*, is not

καὶ τῷ αἵματι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν, ηὑρέθησαν δὲ ὑπὲρ θάνατον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν [καὶ] συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ὡς σαρκικός, καίπερ πνευματικῶς ἡνωμένος τῷ πατρί.

see the lower note. 5 ηὑρέθησαν δὲ] GL; ηὑρέθησαν γὰρ G; def. A (doubtless owing to homœoteleuton); al. g. 6 καὶ συνέφαγεν] g (the connexion of the sentences however being different) C Theodt; συνέφαγεν (om. καὶ) GLA. αὐτοῖς] here, GLCg; after συνέπιεν [A] Theodt. ὡς σαρκικός, καίπερ πνευματικῶς] GL; ὡς σαρκικῶς καὶ πνευματικῶς Theodt; al. g. The sentence is rendered *et erat corpore et spiritu et unitus cum patre* in A, and

a neutral word, but ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν φαύλων ἔξω τοῦ παχυτέρου σώματος δυνάμεων τάσσεται τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων ὄνομα, πλανώντων καὶ περισπώντων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, *c. Cels.* v. 5 (I. p. 580).

For the whole passage comp. Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 43, where this father argues against the Docetism of Marcion from Luke xxiv. 37 sq. Marcion retained the passage, but explained καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα, 'as ye behold me having (neither flesh nor bones).' 'Quae ratio tortuositatis istius!', exclaims Tertullian. The way in which Apelles disposed of such passages in the Gospels may be seen from Hippol. *Haer.* vii. 38.

3. κραθέντες] '*being mixed with, joined to*,' and so 'having handled,' the strongest possible expression being chosen to express the closeness of the contact; comp. Pind. *Pyth.* x. 65 οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται ἱερᾷ γενεᾷ, *Olymp.* x. 123 ὥρᾳ κεκραμένον, Plato *Phaedr.* 279 A ἦθει γεννικωτέρῳ κεκρᾶσθαι, *Epist.* vii. 326 C οὐχ οὕτω θαυμαστῇ φύσει κραθήσεται. So also συγκεκρᾶσθαι, e.g. Arist. *Plut.* 853 πολυφόρῳ συγκέκραμαι δαίμονι, and see the note on ἀνακεκραμένους *Ephes.* 5. The editors for the most part have followed Voss in substituting κρατηθέντες, which perhaps the Latin translator had in his text. But this is not so good. The same confusion of κραθῆναι, κρατηθῆναι, appears three times in Iren. i. 6. 4 ὥστε αὐτὴν κρατηθῆναι, κρατηθεὶς γυναικί, κρατηθῆναι, where the Latin translation has 'ut ei conjungatur,' 'mixtus mulieri,' 'mixtus est,' thus showing that the Greek should be read κραθῆναι, κραθείς, κραθῆναι. The construction κρατεῖσθαί τινι however is unobjectionable in itself; e.g. *Act. Paul. et Thecl.* 9 κρατεῖται ἐπιθυμίᾳ καινῇ, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 13 (p. 755) ψυχὰς τινὰς κρατουμένας φύσει τῷ σώματι, *Exc. Theod.* 32 (p. 977) ἐκρατήθη, ὥσπερ τοῖς ὅλοις, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῷ παρακλήτῳ.

4. τῷ αἵματι] This is clearly the reading of the Armenian Version (which wrongly interprets it of the eucharist) and seems to be required for the sense. 'Flesh and blood' is a synonyme for the corporeal part of man: Matt. xvi. 17, 1 Cor. xv. 50, Gal. i. 16. In Heb. ii. 14 the reality of Christ's humanity is described as a partaking αἵματος καὶ σαρκός. The Apostles who were invited to feel the nail-prints in His hands and the spear-wounds in His side might be said almost literally to touch His blood as well as His flesh. At the same time πνεύματι might easily be substituted for αἵματι, because the conjunction 'flesh and spirit' is frequent in Ignatius. See *Trall.* inscr., where there is the same confusion of πνεύματι and αἵματι in different texts.

IV. *Ταῦτα δὲ παραινῶ ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτως ἔχετε· προφυλάσσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων, οὓς οὐ μόνον δεῖ ὑμᾶς μὴ παραδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ', εἰ δυνατόν, μηδὲ συναντᾷν [αὐτοῖς]· μόνον δὲ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἐάν πως μετανοή-*

existens carnalis et spiritualis (ὢν σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικός) *existens unus cum patre* in C. Possibly the correct reading may be ὡς σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικός, but more probably the περ was accidentally dropped, and the terminations of σαρκικός, πνευματικῶς, were then made to conform by altering the one or the other. 3 ἀνθρωπομόρφων] txt GLACg; add. αἱρετικῶν Theod-Stud (but prob. this is his own gloss according to his practice; see *Rom.* 7 ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ... χριστός). δεῖ ὑμᾶς μὴ] GL, and so prob. C; οὐ δεῖ ὑμᾶς Theod-Stud; *non oportet vos* A Anon-Syr$_1$; al. g. 4 δυνατόν] txt L Theod-Stud Anon-Syr$_1$; add. ἐστι G; al. g. The verb substantive is naturally supplied in AC. αὐτοῖς]

μετὰ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] See Acts x. 41 *οἵτινες συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν*. Three several occasions are recorded in the Canonical Gospels; (1) Luke xxiv. 30, 35; (2) Luke xxiv. 42, 43; (3) John xxi. 12, 13.

ἡνωμένος] Compare *Magn.* 7 *ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν ἡνωμένος ὤν*. See also Marcellus in Euseb. *c. Marc.* ii. 2 (p. 37) and *Eccl. Theol.* ii. 4 (p. 106) *τὴν δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀϊδιότητα ἡνῶσθαι τῷ πατέρι πεπιστεύκαμεν*.

IV. 'I give this advice, knowing that you yourselves act as I would have you act. But I would put you on your guard against these monsters in human shape. Do not go near them, but pray for them. Their repentance is not an easy matter, but Christ can do all things. If Christ's life was a phantom, then my bonds are a phantom also. Why then do I expose myself to fire and sword and wild beasts? Near to these, I am near to God; if only I suffer in Christ's name. I have all power in Christ, the perfect man.'

2. ὑμεῖς οὕτως ἔχετε] See the note on *Ephes.* 4 ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε.

προφυλάσσω] Comp. *Trall.* 8 *ἀλλὰ προφυλάσσω ὑμᾶς ὄντας μου ἀγαπητοὺς κ.τ.λ.*, with the note.

3. ἀνθρωπομόρφων] Philo *de Abr.* 6 (II. p. 6) *κυριώτερον δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρωπομόρφου θηρίου*. So too *ἀνθρωποειδῆ θηρία, Vit. Moys.* i. 8 (II. p. 87), *de Decal.* 16 (II. p. 194). This last expression occurs also *Apost. Const.* ii. 21. These passages are collected by Cotelier. See also Eus. *H. E.* x. 4. (p. 467) Ps-Ign. *Tars.* 1, and comp. Suicer s. v. *ἀνθρωπόμορφος*.

6. ὅπερ] sc. *τὸ μετανοεῖν*. For the whole passage compare Iren. iii. 2. 3 'adversus tales [haereticos] certamen nobis est, *o dilectissime, more serpentum* lubricos undique effugere conantes. Quapropter undique *resistendum est illis*, si quos ex his retusione confundentes *ad conversionem* veritatis adducere possimus. Etenim si *non facile* est ab errore apprehensam resipiscere animam, sed *non omnino impossibile est* errorem effugere, apposita veritate.'

7. ζῆν] Used as a substantive; see the note on *Ephes.* 11.

εἰ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] To be connected with the preceding chapter, the intermediate words ταῦτα δὲ...ζῆν being

σωσιν, ὅπερ δύσκολον· τούτου δὲ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν ζῆν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, κἀγὼ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι. τί δὲ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔκδοτον δέδωκα τῷ θανάτῳ, πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαιραν, πρὸς θηρία; ἀλλ' ὁ ἐγγὺς

L*AC (but AC add. *iis* also after δύσκολον) Anon-Syr$_1$; om. G Theod-Stud; al. g. 5 προσεύχεσθε] C Anon-Syr$_1$; προσεύχεσθαι GLAg* (MSS, but *orate* l). 7 γὰρ] GCg Theodt; *autem* LS$_2$; *at* A. τὸ δοκεῖν] G; *secundum videri* L; τῷ δοκεῖν g Theodt. The various readings are just the same below. The other versions do not assist in determining between τὸ δοκεῖν and τῷ δοκεῖν. 8 κἀγὼ] GS$_2$g Theodt; *ego et ipse etiam* C; *ergo et ego* L* (but with a v. l. *et ego*) A. 9 ἑαυτὸν] G; ἐμαυτὸν g Theodt; *meipsum* L. 10 ὁ ἐγγὺς] S$_2$AC (which however translates just below as if ὁ μεταξὺ θηρίων) Theodt; ἐγγὺς (om. ὁ) GL; al. g.

parenthetical. The return to the subject however was suggested by the expression τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν ζῆν, which here, as in *Trall.* 9, has a reference to Docetic error.

τὸ δοκεῖν] For this expression, and for the sentiment, see the notes on *Trall.* 10.

9. ἑαυτὸν] Of the first person, as in *Trall.* 3 (see the note).

ἔκδοτον κ.τ.λ.] We find ἔκδοτον διδόναι e.g. Demosth. *c. Aristocr.* 217 (p. 692), Polyb. iii. 20. 8, xx. 10. 5, xxviii. 4. 11, Bel et Drac. 22; ἔκδοτον παραδιδόναι, e.g. Diod. Sic. xv. 10; ἔκδοτον προδιδόναι Polyb. vi. 49. 5. The corresponding ἔκδοτον λαμβάνειν occurs Acts ii. 23, Jos. *Ant.* vi. 13. 9.

10. πρὸς πῦρ κ.τ.λ.] Tertull. *c. Marc.* iv. 29 'Qualis machaera, talis et flamma,' commenting on Luke xii. 49, 51 (Matt. x. 34).

ὁ ἐγγὺς μαχαίρας κ.τ.λ.] A saying to this effect is attributed to our Lord by Didymus on Ps. lxxxviii. 8 διό φησιν ὁ σωτήρ, Ὁ ἐγγύς μου ἐγγὺς τοῦ πυρός, ὁ δὲ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας (p. 1488, ed. Migne); see Westcott *Introduction to the Gospels* p. 455 (ed. 4). It is mentioned also by Origen *Hom. xx in Ierem.* § 3 (III. p. 280) 'Legi alicubi quasi salvatore dicente, et quaero, sive quis personam figuravit salvatoris sive in memoriam adduxit, an verum sit hoc quod dictum est; ait autem ipsi salvator *Qui juxta me est* etc.' Gregory Nazianzen attributes a similar saying to S. Peter, *Epist.* 20 (II. p. 19, ed. Caillau) Κάμνουσα γὰρ ψυχὴ ἐγγύς ἐστι Θεοῦ, φησί που θαυμασιώτατα λέγων ὁ Πέτρος. This latter saying is quoted again by him anonymously, *Orat.* xvii. 5 (I. p. 321) ἐπειδὴ κάμνουσα ψυχὴ ἐγγύς ἐστι Θεοῦ (though S. Peter is mentioned in the context), on which later passage Elias Cretensis (Greg. Naz. *Op.* II. p. 895, Migne) remarks ἐν τῇ Διδασκαλίᾳ Πέτρου κεῖται· Κάμνουσα γάρ, φησί, ψυχὴ, τουτέστι, κακοπαθοῦσά τε καὶ τοῖς περιστατικοῖς σφιγγομένη, ἐγγίζει μᾶλλον Θεῷ. These words are highly natural as the genuine expression of Ignatius before his execution (comp. *Rom.* 5), for fire, sword, and wild-beasts all alike were possible; but extremely improbable in a forger writing after the occurrence had excluded all al-

μαχαίρας, ἐγγὺς Θεοῦ· μεταξὺ θηρίων, μεταξὺ Θεοῦ· μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ. πάντα ὑπομένω, αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου.

V. Ὅν τινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἀρνοῦνται, μᾶλλον δὲ

1 μεταξὺ θηρίων μεταξὺ Θεοῦ] GLS$_2$AC; om. Theodt (from homœoteleuton); def. g. 2 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GLAC Theodt; *domini nostri iesu christi qui mortuus est propter nos* S$_2$; al. g. 3 ὑπομένω] GS$_2$ACg Theodt; *sustinebo* (ὑπομενῶ) L. τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου] C Theodt; add. γενομένου GL; *iesu christo deo* S$_2$; *iesu christo deo nostro* A; def. g: see the lower note. 5 ἀρνοῦνται] GLS$_2$AC Theodt; ἠρνήσαντο g. 7 προφητεῖαι] GLg; προφῆται C; *prophetia prophetarum* A. 8 Μωσέως] G; ὁ μωσέως g. It was

ternatives but one; see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 246 sq. As a matter of fact all the three had a place in the case of Polycarp's martyrdom. He was intended to be thrown to the wild beasts (§ 3, 12); he was actually burnt at the stake (§ 5, 13 sq); and he was ultimately dispatched by the executioner's sword (§ 16).

1. μεταξὺ θηρίων κ.τ.λ.] So *Rom.* 4 ἄφετέ με θηρίων εἶναι, δι' ὧν ἔνεστιν Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν.

2. μόνον] sc. γενέσθω. For a similar ellipsis with μόνον comp. *Rom.* 5, and see the note on *Ephes.* 11. The common punctuation (Ussher, Voss, Smith, Jacobson, Cureton) which attaches μόνον κ.τ.λ. to πάντα ὑπομένω destroys the sense. That of Hefele, Dressel, and Zahn, which punctuates after Χριστοῦ and attaches εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ with what follows, is somewhat awkward. I have adopted a punctuation different from either.

συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ] Comp. Rom. viii. 17.

3. πάντα ὑπομένω] This sentence is modelled on Phil. iv. 13 πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με. For πάντα ὑπομένω comp. 2 Tim. ii. 10, and see also § 9 below, *Polyc.* 3, Polyc. *Phil.* 8. The word ἐνδυναμοῦν is especially Pauline in the N. T.; it occurs also several times in Hermas, *Mand.* v. 2, xii. 5, 6, *Sim.* vi. 1, vii, ix. 1.

τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου] Zahn refers to Melito *Fragm.* 6 (p. 416 Otto) Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος ὁ αὐτός. The addition γενομένου, which appears in the common texts, ought to be omitted. It has doubtless been added to suggest indirectly the preexistence and Divinity of Christ; see the note on *Rom.* 7. The substitutions in the Syriac and Armenian are due to a similar motive. The object of Ignatius however in this passage was to assert broadly the humanity against the Docetics, and with the Divinity he was not concerned here; comp. 1 Tim. ii. 5.

V. 'Certain persons deny Him, or rather are denied by Him. They are advocates of death, not of truth. They turn a deaf ear to the Law and the Prophets and the Gospel. Our sufferings produce no effect upon them. What good is it to me, if I am praised by one who denies my Lord in denying His humanity? I will not mention their names. I will

ἠρνήθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὄντες συνήγοροι τοῦ θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας· οὓς οὐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφητεῖαι οὐδὲ ὁ νόμος Μωσέως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα παθήματα· καὶ

to be expected that L* after the Vulg., and C as an Egyptian version, should take the form *μωϋσῆς moyses* with the υ. The Gk MSS however are too late to be of any account in such a question of orthography. ἀλλ'] GLAg; om. C.

9 *παθήματα*] GLC (*τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα παθήματα* being rendered *victoria laborum*) g. The clause is translated *scripturas nostras quas singulos docemus* in A, which must therefore have read *μαθήματα* (not *γράμματα*, as Petermann supposes); see the confusion of *παθητής*, *μαθητής*, in *Polyc.* 7 (see the note on Clem. Rom. 2).

strive to forget them; until they repent and believe in the Passion.'

5. *Ὃν τινες κ.τ.λ.*] Comp. *Magn.* 9 (with the note).

μᾶλλον δὲ κ.τ.λ.] See 2 Tim. ii. 12 *εἰ ἀρνησόμεθα, κἀκεῖνος ἀρνήσεται ἡμᾶς.* So of the opposite, Gal. iv. 9 *νῦν δὲ γνόντες Θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ Θεοῦ* (see the note there). For similar turns of expression in Ignatius see *Polyc.* inscr. *ἐπισκόπῳ Σμύρνης, μᾶλλον ἐπεσκοπημένῳ, ib.* 3 *πάντα ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνῃ, Trall.* 5 *πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει ἵνα Θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα, Rom.* 8 *θελήσατε ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς θεληθῆτε.* See also such expressions as *Philad.* 10 *δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα...καὶ ὑμεῖς δοξασθήσεσθε, ib.* 11 *ἐδέξασθε αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁ Κύριος* (with the note), *Polyc.* 6 *τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν*, and below § 10 *οὐδὲ ἐπῃσχύνθητε· οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται κ.τ.λ.*

6. *συνήγοροι κ.τ.λ.*] '*advocates of death*,' because by denying the verity of Christ's passion and resurrection, they practically denied the immortality of man; comp. *νεκροφόρος* below.

7. *τῆς ἀληθείας*] It is probable that these heretics, like many others since, arrogated to themselves a monopoly of 'the truth.' Thus the Valentinians had their *Evangelium Veritatis* (Iren. iii. 11. 9); Celsus entitled his work *Ἀληθὴς Λόγος* (Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 40 *μετὰ πολλῆς θρασύτητος καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἐπιγράψας κ.τ.λ.*); and Hierocles similarly named his own attack on Christianity *Φιλαλήθης* (Euseb. *c. Hierocl.* 1, p. 511, etc).

αἱ προφητεῖαι κ.τ.λ.] As Judaizers they professed the greatest respect for the Law and the Prophets, and yet they ignored the testimony borne by them to Christ's passion; see the notes on *Magn.* 6, *Philad.* 5, 8, 9. Like S. Paul before him, Ignatius encountered a stubborn opposition, as he *διελέγετο ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν* (Acts xvii. 3).

8. *μέχρι νῦν*] i.e. notwithstanding the clear revelation of the Gospel; comp. *Magn.* 8.

9. *τὰ ἡμέτερα*] On his own sufferings, as a testimony to the reality of Christ's life and death, see *Trall.* 10 (with the notes).

τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα] i.e. 'our *several* sufferings,' i.e. of himself and other martyrs and confessors, each additional instance being a fresh testimony to Christ's passion. For *οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα* see the note on *Ephes.* 4.

γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦσιν. τί γάρ [με] ὠφελεῖ εἰ ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖ τις, τὸν δὲ Κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον; ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λέγων τελείως αὐτὸν ἀπήρνηται, ὢν νεκροφόρος. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὄντα ἄπιστα, οὐκ ἔδοξέν μοι ἐγγράψαι· 5

1 με] GL (after *juvat*) AC; om. g Theodt. ὠφελεῖ] ὀφελεῖ G. 2 εἰ ἐμὲ] Gg; εἴπερ με Theodt; εἰ ἐμὲ (or με) μὲν C; *si ... me* A. τις] here, gA Theodt; after ὠφελεῖ GLC. 3 σαρκοφόρον] txt GLAC Theodt; add. θεόν g. μὴ] GL[A]g; om. C. 4 ὢν] gLA; ὧν G (see the note § 11 below). Theodt has ὡς νεκροφόρον for ὢν νεκροφόρος. C is mutilated, but app. had ὢν νεκροφόρος. 5 οὐκ] GLAC; νῦν οὐκ g. 7 εἰς τὸ ... ἀνάστασις] GLAC (but τὸ πάθος is paraphrased *passionem salvatoris nostri* in A, and *mortem domini nostri iesu christi* in C); om. g. 10 πιστεύσωσιν] LAC Tim-Syr 1 Anon-Syr$_1$; πιστεύσωμεν G; πιστεύσῃ g (the sing. being

1. τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦσιν] To be explained by § 4 εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, κἀγὼ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι. The view which they take respecting Christ's sufferings applies by parity of reasoning to his own. They reduce everything to an unreality.

2. εἰ ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖ] Pearson supposes that there is a special reference to his title Θεοφόρος: 'Illorum laudes non acceptabat, dum eum Θεοφόρον vocarent, negarent autem Christum σαρκοφόρον, et se probarent νεκροφόρους.' But if this had been so, the word Θεοφόρος would almost certainly have been expressed, for the sake of the alliteration, as well as for clearness. See also the notes on *Trall.* 4.

4. ὢν νεκροφόρος] '*he himself carrying a corpse.*' The word signifies 'a bearer in a funeral,' 'vespillo,' 'bajulus'; e.g. Polyb. xxxv. 6. 2 πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ νεκροφόρων ἐκκομισθῶσι, Appian *Bell. Civ.* iv. 27 πλεονάζουσιν οἱ νεκροφόροι. For other applications of the metaphor see Philo *Flacc.* 19 (II. p. 540) στέλλομαι γὰρ ὁ κακοδαίμων ἐγὼ τρόπον τινὰ νεκροφορῶν ἐμαυτὸν ὥσπερ εἰς ἠρίον, *de Agric.* 5 (I. p. 304) ἄχθος τοσοῦτον οὐκ ἀποτίθεται νεκροφοροῦσα, *Leg. Alleg.* iii. 22 (I. p. 100) μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι ποιήσειε ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ποιεῖν, ἢ νεκροφορεῖν, τὸ νεκρὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐγειρούσης καὶ ἀμοχθὶ φερούσης τῆς ψυχῆς (comp. *de Migr. Abr.* 5, I. p. 439, *de Somn.* ii. 36, I. p. 690), Greg. Naz. *Op.* II. 246 νεκροφόρος (of Adam on his expulsion from Eden). Cotelier quotes Cypr. *de Laps.* 30 (p. 259, Hartel) 'spiritaliter mortua supervivere hic tibi et ipsa ambulans funus tuum portare coepisti,' Hieron. *Ep.* 68 (I. p. 319) 'Quanti hodie diu vivendo portant funera sua et, quasi sepulcra dealbata, plena sunt ossibus mortuorum.' This last quotation combines the metaphors which appear in this and the parallel passage of Ignatius referring to these same Docetic Judaizers, *Philad.* 6 οὗτοι ἐμοὶ στῆλαί εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν. But why are they called νεκροφόροι? Pearson quotes such passages as 1 Tim. v. 6 ζῶσα τέθνηκεν, Apoc. iii. 1 ζῇς καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ. It may possibly have this reference to their *moral state* also;

ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γένοιτό μοι αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν, μέχρις οὗ μετανοήσωσιν εἰς τὸ πάθος, ὅ ἐστιν ἡμῶν ἀνάστασις.

VI. Μηδεὶς πλανάσθω. καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὁρατοί τε καὶ ἀόρατοι, ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσωσιν εἰς τὸ αἷμα Χριστοῦ [τοῦ

necessary to harmonize with changes in the context). τοῦ Θεοῦ] *qui est deus* Anon-Syr$_1$; *qui est dei* Tim-Syr (where the relative may refer either to αἷμα or to χριστοῦ); om. GLAC (which last renders the sentence, *in dominum nostrum jesum christum et sanguinem eius sanctum*); al. g (but something corresponding to τοῦ θεοῦ might have been expected, if it had been in his text). If any insertion is to be made, τοῦ Θεοῦ has the advantage of explaining the renderings of both Anon-Syr$_1$ and Tim-Syr. They might however be brought to conformity by substituting ܕܪܐܠܗܐ for ܐܠܗܐ in the Syriac, or conversely. See the lower note.

but I believe that it points more directly to their *doctrinal position*. If Christ's resurrection were not real, then their own immortality was destroyed also; they were simply carrying corpses to the grave.

5. ὄντα ἄπιστα] i.e. 'being those of unbelievers,' by a very natural brachylogy; comp. § 2 ὥσπερ ἄπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν.

7. εἰς τὸ πάθος] For the construction comp. *Philad.* 8 μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἑνότητα Θεοῦ (with the note). For the prominence given to the Passion see the note on *Ephes.* inscr.

VI. 'Be not deceived. Even the angels will be judged, if they believe not in Christ's blood. Let no man be elated by office. Faith and love are all in all. Beware also of the false teachers. They have no regard for deeds of charity. They abstain from the eucharist, because they do not acknowledge it to be the flesh of Christ which truly suffered and rose again.'

8. Μηδεὶς πλανάσθω] See *Ephes.* 5 with the note.

καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια κ.τ.λ.] See *Trall.* 5 μὴ οὐ δύναμαι τὰ ἐπουράνια γράψαι... δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια κ.τ.λ.

ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων] i.e. 'the angels notwithstanding all their glory.'

9. ἄρχοντες] For this word as a designation of angels comp. *Trall.* 5 with the note, and see Hort's article in Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* s.v. *Archon.*

ὁρατοί τε καὶ ἀόρατοι] The same expression occurs again in a similar connexion, *Trall.* 5 τὰς συστάσεις τὰς ἀρχοντικάς, ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα (see the note there).

10. τοῦ Θεοῦ] '*who is God.*' I have inserted these words in brackets with very great hesitation, as a possible reading. Such a mode of speaking however is almost, if not quite, unique in Ignatius; see *Ephes.* inscr. τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. If this was the reading of Timotheus and the anonymous Syrian writer, as it seems to have been (see the upper note), it may be due to a transcriber's reminiscence of *Ephes.* 1 ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ. See the notes on § 10 below, and on *Trall.* 7, and compare the variation of the Syriac Version above in § 4 τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου.

Θεοῦ], κἀκείνοις κρίσις ἐστίν. ὁ χωρῶν χωρείτω. τόπος μηδένα φυσιούτω· τὸ γὰρ ὅλον ἐστὶν πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη, ὧν οὐδὲν προκέκριται. καταμάθετε δὲ τοὺς ἑτεροδοξοῦντας εἰς τὴν χάριν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦ-

1 τόπος] GCg Tim-Syr; *qualiter* (τὸ πῶς) L; def. A. The same corruption of τόπος appears in Clem. Rom. 54. 3 δὲ] GLC; *etiam* A; οὖν [g]. 4 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GL; *domini nostri jesu christi* C; *dei* A; al. g. 7 οὐ περὶ θλιβομένου οὐ περὶ δεδεμένου] GL; *oppressorum et ligatorum* A; *aut alicuius*

1. ὁ χωρῶν χωρείτω] '*Let him that receiveth receive*,' taken from Matt. xix. 12 ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρείτω. It is a mysterious truth, and beyond the capacity of the common hearer. Similarly in *Trall.* 5, when he is tempted to speak of the heavenly hierarchy, he checks himself and says, φοβοῦμαι μὴ νηπίοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν βλάβην παραθῶ· καὶ συγγνώμονεῖτέ μοι, μήποτε οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι στραγγαλωθῆτε, which passage also illustrates the metaphor in χωρεῖν. The interpolator himself was not able χωρεῖν, for he obliterates all mention of the angels here, evidently looking upon them as a stumbling-block, and substitutes κἂν βασιλεὺς ᾖ κἂν ἱερεὺς κἂν ἄρχων κἂν ἰδιώτης κ.τ.λ. Perhaps the reading πιστεύσωμεν may be due to the same cause. S. Jerome (quoted by Smith) says, *Comm. in Ephes.* iv. 10 (VII. p. 614) 'Neque enim scire possumus quomodo et angelis et his qui in inferno erant sanguis Christi profuerit; et tamen quin profuerit, nescire non possumus.'

τόπος] '*place*,' i.e. 'office,' 'dignity': see the note on *Polyc.* 1.

2. φυσιούτω] Pearson compares Iren. iv. 26. 3 'principalis consessionis [i.e. πρωτοκαθεδρίας, where the MSS have 'concessionis'] tumore elati sunt.'

πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη] See the note on *Ephes.* 14 ἀρχὴ ζωῆς κ.τ.λ.; and for the frequent conjunction of πίστις and ἀγάπη in Ignatius, the note on *Ephes.* 1.

3. ὧν οὐδὲν προκέκριται] '*to which nothing is* (justly) *preferred*,' '*than which nothing is better*'; comp. *Magn.* 1 with the note.

καταμάθετε] '*mark well*,' as in Matt. vi. 28; comp. *Polyc.* 3, and see also Clem. Rom. 7.

ἑτεροδοξοῦντας] See the note on *Magn.* 8. The χάρις, as to which they have gone astray, is the gift of Christ's incarnation and passion. The γνώμη of God, which they defy, is the obligation to love imposed upon them in consequence thereof. Their doctrinal error leads to their moral failure. On the phrase γνώμη Θεοῦ see *Rom.* 8 with the note.

5. περὶ ἀγάπης] i.e. 'deeds of charity.' There is apparently no reference to the technical sense which ἀγάπη has below in § 8. It is the general term introducing the mention of the special directions in which love may be manifested.

6. περὶ χήρας κ.τ.λ.] For the whole passage comp. Barnab. 20 χήρᾳ καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες... ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον καὶ καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον.

The care of widows and orphans was regarded as of primary obligation in the Christian Church from the beginning; Acts vi. 1, ix. 39, 41, 1 Tim. v. 3—16, James i. 27. See

σαν, πῶς ἐναντίοι εἰσὶν τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ. περὶ ἀγάπης οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς, οὐ περὶ χήρας, οὐ περὶ ὀρφανοῦ, οὐ περὶ θλιβομένου, οὐ περὶ δεδεμένου [ἢ λελυμένου], οὐ

indigentis aut alicuius oppressi C (thus transposing the two words and reading δεομένου or ἐνδεομένου for δεδεμένου; see *Doctr. Apost.* 5, quoted below); θλιβόμενον... δεδεμένον [g] (changing the form of the sentence). ἢ λελυμένου] GL; om. AC[g]. The omission in g however is of little account, since this recension contains nothing corresponding to the remainder of the section οὐ περὶ πεινῶντος κ.τ.λ.

also (besides Barnab. 20 just quoted) *Polyc.* 4 χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν, Polyc. *Phil.* 6 μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας ἢ ὀρφανοῦ ἢ πένητος, Hermas *Vis.* ii. 4 νουθετήσει τὰς χήρας καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς, *Mand.* viii χήραις ὑπηρετεῖν, ὀρφανοὺς καὶ ὑστερουμένους ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, *Sim.* i ἀντὶ ἀγρῶν οὖν ἀγοράζετε ψυχὰς θλιβομένας...καὶ χήρας καὶ ὀρφανοὺς ἐπισκέπτεσθε καὶ μὴ παραβλέπετε αὐτούς, *Sim.* v. 3 δώσεις αὐτὸ χήρᾳ ἢ ὀρφανῷ ἢ ὑστερουμένῳ (comp. *Sim.* ix. 26, 27), Justin *Apol.* i. 67 (p. 99) ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι κ.τ.λ., *Clem. Hom.* Ep. Clem. 8 τοῖς μὲν ὀρφανοῖς ποιοῦντες τὰ γονέων ταῖς δὲ χήραις τὰ ἀνδρῶν, iii. 71 τιμᾶτε... χήρας εὖ βεβιωκυίας, ὀρφανοὺς ὡς ἐκκλησίας τέκνα, Tertull. *Apol.* 39 'dispensatur...egenis alendis humandisque, et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, iamque domesticis senibus, item naufragis, et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis vel in custodiis, dumtaxat ex causa dei sectae alumni confessionis suae fiunt,' *Apost. Const.* ii. 24 οἰκονομείτω ὀρφανοῖς καὶ χήραις καὶ θλιβομένοις καὶ ξένοις ἀπορουμένοις, Cyprian *Epist.* 8 (p. 487) 'sive viduae sive thlibomeni qui se exhibere non possunt, sive hi qui in carceribus sunt etc.' (comp. *Epist.* 7, p. 485; *Test.* 113, p. 181). For the practice of the Roman Church see Cornelius in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43 χήρας σὺν θλιβομένοις ὑπὲρ τὰς πεντακοσίας, οὓς πάντας ἡ τοῦ δεσπότου χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία διατρέφει.

7. θλιβομένου] Besides passages in the last note, comp. *Doctr. Apost.* 5 ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 12 (p. 873) ἀμέλει θλιβόμενον ἐπικουφίζει, παραμυθίαις, παρορμήσεσι, ταῖς βιωτικαῖς χρείαις ἐπικουρῶν.

δεδεμένου] The prisoners again were a special object of solicitude to the early Christians, more especially if they were suffering for the faith; comp. Heb. x. 34 καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δεσμίοις συνεπαθήσατε, xiii. 3 μιμνήσκεσθε τῶν δεσμίων ὡς συνδεδεμένοι, Clem. Rom. 55 ἐπιστάμεθα πολλοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς δεσμὰ ὅπως ἑτέρους λυτρώσονται κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 59 λύτρωσαι τοὺς δεσμίους ἡμῶν, Hermas *Mand.* viii ἐξ ἀναγκῶν λυτροῦσθαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ Θεοῦ (with *Sim.* i quoted above), *Clem. Hom.* Ep. Clem. 9 πολλῷ μᾶλλον πεινῶντας τρέφετε καὶ διψῶσι παρέχετε πότον, γυμνοῖς ἔνδυμα, τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐπισκέπτεσθε, τοῖς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἐπιφαινόμενοι ὡς δύνασθε βοηθεῖτε κ.τ.λ. (comp. *ib.* iii. 69, xi. 4, xii. 32, where nearly the same words are repeated), Dionys. Cor. in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 (of the Roman Christians) ἐν μετάλλοις δὲ ἀδελφοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντας κ.τ.λ., *Apost. Const.* iv. 9 ῥυόμενοι

περὶ πεινῶντος ἢ διψῶντος· εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν

1 διψῶντος] C breaks off at this word. εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπ-

δούλους καὶ αἰχμαλώτους, δεσμίους ἐπηρεαζομένους, ἥκοντας ἐκ καταδίκης διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὸ τυράννων εἰς μονομαχίαν καὶ θάνατον, v. 1 εἰ δὲ καὶ οἷός τε ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἀποδόμενος ῥύσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, μακάριος ἔσται (with the whole context), Hippol. *Haer.* ix. 12, Cyprian *Epist.* 72 (p. 698) and *passim*. See especially, as the testimony of a heathen, Lucian *de Mort. Peregr.* 12 ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐδέδετο [ὁ Περεγρῖνος], οἱ Χριστιανοὶ συμφορὰν ἡγούμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα πάντα ἐκίνουν ἐξαρπάσαι πειρωμένοι αὐτόν· εἰτ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' ἦν ἀδύνατον, ἥ γε ἄλλη θεραπεία πᾶσα οὐ παρέργως ἀλλὰ σὺν σπουδῇ ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ἔωθεν μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν ὁρᾶν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γραΐδια χήρας τινὰς καὶ παιδία ὀρφανά κ.τ.λ. For passages in the early Liturgies see the note on Clem. Rom. 59.

ἢ λελυμένου] No adequate sense can be given to these words. It is proposed for instance to interpret δεδεμένου 'a cripple' and λελυμένου 'a paralytic' ('de podagricis et paralyticis aliisque etc.' Smith). For δεδεμένος in this sense comp. Luke xiii. 16 ταύτην...ἣν ἔδησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς... οὐκ ἔδει λυθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τούτου; *Clem. Hom.* xii. 18 γυνὴ ὅλη ὑπὸ πάθους τινὸς συνδεθεῖσα: and for λελυμένος, *Epist. Vienn.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου λελυμένου (of Pothinus), Greg. Naz. *Op.* II. p. 276 ἑκαντοντάρχοιο λελυμένον ἥδρασε παῖδα in allusion to Luke vii. 2 sq (comp. λύσις *ib.* II. p. 278, λυσιμελής *ib.* pp. 860, 946). But though each word singly might refer to some kind of disease, the odd antithesis of 'bound and loosed' in this sense is quite inconceivable; not to say that parallel passages make the sense of δεδεμένου 'a prisoner' quite certain. Markland again would render it 'fatigato, deficiente'; but even if this rendering could stand in itself, it makes no antithesis to δεδεμένου. Zahn preserves this antithesis (*I. v. A.* p. 333) by giving to the passage the sense 'they care not whether a man is in bonds or free'; but this assigns to ἢ quite a different sense from that which it has in the next clause περὶ πεινῶντος ἢ διψῶντος. It seems necessary therefore to eject the words ἢ λελυμένου, as the addition of some officious scribe who had more regard for rhetoric than for sense. They are omitted in the Armenian and Coptic Versions.

1. εὐχαριστίας] On the application of this word to the Holy Communion, and even to the elements themselves, see the note on *Philad.* 4. It would appear from § 8 (comp. *Philad.* 4), that these heretics did not altogether abstain from this sacrament, but that they established a eucharist of their own apart from the Church. This Ignatius does not allow to be a real eucharistic feast (§ 8 ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία κ.τ.λ.), and therefore he says here εὐχαριστίας ἀπέχονται. The προσευχῆς is the public prayer of the Church, more especially that which accompanies the eucharist. Theodoret *Op.* IV. 1. p. 231 quotes the passage loosely, εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσφορὰς οὐκ ἀποδέχονται κ.τ.λ.

2. διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν κ.τ.λ.] The

ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν.

VII. Οἱ οὖν ἀντιλέγοντες τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ συζητοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν. συνέφερεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγα-

ἐχονται] GLA; εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσφορὰς οὐκ ἀποδέχονται Theodt; al. g. 6 τῇ δωρεᾷ] G; *huic dono* (τῇδε δωρεᾷ) L; *donis* A; al. g.

argument is much the same as Tertullian's against the Docetism of Marcion, *adv. Marc.* iv. 40 'Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, *Hoc est corpus meum* dicendo, id est *figura mei corporis.* figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. ceterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset.' The eucharist implies the reality of Christ's flesh. To those who deny this reality, it has no meaning at all; to them Christ's words of institution are false; it is in no sense the flesh of Christ. Somewhat similarly Irenæus (iv. 18. 5) argues against those who deny the resurrection and immortality of the body from the eucharist; and he challenges them either to change their opinions or to give up the celebration (ἢ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλαξάτωσαν ἢ τὸ προσφέρειν τὰ εἰρημένα παραιτείσθωσαν). See also v. 2. 2.

4. ἣν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Trall.* 9, and see the note on § 2 above.

VII. 'It is death to gainsay the gift of God. They must learn to love, if they would rise again. Have nothing to do with these men, but give heed to the Prophets, and especially the Gospel, where the Passion and Resurrection are set forth.'

6. τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ] The 'gift of God' is the redemption of man through the incarnation and death of Christ. It has substantially the same sense in Ignatius, as in S. Paul, Rom. v. 15 sq, 2 Cor. ix. 15; comp. Iren. v. 2. 3. Those who denied the reality of the passion gainsaid the gift. There is no direct reference here to the eucharist, as Aldrich supposes. The elements were called δῶρα, not as the gifts of God, but as the offerings of the congregation.

7. συζητοῦντες κ.τ.λ.] '*die by their disputing.*' The contentious spirit is death; for it is the negation of love (τὸ ἀγαπᾶν).

συνέφερεν δὲ κ.τ.λ.] This was the point in which they were at fault, περὶ ἀγάπης οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς § 6. If they had devoted themselves to charitable works instead of theological disputations, it would have been better for them (συνέφερεν αὐτοῖς). Love would have revived them, for love is resurrection, is life: comp. 1 John iii. 14 ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν ὅτι μεταβεβήκαμεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωήν, ὅτι ἀγαπῶμεν τοὺς ἀδελφούς· ὁ μὴ ἀγαπῶν μένει ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ. Many commentators (Cotelier, Pearson, Aldrich, Hefele, Zahn) would take ἀγαπᾶν=ἀγάπην ποιεῖν 'to hold an agape' (see § 8 below). This however seems lexically impossible, nor would the passage be improved by the interpretation, if it could stand. The word might possibly contain an indirect allusion to the agape, but even this would destroy the force of the expression. The sense 'to acquiesce,' i.e. 'in the revelation of the Gospel,' which Smith assigns to the word, is too weak for the occasion.

πᾶν, ἵνα καὶ ἀναστῶσιν. πρέπον [οὖν] ἐστὶν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ μήτε κατ' ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν λαλεῖν μήτε κοινῇ· προσέχειν δὲ τοῖς προφήταις, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῖν δεδήλωται καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τετελείωται. 5

VIII. Τοὺς [δὲ] μερισμοὺς φεύγετε, ὡς ἀρχὴν

1 καὶ] G; om. L (the omission of *et* after *ut* was easy); al. Ag. οὖν] Gg; om. AL* (but see Appx). 2 περὶ] Gg* (but v. l. μετ'); *de* L; *cum* A. 4 ἡμῖν] GL, and this reading seems to be recognised in the paraphrase of g, τοῖς εὐαγγελισαμένοις ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.; *nostra* (=ἡμῶν) A. 6 δὲ] GL (but om. L_1) g; *et* A; om. [Dam-Rup 1]. 7 ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί] GL Dam-Vat 2 Dam-Rup 5; ὡς ὁ χριστὸς ἰησοῦς τῷ πατρί g; *sicut iesu christo et patri deo* A. 8 πρεσβυτερίῳ] txt GL Dam-Vat; add. δὲ g;

1. πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶν] See the note *Ephes.* 2.

2. περὶ αὐτῶν] This expression suggests that the previous τῶν τοιούτων may perhaps be neuter, and not masculine, as it is generally taken. See however § 5 τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.

3. τοῖς προφήταις] On the prophets as witnesses to the passion and resurrection see § 5 above, and *Philad.* 5, 9, with the notes.

ἐξαιρέτως δὲ] '*but preeminently*'; comp. *Philad.* 9 ἐξαίρετον δέ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κ.τ.λ. For ἐξαιρέτως see the note on *Trall.* 12. Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ occurs, as here, in *Mart. Ant.* 3.

4. τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ] 'The Gospel' is here the body of fact or doctrine. There is no direct reference to a written record here, though the whole body of the four Gospels is often called τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (e.g. Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 50, 76, v. 56). Pearson's question 'An unum tantum evangelium viderat?' is quite out of place. For the distinction between 'the Gospel' and 'the Gospels,' comp. Iren. iii. 11. 9 οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ εἴτε πλείονα εἴτε ἐλάττονα τῶν εἰρημένων παρεισφέροντες εὐαγγελίων πρόσωπα, and again 'in nihilo conveniens apostolorum *evangeliis*, ut nec *evangelium* quidem sit apud eos sine blasphemia' (comp. *ib.* § 8 'neque rursus pauciora capit esse *evangelia*: quoniam...firmamentum ecclesiae est *evangelium* etc'), Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 13 ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γέγραπται...οὐδὲν δὲ εἶχεν ἔξωθεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φέρειν (comp. i. 44, 45, ii. 27, 34).

5. τετελείωται] '*has been fully accomplished*'; comp. *Philad.* 9 τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπάρτισμά ἐστιν ἀφθαρσίας. The word cannot signify, as several commentators take it, 'is demonstrated, assured, attested.'

VIII. 'Shun divisions. Follow the bishop and presbyters, and respect the deacons. Do nothing without the bishop. The eucharist is not valid without his consent. Where the bishop is, there should the laity be found. It is not allowable to baptize or to hold an agape without him. A ceremony so held is displeasing to God and has no validity.'

6. Τοὺς δὲ μερισμοὺς κ.τ.λ.] Comp.

κακῶν. πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν. μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ.

sacerdotibus A (see the note on *Trall.* 7, p. 170). 9 ἐντολήν] txt GLA Dam-Reg Dam-Rup; add. διακονοῦντας g Dam-Vat. 10 ἐπισκόπου] g Dam-Vat Dam-Rup; τοῦ ἐπισκόπου G. εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] GLg Dam-Vat; ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Dam-Rup; al. A. 11 ἐκείνη] GLg Dam-Vat; om. A (?) Dam-Rup. 12 ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον] GLg Dam-Reg; ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Dam-Vat; ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου A (translating *quaecumque ab episcopo efficiatur*) Dam-Rup. ᾧ] GAg Dam-Rup; *quod* (ὃ) L; def. Dam-Vat. ἂν] Gg; ἐὰν Dam-Rup; def. Dam-Vat.

Philad. 2 (note), 7, where the same expression occurs of these same heretics. These Docetic teachers were separatists, as well as heretics. Their separatism however seems to have been only partial. They would mix with the Church generally, but they would have their separate ritual, e.g. the agape, baptism, etc.

7. ὡς Ἰησοῦς κ.τ.λ.] For this analogy see *Magn.* 6, 7 προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τύπον Θεοῦ...ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 13 ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, *Trall.* 3 τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα τύπον τοῦ πατρός, with the respective notes.

8. ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις] For this comparison see *Magn.* 6 τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τύπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, *Trall.* 2 ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 3 τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων, and conversely *Philad.* 5 τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας, with the several notes.

9. ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν] not '*as the ordinance enjoined by God*' (so Pearson 'tanquam Dei praecepto institutos'), but '*as the voice of God enjoining you.*' The deacons speak with the authority of God; they command in God's place. See the note on the parallel passage *Trall.* 13 ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ, and compare the v. l. in the Latin of *Trall.* 3 'vereantur diaconos ut mandatum Jesu Christi,' which is probably borrowed from this passage. See also 1 Cor. xiv. 37 ἐπιγινωσκέτω ἃ γράφω ὅτι Κυρίου ἐστὶν ἐντολή. The interpolator has inserted διακονοῦντας to govern ἐντολήν and thus relieve the sense.

10. μηδεὶς χωρὶς κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Magn.* 7.

τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς] See the notes on *Philad.* 1 and Clem. Rom. 45.

11. ἐκείνη κ.τ.λ.] This passage shows that the heretics celebrated the eucharist separately; see also below οὐκ ἐξὸν κ.τ.λ.

βεβαία] '*valid*,' as e.g. Rom. iv. 16, Heb. ii. 2, ix. 17; comp. *Rom.* 3.

ἡγείσθω] '*be held.*' This passive use of deponent verbs, even in the present and imperfect tenses, is not very uncommon in other words, e.g.

ὁπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ

1 ἂν] Gg Dam-Vat Dam-Rup; ἐὰν Dam-Reg. ὁ ἐπίσκοπος] Gg Dam-Vat Dam-Rup; ἐπίσκοπος Antioch 14. ἔστω] Gg; ἦτω Antioch Dam-Vat; om. Dam-Rup. 2 ὅπου ἂν ᾖ] G; ὅπου ἐὰν ᾖ Dam-Rup; ὅπου ἂν Dam-Vat; ὅπου (om. ἂν ᾖ) g; ὅπουπερ ἂν ὀνομασθῇ Antioch; *utique ubi est* L; *ubi*

βιάζομαι, λογίζομαι, ὠνοῦμαι: comp. Kühner II. p. 106, Winer § xxxviii. p. 325, Cope on Arist. *Rhet.* I. p. 299 sq; and for δέχεσθαι, προσδέχεσθαι, etc, see Poppo on Thuc. iv. 19 (comp. e.g. the passive προσδεχέσθω in *Apost. Const.* ii. 58, viii. 31). But I have not found an instance of the present or imperfect of ἡγεῖσθαι except in an active sense, for in Herod. iii. 14 ἡγεόμενον, 'being led,' the reading is highly doubtful. The perfect τὰ ἡγημένα occurs as a passive in an oracle in Demosth. *Mac.* p. 1072, and ἡγηθήσεται also is passive in Hippol. *Haer.* i. procem. p. 3. The commentators do not notice the difficulty.

2. ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία] '*the universal Church.*' The bishop, argues Ignatius, is the centre of each individual Church, as Jesus Christ is the centre of the universal Church. The word καθολικὸς is found in a treatise ascribed to Aristotle *de Plant.* ii. 6 (p. 826), where καθολικὸς λόγος is a 'universal statement' (comp. ii. 8, p. 828, καθολικῶς); and Zeno the Stoic wrote a work called Καθολικὰ 'Universals' (Diog. Laert. vii. 4). It occurs several times in Polybius, e.g. vi. 5. 3 κ. ἔμφασις 'a general exposition,' viii. 4. 11 κ. ἱστορία 'universal history.' So also Philo *Vit. Moys.* iii. 32 (II. p. 172) καθολικώτερον νόμον, *c. Flacc.* 29 (II. p. 574) τῆς καθολικωτέρας πολιτείας, Dion. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* p. 68 καθολικὴν περίληψιν, Epictet. ii. 20. 2 καθολικὸν ἀληθὲς (comp. ii. 2. 25, iv. 4. 29, iv. 12. 7), Quintil. ii. 13. 14 'praecepta quae καθολικὰ vocant, id est (ut dicamus quomodo possumus) *universalia* vel *perpetualia*', and examples might be multiplied. The word therefore was extremely common in the age of Ignatius.

At a later date the expression ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία acquired a technical meaning, 'the Catholic Church', as opposed to the heretical sects; but here its use is different. It is the general or universal Church, as opposed to a particular body of Christians. This meaning is obviously required by the context; and yet it was reserved for Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 428) to emphasize the difference, and to point out its bearing on the Ignatian controversy. The expression as used here therefore is no indication of a late date, but the opposite. It was natural at any moment from the time when the Church first began to spread by the labours of the Apostles. Thus it is not more indicative of a late date than other uses of the word in early Christian writers; e.g. ἡ καθ. ἀνάστασις 'the general resurrection', Justin *Dial.* 82 (p. 308), Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 13 (p. 18); καθ. πνεύματα (of the four principal winds) Iren. iii. 11. 8; καθ. διαθῆκαι Iren. iii. 11. 9; καθ. σωτηρία Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 116); καθ. ὁμολογία (opposed to μερική) *Strom.* iv. 9 (p. 595); καθ. κίνησις καὶ μετάθεσις (speaking of Matt. xxvii. 52) *Strom.* vi. 6 (p. 764); καθ. λόγος, *Strom.* i. 4 (p. 330), vi. 8 (p. 773); τὰ καθ. στοιχεῖα (of the letters of the alphabet), καθ. θεωρήματα, *Strom.* viii. 8 (p. 928); 'cath. bonitas' (said of God) Tertull. *adv. Marc.* ii. 17; 'cath.

ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

sit A. Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς] GL Antioch Dam-Reg; *ἰησοῦς χριστός* A Dam-Rup; ὁ *χριστὸς* Dam-Vat. *ἐκκλησία*] txt GLA (which however inserts *sit* or *esto*) Dam-Vat Dam-Rup; add. *ἐπισυνάγεται* [Antioch].

Dei templum' (applied to our Lord), *adv. Marc.* iii. 21; 'cath. patris sacerdos' (said likewise of Christ) *adv. Marc.* iv. 9.

The earliest examples after this time, where it occurs as an epithet of *ἐκκλησία*, are (about A.D. 155 or a little later) in the letter of the Church of Smyrna on the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, where it occurs three times; inscr. *πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις*, § 8 *πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*, § 19 *Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν...ποιμένα τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*; but in all these passages it still signifies 'universal.' In a fourth passage indeed, § 16, Polycarp is called in the common texts *ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*. If this reading were correct we should have here the earliest instance of the use of 'Catholic Church' in its technical sense; and it would stand in marked contrast with the passage in Ignatius. For, whereas in Ignatius the 'Catholic Church' is distinguished from the congregation over which Polycarp presided, in the passage of the *Martyrdom* this very congregation is itself so designated. But the recently collated Moscow MS. (see *Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* 1875, p. 360) for *καθολικῆς* has *ἁγίας* in accordance with the Latin Version; and there can therefore be little doubt that this is the original reading. The technical sense however occurs in the *Muratorian Fragment* pp. 20, 47 (ed. Tregelles), 'in catholicam ecclesiam recipi non potest' (speaking of heretical writings), and very emphatically in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 17 (p. 898) *μεταγενεστέρας τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας συνηλύσεις πεποιήκασιν...ἐκ τῆς προγενεστάτης καὶ ἀληθεστάτης ἐκκλησίας...μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀληθῆ ἐκκλησίαν τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀρχαίαν...μόνην εἶναί φαμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἑνότητα πίστεως μιᾶς.*

In its earliest usages therefore, as a fluctuating epithet of *ἐκκλησία*, 'catholic' means 'universal,' as opposed to 'individual', 'particular.' The Church throughout the world is called 'catholic,' just as the Resurrection of all mankind is called 'catholic.' In its later sense, as a fixed attribute, it implies orthodoxy as opposed to heresy, conformity as opposed to dissent. Thus to the primary idea of *extension* are superadded also the ideas of *doctrine* and *unity*. But this later sense grows out of the earlier. The truth was the same everywhere, 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.' The heresies were partial, scattered, localized, isolated (comp. the note on Col. i. 6). See Athanasius *Festal Letters* 11 (p. 94, Oxf. transl.) 'The Catholic Church which is in every place,' Aug. *Epist.* liii (II. p. 119) 'Καθολικὴ Graece appellatur, quod per totum orbem terrarum diffunditur.' Not unnaturally however there was a tendency in theologians to put into the word more than history warranted: e.g. Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* xviii. 23 (p. 296) says that the Catholic Church was so called for three reasons; (1) *διὰ τὸ κατὰ πάσης εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης*; (2) *διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνελλειπῶς*

οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν

1 τοῦ] Gg Antioch Dam-Vat; om. Dam-Rup. 2 ἀγάπην] GLA (see Petermann) Antioch Dam-Vat; ἀγάπας S_1 (owing to *ribui*) Dam-Rup; δοχὴν

ἅπαντα τὰ εἰς γνῶσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθεῖν ὀφείλοντα δόγματα; (3) διὰ τὸ καθολικῶς ἰατρεύειν μὲν καὶ θεραπεύειν ἅπαν τὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν εἶδος κ.τ.λ. These two latter reasons, that it is comprehensive in doctrine, and that it is universal in application, can only be regarded as secondary glosses. So again Augustine *Epist.* xciii. 7 (II. p. 240) calls a Donatist adversary to account because he explained 'Catholicae nomen non ex totius orbis communione sed ex observatione praeceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium sacramentorum', but he adds 'quasi nos, etiamsi forte hinc sit appellata Catholica, quod totum veraciter teneat, cuius veritatis nonnullae particulae etiam in diversis inveniuntur haeresibus, etc.'

1. οὔτε βαπτίζειν] Tertull. *de Bapt.* 17 'Superest...de observatione quoque dandi et accipiendi baptismi commonefacere. Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus; dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, etc.' In early times the bishop stood to his diocese in the same intimate relations in which a rector now stands to his parish. Reference to him therefore was possible on all these points. The following passages show how it soon became necessary to relax the rule and extend the power to others; Cypr. *Epist.* lxxiii. 7 sq (p. 783 sq, Hartel) 'intelligimus nonnisi in ecclesia praepositis ...licere baptizare...nec posse quenquam contra *episcopos et sacerdotes* usurpare sibi aliquid'; *Can. Apost.* c. 47 ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἔχοντα βάπτισμα ἐὰν ἄνωθεν βαπτίσῃ κ.τ.λ. (comp. c. 46, 49, 50), *Apost. Const.* iii. 11 οὔτε τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς ἐπιτρέπομεν βαπτίζειν, οἷον ἀναγνώσταις κ.τ.λ., ἢ μόνοις ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις, ἐξυπηρετουμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν διακόνων, [Cypr.] *de Rebapt.* 10 (p. 82, Hartel) 'aut si *a minore clero per necessitatem* traditum fuerit.' Yet theoretically the power still remained with the bishop; see esp. Hieron. *c. Lucif.* 9 (II. p. 181 sq) 'Non quidem abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe a maioribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem sancti spiritus manum impositurus excurrat.... Inde venit ut sine chrismate et episcopi jussione neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi; quod frequenter, si tamen necessitas cogit, scimus etiam licere laicis'; Ambros. *de Sacram.* iii. 1 (p. 362) 'Succinctus summus sacerdos: licet enim presbyteri fecerint, tamen exordium ministerii a summo est sacerdote.' Comp. Bingham *Christ. Ant.* ii. 3. 3, Augusti *Denkw. aus der Christl. Archäol.* vii. p. 136 sq, Probst *Sakramente etc.* p. 115 sq.

2. οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν] '*nor to hold a love-feast.*' The interpolator expands the sentence, οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε προσφέρειν οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν. For this last clause comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 28 τοῖς εἰς ἀγάπην ἤτοι δοχήν, ὡς ὁ Κύριος ὠνόμασε, προαιρουμένοις καλεῖν κ.τ.λ. (where the reference is to Luke xiv. 13 ὅταν ποιῇς δοχὴν κ.τ.λ.). For δοχή, as a synonyme for ἀγάπη, see the emperor Julian *Fragm. Epist.* p. 305 Spanh. (I. p. 392, ed. Hertlein) τῆς λεγομένης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης ἢ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν, where he is speaking of the 'impious

οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο

[g]. ὃ] GLS$_1$A[g] Antioch Dam-Vat; ᾧ Dam-Rup. ἂν] Gg Antioch Dam-Vat; ἐὰν Dam-Rup.

Galileans.' For this use of ἀγάπη in the earliest ages of the Church see Jude 12 ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες (compared with 2 Pet. ii. 13 ἐντρυφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις αὐτῶν, συνευωχούμενοι ὑμῖν, where the v. l. ἀπάταις is an obvious error), Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 1 (p. 165) ὃν ἀγάπην τινὲς τολμῶσιν καλεῖν...δειπνάριά τινα...ποτῷ τε καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ καπνῷ βλασφημοῦντες τοὔνομα...δειπνάριά τε καὶ ἄριστα καὶ δοχὰς εἰκότως ἂν καλοῖμεν τὴν συνήλυσιν ταύτην...τὰς τοιαύτας δὲ ἑστιάσεις ὁ Κύριος ἀγάπας οὐ κέκληκεν (denouncing the abuse of these entertainments), *Strom.* iii. 2 (p. 514) εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα ἀθροιζομένους, οὐ γὰρ ἀγάπην εἴποιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε τὴν συνέλευσιν αὐτῶν (speaking of the Carpocratians), Celsus in Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 1 (1. p. 319) βούλεται διαβάλλειν τὴν καλουμένην ἀγάπην Χριστιανῶν κ.τ.λ., *Act. Paul. et Thecl.* 25 ἦν ἔσω ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ἀγάπη πολλή (not found however in all texts), *Act. Perp. et Felic.* 17 'Quantum in ipsis erat, non coenam liberam sed agapen coenarent,' Tertull. *Apol.* 39 'Coena nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit: id vocatur quod *dilectio* penes Graecos etc.' (where it is described), *ad Mart.* 2 'Quae justa sunt caro non amittit per curam ecclesiae et agapen fratrum,' *de Jejun.* 17 'Apud te agape in caccabis fervet etc.' (where, as a Montanist, he is reviling the feasts of the Catholics). We find references to these *agapae* in heathen writers (besides Celsus already quoted who seems to have mentioned them by name); e.g. Pliny *Ep.* x. 97 (96) 'Soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem, seque *sacramento* non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent ...quibus peractis *morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque* [*coeundi*] *ad capiendum cibum,* promiscuum tamen et innoxium: quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram'; and Lucian *de Mort. Peregr.* 12 εἶτα δεῖπνα ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο καὶ λόγοι ἱεροὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο.

In the Apostolic age the eucharist formed part of the agape. The original form of the Lord's Supper, as it was first instituted by Christ, was thus in a manner kept up. This appears from 1 Cor. xi. 17 sq (comp. Acts xx. 7), from which passage we infer that the celebration of the eucharist came, as it naturally would, at a late stage in the entertainment. In the *Doctr. Apost.* 10 this early practice is still observed. In after times however the agape was held at a separate time from the eucharist. Had this change taken place before Ignatius wrote? I think not. The words οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν seem to describe the two most important functions in which the bishop could bear a part, so that the ἀγάπη must include the eucharist. Indeed there would be an incongruity in this juxtaposition, as Zahn truly says (*I. v. A.* p. 348), unless the other great sacrament were intended; see e.g. Tertull. *de Virg. Vel.* 9 'Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere *nec tinguere nec offerre*,' *de Exh. Cast.* 7 'et *offers et tinguis* et sacerdos es tibi solus.' Nor would the omission of the eucharist be intelligible. Pearson indeed urges 'de eucharistia ante locutus est'; but this fact

καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὃ πράσσετε.

IX. Εὔλογόν ἐστιν λοιπὸν ἀνανῆψαι ἡμᾶς, ὡς [ἔτι] καιρὸν ἔχομεν εἰς Θεὸν μετανοεῖν. καλῶς ἔχει Θεὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι. ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τετί- 5
μηται· ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τὶ πράσσων τῷ διαβόλῳ

1 καὶ] GL Antioch Dam-Reg Dam-Rup; om. S_1A Dam-Vat. τῷ Θεῷ] GLS_1A Antioch Dam-Vat; paraphrased κατ' εὐαρέστησιν θεοῦ g; τῷ ἰησοῦ χριστῷ Dam-Rup. ἵνα] g Dam-Rup; ἵν' G. 2 ὃ πράσσετε] *quod facitis* S_1; *quidquid et faciatis* A; ὃ πράσσεται GL Dam-Rup; ὃ δ' ἂν πράσσητε g (attaching it to the next sentence). 3 ἀνανῆψαι ἡμᾶς] g Dam-Rup; *ut evigilemus* S_1S_4 (רנתחעיר); *vigilem stare* A (the Syriac form for the 3rd pers. sing. and the 1st pers. plur. being the same); ἀνανῆψαι (om. ἡμᾶς) GL. Add. καὶ GL (so that μετανοεῖν is made dependent on εὔλογόν ἐστιν); om. S_1S_4Ag Dam-Rup. Thus καὶ seems to have displaced ἡμᾶς. ἔτι] GLg; om. S_1S_4A Dam-Rup. 4 μετανοεῖν] GLS_1g Dam-Rup; *poenitentiae* A;

would not dispense with the mention here, where it is imperatively demanded. The interpolator, living more than two centuries after the εὐχαριστία had been separated from the ἀγάπη, feels this necessity and inserts words accordingly, οὔτε προσφέρειν οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν. On the other hand some have inferred from the words of Pliny quoted above and italicized, that when he wrote (about A.D. 112) the two were held at different times of the day. This however depends, first on the accuracy of Pliny's information, and secondly on the interpretation of *sacramentum*, which is supposed to have been used by his Christian informers in its technical sense and to have been misunderstood and confused with its ordinary meaning by Pliny. The inference therefore is somewhat precarious. Others again maintain that the eucharist was separated from the agape and attached to the early morning service *in consequence* of Pliny's edict prohibiting these Christian hetæriæ. For different views on the relation of the agape and eucharist see Bingham, *Antiq.* xv. 7. 6 sq, Augusti *Denkw.* VIII. p. 78 sq, 317 sq, Probst *Lehre u. Gebet* p. 349 sq, Th. Harnack *Der Christliche Gemeindegottesdienst* p. 213 sq, Suicer *Thes.* s. v. Ἀγάπη.

IX. 'It is well to learn sobriety, and repent, while there is time. Honour God and the bishop. He who deceives the bishop serves the devil. May you abound in all grace, as you deserve. You have been good to me alike in my presence and in my absence. May God requite you.'

3. εὔλογον] '*It is the part of reasonable men*'; a common expression. It frequently however means, not 'it is reasonable,' but 'it is probable,' e.g. Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 7, xiv. 22. The word occurs in the same sense as here in *Magn.* 7. The warning is addressed to the heretical teachers.

λοιπὸν] '*for what remains*,' i.e. seeing that the time is short; as in *Ephes.* 11 ἔσχατοι καιροί. λοιπὸν αἰσχυνθῶμεν.

λατρεύει. πάντα οὖν ὑμῖν ἐν χάριτι περισσευέτω, ἄξιοι γάρ ἐστε. κατὰ πάντα με ἀνεπαύσατε, καὶ ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. ἀπόντα με καὶ παρόντα ἠγαπήσατε· ἀμείβοι ὑμῖν Θεός, δι' ὃν πάντα ὑπομένοντες αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθε.

X. Φίλωνα καὶ Ῥαῖον Ἀγαθόπουν, οἳ ἐπηκολού-

om. S_4. 5 ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ] Gg Dam-Vat Dam-Rup; τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Antioch 14. τετίμηται] GL Dam-Vat Dam-Rup; τιμᾶται Antioch; *honoratur* S_1A; τιμηθήσεται [g]. 8 κατὰ πάντα] G; *secundum enim omnia* L; *nam in omni* A; καθὰ (om. πάντα) [g]. 9 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός] G; ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστός g. 10 ἀμείβοι] ἀμοίβει G; *retribuat* L; *servabit* A; ἀμείψεται [g]. ὑμῖν] G; *vobis* L; ὑμᾶς g. Θεός] G; ὁ θεός g. 12 Ῥαῖον] ῥέων G; *reum* L; γάϊον g; *agrium* (ἄγριον) A. This last may perhaps be a confusion of the two readings ΡΑΙΟΝ (ΡΕΟΝ) and ΓΑΙΟΝ, or it may have come from ΚΑΙΡΕΟΝ, read ΚΑΓΡΕΟΝ: see on *Philad.* 11. After this name add. καὶ gLA; om. G: see on *Philad.* 11. Ἀγαθόπουν] G; *agathopum* L; ἀγαθόποδα g (but l has *agathopum*); dub. A.

ἀνανῆψαι] '*to recover our senses*.' The word occurs in the same connexion, 2 Tim. ii. 25 δῴη αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας καὶ ἀνανήψωσιν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου παγίδος, [Clem. Rom.] ii. 13 ἤδη ποτὲ μετανοήσωμεν, νήψωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν. See also M. Anton. vi. 31 ἀνάνηφε καὶ ἀνακαλοῦ σεαυτόν.

ὡς ἔτι καιρὸν ἔχομεν] See Gal. vi. 10, [Clem. Rom.] ii. 9, with the notes.

5. εἰδέναι] '*to acknowledge, appreciate, value*'; see esp. 1 Thess. v. 12 εἰδέναι τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ. The more natural word with ἐπίσκοπον would be γινώσκειν or ἐπιγινώσκειν; but εἰδέναι Θεὸν is a somewhat familiar expression.

ὁ τιμῶν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Philad.* 11 πεμφθέντος ἅμα ἐμοὶ ἀπὸ Ἐφεσίων καὶ Σμυρναίων εἰς λόγον τιμῆς. τιμήσει αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ. For such modes of expression in Ignatius generally see the note on § 5 above.

8. ἄξιοι κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 1.

κατὰ πάντα κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 2 for this favourite Ignatian phrase.

καὶ ὑμᾶς] sc. ἀναπαύσει or ἀναπαύσειε; comp. *Ephes.* 21 ὡς καὶ ὑμῶν Ἰ. Χ., *Philad.* 11 ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁ Κύριος. The future is suggested by § 10 οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται κ.τ.λ.; the optative aorist by *Ephes.* 2 ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰ. Χ. ἀναψύξαι.

9. ἀπόντα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Phil. ii. 12.

ἠγαπήσατε] See the note on *Polyc.* 2.

10. πάντα ὑπομένοντες] See the note on § 4 above.

αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθε] See the note on *Magn.* 1.

X. 'Ye did well to welcome Philo and Agathopus. They have a grateful remembrance of your kindness. You will not lose your reward. I am devoted to you. As ye were not ashamed of my bonds, so also Christ will not be ashamed of you.'

12. Φίλωνα κ.τ.λ.] On the two persons here mentioned see the notes

θησάν μοι εἰς λόγον Θεοῦ, καλῶς ἐποιήσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ὡς διακόνους [Χριστοῦ] Θεοῦ· οἳ καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσιν τῷ Κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνεπαύσατε κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. οὐδὲν ὑμῖν οὐ μὴ ἀπολεῖται. ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ οὐχ

2 Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ] G; *dei christi* L; *θεοῦ* (om. *χριστοῦ*) A. In g the passage is paraphrased *οἳ ἐπηκολούθησάν μοι εἰς λόγον θεοῦ διάκονοι χριστοῦ ὄντες, καλῶς ἐποιήσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ὡς διακόνους χριστοῦ*, in the Greek MSS, but l has *ministros dei* in this last place, and perhaps *διακόνους θεοῦ* was the original reading of g here. If so, the paraphrase may point to *χριστοῦ θεοῦ* as standing in the text

to *Philad.* 11. They had evidently arrived at Smyrna after the departure of Ignatius thence and followed him to Troas.

1. *εἰς λόγον*] '*to the score of*,' '*in the matter of*'; see the note on *Philad.* 11 *εἰς λόγον τιμῆς*.

2. *ὡς διακόνους κ.τ.λ.*] It is probable that the Armenian Version has preserved the correct text. The common reading *διακόνους Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ* must be regarded as a confusion of the two expressions *διακόνους Χριστοῦ* and *διακόνους Θεοῦ*. Both occur in S. Paul; *διάκονος Θεοῦ*, Rom. xiii. 4, 2 Cor. vi. 4, 1 Thess. iii. 2 (v. l.); *διάκονος* [*τοῦ*] *Χριστοῦ*, 2 Cor. xi. 23, Col. i. 7 (comp. 1 Tim. iv. 6): and both are combined by Polyc. *Phil.* 5 *Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι*. A scribe, familiar with the language of the Apostle, would not unnaturally write down the alternative phrase in his margin or elsewhere; and hence the confusion. At all events the expression *Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ* is very awkward in itself and quite without a parallel even in Ignatius. The nearest approach to it is the various reading *Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ* (above, § 6) which, though more intelligible, is itself highly doubtful (see the note there). See also a questionable parallel in *Trall.* 7. For the limitations with which Ignatius speaks of Christ as God, see the note on *Ephes.* inscr.

Though S. Paul uses the expression *διάκονοι Θεοῦ* (or *Χριστοῦ*) in a much wider sense, it is probable that Ignatius here employs *διάκονος* in its technical, restricted meaning of 'deacon,' for he never uses it with any other signification; comp. esp. *Trall.* 2 *τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. See also the note on *Ephes.* 2 respecting his application of *σύνδουλος* after S. Paul, but with a similar restriction. Philo is distinctly called a deacon in *Philad.* 11; and the same was probably true of Agathopus (see the note there).

4. *ἀντίψυχον κ.τ.λ.*] Comp. *Polyc.* 2 *κατὰ πάντα σου ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ ἠγάπησας*. For the meaning of *ἀντίψυχον* see the note on *Ephes.* 21.

5. *οὐχ ὑπερηφανήσατε*] Comp. Gal. iv. 14.

6. *οὐδὲ ἐπησχύνθητε*] Suggested by 2 Tim. i. 16 *τὴν ἅλυσίν μου οὐκ ἐπησχύνθη* (see the note on *Ephes.* 2). The interpolator has seen the parallel and introduced the context of S. Paul into the context of Ignatius, *δῴη ὑμῖν ὁ Κύριος εὑρεῖν ἔλεος κ.τ.λ.* It will be seen that there is considerable authority for *ἐπαισχύνθητε* here; and

ὑπερηφανήσατε οὐδὲ ἐπησχύνθητε· οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται ἡ τελεία πίστις, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

XI. Ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν ἀπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας· ὅθεν δεδεμένος θεοπρεπεστάτοις δεσμοῖς πάντας ἀσπάζομαι, οὐκ ὢν ἄξιος

which the paraphrast had before him. See however the lower note.

5 ὑμῶν] LAg; ἡμῶν G. 6 ὑπερηφανήσατε] ὑπεριφανήσατε G. ἐπησχύνθητε] ἐπαισχύνθητε G. The MSS of g vary between ἐπαισχύνθητε and ἐπησχύνθητε: see the lower note. οὐδὲ sec.] GLA; διὸ οὐδὲ g. 7 πίστις] GL; ἐλπίς gA: see the lower note. Χριστός] G; ὁ χριστός [g].

in 2 Tim. i. 16 ἐπαισχύνθη is the best supported reading. Probably this was a common, though incorrect, form of the word, and perhaps it should be retained here.

ἐπαισχυνθήσεται] Comp. Mark viii. 38 ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με...καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσεται κ.τ.λ. (Luke ix. 26).

7. πίστις] Here in its passive sense '*trust-worthiness, fidelity*,' as e.g. in Rom. iii. 3. See *Galatians* p. 155, and the note on v. 22. For the idea compare Heb. vi. 10 οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ. In this mention of Christ's *fidelity* there is probably a reference to His *promise*, which is quoted in the last note. The reading ἐλπίς has rather better support, but is open to suspicion as a scribe's alteration, the term being frequently used of Christ in these epistles; see the notes on *Magn.* 11.

XI. 'Your prayer for the Church of Antioch has been heard. A very unworthy member of that Church, I have nevertheless been glorified by my bonds and have received grace, which I pray may be perfected. Perfect your work also and send an ambassador to Syria to congratulate the brethren on the restoration of peace. It will be a deed worthy of you thus to show your sympathy with them for that the storm has ceased and the haven is reached. Aim at perfection in your counsels. God ever assists the ready will.'

8. Ἡ προσευχὴ] See the note on *Philad.* 10.

ἀπῆλθεν ἐπὶ] '*went forth unto*,' '*has been directed towards*,' as e.g. Luke xxiv. 24 ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον. Their prayer had indeed been answered; but this is not the point here, and cannot be implied in the expression. 'Your prayer,' says Ignatius, 'travelled to Antioch; let your congratulations follow on the same road.'

9. τῆς Συρίας] See the note *Philad.* 10.

ὅθεν δεδεμένος] As *Ephes.* 21; comp. also *Ephes.* 1 δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας.

θεοπρεπεστάτοις] So called because they are goodly 'ornaments' with which God has invested him; comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 1 τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσι δεσμοῖς said with reference to Ignatius and others, *Epist. Vienn.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 τὰ δεσμὰ κόσμον εὐπρεπῆ. See the note on *Ephes.* 11. For the word θεοπρεπής see the note on *Magn.* 1.

10. οὐκ ὢν ἄξιος] See the notes on *Ephes.* 2, 21.

ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι, ἔσχατος αὐτῶν ὤν· κατὰ θέλημα κατηξιώθην, οὐκ ἐκ συνειδότος, ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος Θεοῦ, ἣν εὔχομαι τελείαν μοι δοθῆναι, ἵνα ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ἵνα οὖν τέλειον ὑμῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, πρέπει εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ χειροτο- 5

1 εἶναι] GL; *vocari* A; om. g*. αὐτῶν] GLg; ἀνθρώπων (ΑΝΩΝ) A (*vilior quam omnis homo*). ὤν] LAg; ὢν G (connecting it with what follows). Dressel adopts this reading, which however yields no tolerable sense. For similar false aspirates in G see the note on *Philad.* 7. κατὰ θέλημα] txt L* (but *autem* added in the printed texts) g* (but δὲ added in some texts); add. δὲ G; præf. *jam* A. After θέλημα add. *dei* L; om. GA (*voluntate mea*) g* (originally, but some texts add τοῦ θεοῦ). 2 συνειδότος] συνειδότως G; *conscientia* L; *mente* A; συνειδήσεως ἐμῆς g. 3 τῇ προσευχῇ] GL; ταῖς προσ-

1. θέλημα] '*the Divine will*'; see the note on *Ephes.* 20. The various readings give the expedients of translators and scribes to help out this absolute use of θέλημα here, as in other passages.

2. ἐκ συνειδότος] The participle, when used for συνείδησις, generally has the article. For instances of its omission however see *Liturg. D. Marc.* p. 8 ἐν καθαρῷ συνειδότι (and so also *Liturg. D. Jacob.* pp. 42, 56), Pausan. vi. 10 ὁ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ συνειδότος ἐπαρρησιάζετο ἀγαθοῦ, Hermog. *Rhet.* 21 οὗτος συνειδότος φεύγει (*Rhet. Graec.* II. p. 145, Spengel), *ib.* 30 (p. 152) τὸν πατέρα κρίνει συνειδότος, ἡ γυνὴ συνειδότος φεύγει, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4 οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ τὴν σιωπὴν ἄγεις ἀλλ' ἐπὶ συνειδότι πονηρῷ, Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 62 μετὰ συνειδότος τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων καθαρῶς εὐσεβοῦς, Euseb. *H. E.* x. 8 συνειδότι φαύλῳ τοῦτο λογιζόμενος, Chrysost. *Hom. in Rom.* xiii (IX. p. 552) τί γὰρ ἀλγεινότερον, εἰπέ μοι, συνειδότος πονηροῦ;...οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀνέχει, καὶ μικροῦ πέτεσθαι ποιεῖ, ὡς συνειδὸς ἀγαθόν. See also προειδὸς in Dion Cass. (Epit. Xiph.) lxix. 4 ἐξ οὐ προειδότος. The expression might have either of two meanings; (1) '*of conscience*,' i.e. 'not that my conscience pronounces me worthy,' comp. 1 Cor. iv. 4; or (2) '*of consent, complicity*,' i.e. 'it was God's sole doing.' This latter is the meaning of συνειδὸς in Hermog. l. c., and more commonly of τὸ συνειδός. See the note on συνείδησις Clem. Rom. 34, p. 113. The latter is perhaps the more probable sense here.

3. ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν] See the note on *Ephes.* 20.

Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω] See the note on *Ephes.* 1.

4. τέλειον] With a reference to the preceding τελείαν, as the emphatic position of ὑμῶν shows; 'I pray that God's grace in me may be perfect; take *ye* heed that *your* work also may be perfect.' He still harps on the same word below, τέλειοι ὄντες τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε.

5. εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ] See the note on *Ephes.* 21.

6. θεοπρεσβύτην] '*an ambassador of God*'; comp. *Philad.* 10 εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν, εἰς τὸ συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ. More particular directions are given about this delegate in the companion epistle, *Polyc.* 7, where he is called

νῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν θεοπρεσβύτην εἰς τὸ γενόμενον ἕως Συρίας συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς ὅτι εἰρηνεύουσιν καὶ ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη αὐτοῖς τὸ ἴδιον σωματεῖον. ἐφάνη μοι οὖν ἄξιον πρᾶγμα πέμψαι

εὐχαῖς [g] (but it has substituted *αἱ προσευχαὶ* for *ἡ προσευχὴ* above, p. 317). A also has a plural, but this is the common Armenian usage. 4 *ἵνα*] G; *ὅπως* g: see the note on *Rom.* 3. *τέλειον ὑμῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον*] GL; *ὑμῶν τὸ ἔργον τέλειον γένηται* g. *καὶ ἐπὶ*] GL; *ἐπὶ* (om. *καὶ*) gA. 5 *γῆς ... οὐρανῷ*] G; *τῆς γῆς ... τῷ οὐρανῷ* g. *εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ*] GL; *εἰς θεοῦ τιμὴν* g; om. A. 6 *θεοπρεσβύτην*] Gg; *deo venerabilem* L; *praecursorem* A: see the lower note. 7 *ἕως Συρίας*] GL; *ἐν συρίᾳ* g; *in syriam* A. 9 *σωματεῖον*] G; *σωμάτιον* g; *corpusculum* L; *perfectio* A. *ἄξιον*] Gg; *deo digna* (*ἀξιόθεον*, perhaps written ΑΞΙΟΘΝ) L; *gratum deo* A.

θεοδρόμος (see the note there). There can be no doubt about the meaning of the word here, but I have not thought it necessary to substitute *θεοπρεσβευτην* (the correct form), as there is sufficient evidence that the forms *πρεσβευτης*, *πρεσβυτης*, were confused at this time; see the note on Philem. 9 *πρεσβύτης, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ δέσμιος κ.τ.λ.*

εἰς τὸ κ.τ.λ.] '*that he may visit Syria and congratulate them.*' For *γενέσθαι ἕως*, 'to arrive as far as,' comp. *Rom.* 2 *εὑρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν*, with the note.

8. *ἀπέλαβον κ.τ.λ.*] '*recovered their proper magnitude*'. The church had been previously weakened and diminished by the dispersion and defections consequent on persecution.

τὸ ἴδιον σωματεῖον] '*their proper corporate substance*'. So we should probably read in Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5 (an imperial law) *ἅπαντα πάντα τῷ σωματίῳ τῶν Χριστιανῶν...παραδίδοσθαι δεήσει.* The form *σωμάτιον*, like *σαρκίον* (*σαρκίδιον*), is a word of depreciation, affected more especially by the Stoics, 'this puny, wretched body' (e.g. Epictet. i. 1. 10, i. 25. 21, where it appears in conjunction with other diminutives); whereas *σωματεῖον* is a term of enhancement. The proper distinction between the two words is recognised in Chœrobosc. *Orthogr.* s. v. (Cramer *Anecd.* II. p. 262) *Σωματεῖον· ει ἡ παράδοσις· σωμάτιον δὲ καὶ προπαροξυτόνως τὸ ὑποκοριστικόν.* The meanings of *σωματεῖον* are as follows; (1) 'A corporation, college', as *Cod. Just.* i. 2. 20 *ὡς ἐλλειπόντων δῆθεν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς σωματείων*: comp. Suicer and Ducange s. v. In this sense substantially it is used here. (2) 'An actor's dress and make up', including the padding, etc. to give dignity to the figure; Pollux *Onom.* iv. 115 *καὶ σκευὴ μὲν ἡ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν στολή· ἡ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ σωματεῖον ἐκαλεῖτο*, where the editors have wrongly substituted *σωμάτιον* (though in ii. 235 it is so written, *σωμάτιον*). The word is mentioned by Pollux side by side with *προσωπεῖον, μορμολυκεῖον.* So Lucian *Jup. Trag.* 41 *τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμβάτας καὶ τοὺς ποδήρεις χιτῶνας...καὶ σωματεῖα καὶ τἆλλα οἷς ἐκεῖνοι σεμνύνουσι τὴν τραγῳδίαν*, where however it is commonly read *σωμάτια*. In this latter form too it appears in Photius s. v., who defines it *ἀναπλάσματα οἷς οἱ*

τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων μετ' ἐπιστολῆς, ἵνα συνδοξάσῃ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν αὐτοῖς γενομένην εὐδίαν, καὶ ὅτι λιμένος ἤδη ἐτύγχανον τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν. τέλειοι ὄντες τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε· θέλουσιν γὰρ ὑμῖν εὖ πράσσειν Θεὸς ἕτοιμος εἰς τὸ παρασχεῖν. 5

XII. Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούρρου, ὃν ἀπε-

2 ἤδη] GL; subst. εὐόρμου [g]; om. A. 3 ἐτύγχανον] *pervenerunt in* A; ἐτύγχανεν GL; τετύχηκα g. This last reading points to ἐτύγχανον, which however the interpolator has mistaken for a 1st pers. sing. instead of a 3rd pers. plur. καὶ] GLAg; om. Max Dam-Rup 1. 4 ὑμῖν] GLAg Max Dam-Vat 1; ἡμῖν Dam-Rup. εὖ πράσσειν] G (not εὐπράσσειν, as commonly stated); εὖ πράττειν g Max Dam-Vat Dam-Rup. Θεὸς ἕτοιμος] GL Max Dam-Vat Dam-Rup καὶ ἕτοιμός ἐστιν ὁ θεός g*. 5 παρασχεῖν] Gg; παρέχειν Max

ὑποκριταὶ διασάττουσιν αὐτούς· (3) 'A corpus, or collection, of writings', as e.g. Iren. i. 9. 4 τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας σωματείῳ. But in other authors where this sense occurs, the existing texts frequently write it σωμάτιον. (4) 'A corpse', not regarded by itself but (as may be inferred from the form) with its belongings, e.g. the urn which contains the ashes. So it appears in three inscriptions, at Aphrodisias, *C. I. G.* 2826, 2829, 2835. Though these same inscriptions elsewhere have ει for ι, they do not so write where the ι is certainly short, as it is in σωμάτιον. It must be confessed that no stress can be laid on manuscripts, so far as regards the distinction between ι and ει, and with some of the above meanings the form of the word may be doubtful; e.g. with the second the diminutive form σωμάτιον is explicable, when compared with 'corset', 'corselet', 'leibchen'. But in the sense which it has here, this form seems quite out of place. The word σωματεῖον διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου is expressly recognised by a writer in Cramer *Anecd.* II. pp. 308, 309, but he does not distinguish its meaning from σωμάτιον.

1. συνδοξάσῃ] The word occurs Rom. viii. 17, and (in a different sense) Arist. *Polit.* v. 9 (p. 1310). Otherwise it is rare until a later date.

2. λιμένος] The simile occurs also *Polyc.* 2.

3. τέλειοι κ.τ.λ.] See Phil. iii. 15 Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι, τοῦτο φρονῶμεν. Ignatius is here referring to what has been said above, ἵνα οὖν τέλειον ὑμῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον: so that τέλεια φρονεῖτε means 'do not leave your plans incomplete.'

XII. 'The brethren at Troas salute you; whence also I write by Burrhus your delegate. His ministrations are an example for all to copy, and God will requite him. I salute your bishop, presbyters, deacons, and laity, in Christ, in His passion and resurrection, in the unity of God and of yourselves. Grace be with you always.'

6. ἡ ἀγάπη κ.τ.λ.] See the notes on *Trall.* 3, 13.

7. διὰ Βούρρου] See the note on

στείλατε μετ' ἐμοῦ ἅμα Ἐφεσίοις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑμῶν· ὃς κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν. καὶ ὄφελον πάντες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο, ὄντα ἐξεμπλάριον Θεοῦ διακονίας. ἀμείψεται αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις κατὰ πάντα. Ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυτέριον, [καὶ] τοὺς συνδούλους μου διακόνους καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κοινῇ πάντας, ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ

Dam-Vat Dam-Rup. 6 ἀδελφῶν] GLA; add. ὑμῶν g. 7 Βούρρου] *burrum* L; βύρρου G; *byrdium* A; βούργου g: see the notes on *Ephes.* 2, *Philad.* 11. 8 ἀδελφοῖς] G; *fratribus* LA; συναδελφοῖς g* (but with a v. l.). 11 ἡ χάρις] GLA; add. τοῦ κυρίου g. 12 ἐπίσκοπον] GL; add. *vestrum* A; add. ὑμῶν πολύκαρπον g. θεοπρεπὲς] gL[A?]; θεοπρεπέστατον G. καὶ sec.] L[A][g]; om. G. 14 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GL; χριστοῦ ἰησοῦ g; *domini nostri iesu christi* A. τῇ σαρκὶ] GLA; τῆς σαρκὸς g (MSS, but l has *in carne*).

Philad. 11, where the same expression occurs.

8. ἅμα Ἐφεσίοις κ.τ.λ.] '*jointly with your brethren the Ephesians*'. The Smyrnæans had joined with the Ephesians in commissioning Burrhus: see *Philad.* 11. Smith therefore is wrong when he explains ἅμα Ἐφεσίοις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, 'Euplo et Frontone', who are stated in *Ephes.* 2 to have been among the Ephesian delegates in Ignatius' company at Smyrna. Evidently ἅμα Ἐφεσίοις is connected with the subject, not the object of ἀπεστείλατε, as the parallel passage, *Philad.* 11, shows. Moreover there is reason to think that Euplus and Fronto were no longer with him, having parted from him at Smyrna, so that Burrhus was the only Ephesian delegate in his company at Troas; see the note on *Ephes.* 2.

9. κατὰ πάντα κ.τ.λ.] For this phrase see the note on *Ephes.* 2.

ὄφελον] '*I would*', as 1 Cor. iv. 8, 2 Cor. xi. 1, Gal. v. 12 (see the note), Apoc. iii. 15: see Winer § xli. p. 377. The word so used is properly the 1st pers. sing., 'I ought (*sc.* to witness it)', 'Would I might see it', but becomes a mere particle='utinam.' The form without the augment seems to be the more common with this usage.

10. ἐξεμπλάριον] See the note on *Ephes.* 2.

11. ἡ χάρις] '*the Divine favour*'; as *Polyc.* 7 πιστεύω γὰρ τῇ χάριτι, ἐν ᾗ ἔστε ἡ χάρις μετ' αὐτοῦ. For this absolute use of ἡ χάρις in the N. T., see the note *Philippians* i. 7. Compare in Ignatius the similar uses of [τὸ] θέλημα (see note on *Ephes.* 20), τὸ ὄνομα (see the note on *Ephes.* 3), ἡ ἐντολή (see note on *Trall.* 13).

12. ἀξιόθεον] See the notes on *Magn.* 2, *Trall.* inscr.

θεοπρεπὲς] See the note on *Magn.* 1.

13. συνδούλους] Appropriated by Ignatius to deacons; see the note on *Ephes.* 2.

τοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα] '*individually*'; see the note on *Ephes.* 4.

14. καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ κ.τ.λ.] A farewell warning against the false doctrine of the Docetics; comp. §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ αἵματι, πάθει τε καὶ ἀναστάσει σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ, ἐν ἑνότητι Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν. χάρις ὑμῖν, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ὑπομονὴ διὰ παντός.

2 πνευματικῇ] txt LAg; add. ἐν ὀνόματι G. It has clearly crept in from ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ above. ἐν] GL; om. g (but l has *in*). A, being

1. *σαρκικῇ τε κ.τ.λ.*] A spiritual resurrection was not denied by the Docetics. Hence Ignatius asserts both; see [Clem. Rom.] ii. 9, with the note.

2. *ἐν ἑνότητι κ.τ.λ.*] A farewell warning against the separatism of the Docetics; comp. § 8. For the form comp. *Polyc.* 7 *τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Θεοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ὑμῶν.* For *ἑνότης Θεοῦ* see *Philad.* 8, 9, *Polyc.* 8 (comp. *ἑνότης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Philad.* 5); for *ἑνότης ὑμῶν, Philad.* 2. The first genitive describes the binding principle of the unity; the second the component parts.

χάρις κ.τ.λ.] The form of benediction gathered words by time. In all S. Paul's Epistles, except the latest, in 1, 2 Peter, and in Clement, it is *χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη*; in the Pastoral Epistles, and in 2 John, *χάρις, ἔλεος* [*καὶ*] *εἰρήνη*; while here *ὑπομονὴ* is superadded. The additional words (*ἔλεος, ὑπομονή*) point to a time of growing trial and persecution. Other forms are *ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη*, Polycarp; *ἔλεος* [*καὶ*] *εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη*, Jude, *Mart. Polyc.*; *εἰρήνη καὶ χάρις καὶ δόξα, Epist. Vienn. et Lugd.*

XIII. 'I salute my brethren and their families; as also the widows. Farewell. Philo my companion salutes you. I salute the household of Gavia; likewise Alce, Daphnus, Eutecnus, indeed all one by one. Farewell once more.'

5. *τὰς παρθένους κ.τ.λ.*] The first care of the Church was to provide for the wants of the widows (see the note on § 6 above). The next step was to impose upon them such duties as they were able to perform in return for their maintenance, e.g. care of orphans, nursing of the sick, visiting of prisoners, etc. Hence they were enrolled in an order, which however did not include all who received the alms of the Church. This order was already instituted in the Apostolic age (1 Tim. v. 9 sq). It is probably intended here, and in Polycarp *Phil.* 4 *γινωσκούσας ὅτι εἰσὶ θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ.* It is certainly referred to in Hermas *Vis.* ii. 4, and in *Clem. Hom.* xi. 36 *χηρικὰ συστησάμενος* (said of S. Peter). It was even known to the heathen, as appears from Lucian *De Mort. Peregr.* 12 *ἦν ὁρᾶν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γρᾴδια χήρας τινάς* (i.e. 'widows as they call them'; comp. *ib.* § 41 *ἐπιστολὰς διαπέμψαι αὐτὸν διαθήκας τινάς*, 'testaments as he called them'). The importance of this order may be inferred from the incidental collocation in Tertullian *de Pudic.* 13 'prosternis in medium ante viduas, ante presbyteros.' Indeed there is every reason to think that it was more important throughout the second century than at any later time.

The interpretation of the language of Ignatius has been confused by the assumption that the widows were the same order as the deaconesses. This however seems to be quite a mistake. Whatever confusion there may have been in later times, in the apostolic age and for some generations after Ignatius they were distinct. This is clear from S. Paul's

XIII. Ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις, καὶ τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγο-

transmitted through the Syriac, has no authority on this point. 3 ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ὑπομονή] Gg; *et salus et patientia* A; *et misericordia et pax et sustinentia* L*. 4 Ἀσπάζομαι κ.τ.λ.] Some sentences in this chapter are transposed in A.

language in 1 Timothy, where the qualifications and functions of the two are quite separate (the deaconesses are described in iii. 11, the widows in v. 9 sq). It held equally when the *Apostolic Constitutions* were compiled. The distinction is observed alike in the earlier books (the deaconesses are discussed in ii. 58, iii. 15, the widows in iii. 1—8; while in ii. 26 the two are mentioned apart, and in iii. 7 the widows are ordered to be submissive to the deaconesses), and in the later (separate directions are given for the appointment of the two—for the deaconesses in viii. 18 sq, for the widows in viii. 25—and are assigned to different Apostles).

Having thus cleared the way, we ask next, what is the meaning of 'the virgins that are called widows'. From their mention as distinct from 'the households of the brethren with their wives and children,' it is clear they were persons who lived apart from the family life of the rest.

It is generally explained as implying that the order of so-called 'widows' either contained among its ranks persons who were actually unmarried virgins, or was altogether made up of these. This view is not uncommonly supported further by the identification of the 'widows' with the 'deaconesses'; e.g. by Cotelier, Hefele, and others here, by Bingham *Ant.* ii. 21. 2 sq, vii. 4. 9, by Probst *Kirchliche Disciplin* p. 143 sq, and by Döllinger *Christenthum u. Kirche* p. 326, etc. S. Paul however did not contemplate anything of the kind, for his directions point to widowhood in the strictest sense, 1 Tim. v. 10 μὴ ἔλαττον ἐτῶν ἑξήκοντα γεγονυῖα, ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή κ.τ.λ. Moreover even at the beginning of the third century Tertullian treats it as a monstrous and unheard-of irregularity that a virgin has been admitted into the order of widows; *de Virg. Vel.* 9 'Plane scio alicubi virginem in viduatu ab annis nondum viginti collocatam: cui si quid refrigerii debuerat episcopus, aliter utique salvo respectu disciplinae praestare potuisset, ne tale nunc miraculum, ne dixerim monstrum, in ecclesia denotaretur, virgo vidua.' It seems therefore impossible that at any time when these epistles could have been written, the 'viduatus' should have been so largely composed of virgins as to explain the writer's language so interpreted. Cotelier feels this difficulty and attempts to overcome it by the supposition that different churches had different practices; and Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 336) argues similarly. But Tertullian could not treat as a 'monstrum' a practice which had prevailed commonly in the Churches of Asia Minor for a whole century before he wrote. Moreover with this interpretation we must suppose either that the χηρικὸν of Smyrna was *wholly* composed of virgins, or that Ignatius selected out of the order for salutation those only who had never been married. Either supposition would be inexplicable. The passages which speak of virgins

μένας χήρας. ἔρρωσθέ μοι ἐν δυνάμει πατρός. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Φίλων, σὺν ἐμοὶ ὤν. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν οἶκον

1 πατρός] LA; πνεύματος G (contracted πνς) g* (MSS, but l has *dei patris*).
3 Γαουΐας] γαυΐας g: *gaviae* A: ταουΐας G; *thaviae* L: see the lower note.

as admitted into the diaconate in somewhat early times, though quoted in support of this view, prove nothing, when it is seen that the viduate and the diaconate were originally separate institutions. I do not hesitate therefore to offer a wholly different interpretation, which is suggested by the following passages; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 12 (p. 875) ὁ γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσας καὶ κατασχὼν ἑαυτοῦ καθάπερ ἡ χήρα, διὰ σωφροσύνης αὖθις παρθένος...αὗται δέ εἰσιν αἱ γνωστικαὶ ψυχαὶ ἃς ἀπείκασεν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον [Matt. xxv. 1 sq] ταῖς ἡγιασμέναις παρθένοις ταῖς προσδεχομέναις τὸν Κύριον· παρθένοι μὲν γὰρ ὡς κακῶν ἀπεσχημέναι κ.τ.λ. (comp. *Strom.* iii. 16, p. 558 ἤδη τινὲς καὶ τῆς παρθένου τὴν χήραν εἰς ἐγκράτειαν προτείνουσι καταμεγαλοφρονήσασαν ἧς πεπείραται ἡδονῆς), Tertull. *ad Uxor.* 4 (of certain widows) 'Adhibe sororum nostrarum exempla, quarum nomina penes Dominum, quae nullam formae vel aetatis occasionem praemissis maritis sanctitati anteponunt; malunt enim Deo nubere; Deo speciosae, *Deo sunt puellae*,' *de Virg. Vel.* 10 'Non enim et continentia virginitati antistat, sive viduorum (v. l. viduarum), sive qui ex consensu contumeliam communem jam recusaverunt?', *de Exh. Cast.* 1 'secunda [species] *virginitas* a secunda nativitate, id est a lavacro, *quae* aut in matrimonio purificat ex consensu aut *in viduitate perseverat* ex arbitrio.' This then I suppose to be the meaning of Ignatius here; 'I salute those women whom, though by name and in outward condition they are widows, I prefer to call virgins, for such they are in God's sight by their purity and devotion.' See also Jahn *S. Method. Platoniz.* p. 42, on some uses of παρθένος which illustrate this. M. Renan (*Les Apôtres* p. 124 sq), without any thought of this passage in Ignatius, says, 'Cette position si difficile de la veuve sans enfants, le christianisme l'éleva, la rendit sainte. *La veuve redevint presque l'égale de la vierge.*' These words give fairly the Christian sentiment about widows in the age of Ignatius, and the mode of expressing it here is eminently characteristic of this father in its terse epigrammatic form. It is difficult to say exactly what interpretation Voss takes; but he quotes (in a mutilated form) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 12, and seems in one part of his note, as if he were approaching the explanation which I have given. The expression in Seneca *Agam.* 196 'An te morantur virgines viduae domi?', quoted by Pearson, has a wholly different sense. The reader should be cautioned that in the notes of both Cotelier and Voss, as quoted by Jacobson, important sentences are left out without any sign of omission.

1. ἐν δυνάμει πατρός] In confirmation of this reading comp. *Magn.* 3 κατὰ δύναμιν Θεοῦ πατρός. The confusion of the oblique cases of πατήρ and πνεῦμα is not uncommon, owing to the contractions πρς, πνς, etc. So *Trall.* 11 φυτεία πατρὸς is quoted φυτεία τοῦ πνεύματος in [Ioann. Damasc.] *Par. Rupef. a.* lxxvi. (*Op.* II. p. 773); see also the notes on *Ephes.*

Γαουΐας, ἣν εὔχομαι ἑδρᾶσθαι πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ. ἀσπάζομαι Ἄλκην, τὸ ποθητόν

ἑδρᾶσθαι] ἑδρᾶσθαι G; ἡδρᾶσθαι g. 4 Ἄλκην] ἄλκην G. The other authorities, LAg, write it without an aspirate: comp. *Polyc.* 8.

9. In 1 Cor. xv. 24 F has a v.l. πνι for πατρί. In Iren. v. 5. 1 τῶν πνευματικῶν, the Latin has 'patrum', which must have arisen in the same way; just as in Hippol. *Haer.* vii. 33 the MS has πατρικόν where the sense requires πνευματικόν. Again in Justin *Dial.* 30 (p. 247) the common reading is μετάνοιαν τοῦ πατρός, where the sense requires πνεύματος. The critics there refer to Tatian *Orat.* 5, Method. *Conv.* p. 93, where the MSS exhibit a similar confusion. In Euseb. *H. E.* i. 13 παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς there is a v.l. πνεύματος.

3. Γαουΐας] There cannot be much doubt about the word here. The names Gavius, Gavia, are frequent in the Latin inscriptions: see also Jul. Capitol. *Anton. Pius* 8. Gavius appears also in a Greek inscription, *C. I. G.* 5979. On the other hand I have not observed any example of Tavia, and only one or two of Tavius or Thavius, Muratori MCCCXCV. 10, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* III. 6248.

ἑδρᾶσθαι πίστει] Comp. *Ephes.* 10 ἑδραῖοι τῇ πίστει, with the note. The form ἑδρᾶσθαι for ἡδρᾶσθαι is possible; see D'Orville on Charito p. 404.

σαρκικῇ κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Ephes.* 10.

4. Ἄλκην] She is saluted also in the companion letter, *Polyc.* 8, and in the same terms, τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα. The name occurs also in the account of Polycarp's martyrdom (A.D. 155 or 156) § 17 ὑπέβαλε γοῦν Νικήτην τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἄλκης κ.τ.λ., Herodes being the magistrate who was instrumental in putting Polycarp to death. There is no difficulty, though a period of forty or fifty years may have elapsed, in supposing the same person to be meant. The Alce there mentioned was plainly well known to the Christians; and her relationship to the magistrate implies that, if still living, she was advanced in life. If so, this divided family is an illustration of the warning in Matt. x. 35; for her brother Nicetes and her nephew Herodes are both actively hostile to the Christians. Pearson says incorrectly that on her account 'utpote Christianae, frater eius intercesserat *pro Polycarpo*'. But Nicetes interposes for quite another purpose, to prevent the Christians from recovering the remains of Polycarp, being instigated by the devil, as the writers of the Martyrdom state. The name Alce occurs occasionally in inscriptions, but is not common. It is remarkable that of the only two occurrences in the Greek collection the one (*C. I. G.* 3268) is at Smyrna, while the other (*C. I. G.* 7064) is on a gem of uncertain locality. In the Latin collection however it is less rare. Jacobson (*Polyc.* 8) supposes that in τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα there is a play on the word ἀλκή, '*robur, fortitudinem desiderabat* ad martyrium subeundum'. But this can hardly be; for Ignatius uses the same expression of Κρόκος, *Rom.* 10, where no such play is possible (see also the note on *Ephes.* 1).

μοι ὄνομα, καὶ Δάφνον τὸν ἀσύγκριτον καὶ Εὔτεκνον καὶ πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. ἔρρωσθε ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ.

1 μοι] g; *mihi* L; μου G; al. A. See also *Polyc.* 8, *Rom.* 10. 2 Θεοῦ] GL; add. *amen* A; add. καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ. g.

For the subscriptions of GL see the title to the Epistle to Polycarp. For A no subscription is given. For g see Appx.

1. Δάφνον] This name occurs from time to time in the inscriptions. In one, Reines. *Inscr.* p. 693, it is found in connexion with another name which occurs in this context, D . M . GAVIAE . QVADRATILLAE ...C . GAVIVS . DAPHNVS . PATER . INFELICISSIMVS. Pearson also refers to Daphnus the Ephesian physician, who is an interlocutor in Athenæus I. p. 1.

ἀσύγκριτον] '*incomparable*': Hermas *Mand.* 7 ἡ πρᾶξίς σου ἀσύγκριτος ἔσται, *Clem. Hom.* i. 21, ii. 43, 45, iii. 30, xi. 12, etc. *Test. XII Patr.* Levi 2, Hippol. p. 89 (Lagarde). It occurs also in classical writers of this age. Pearson points out that the corresponding 'incomparabilis' is a very common epithet in the Latin inscriptions; and ἀσύγκριτος itself occurs on epitaphs in Jewish cemeteries at Rome (Garrucci *Dissert. Archeol.* II. pp. 179, 182). In Rom. xvi. 14 it appears as a proper name; but this is apparently rare.

Εὔτεκνον] I have not observed any other example of this name; nor does it seem very suitable as a proper name. However Εὐτέκνιος is found in literary history; see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* V. p. 601, ed. Harles. Zahn writes εὔτεκνον and treats it as an epithet, but this is awkward.

2. κατ' ὄνομα] 3 Joh. 15 ἀσπάζου τοὺς φίλους κατ' ὄνομα, *Polyc.* 8 ἀσπάζομαι πάντας ἐξ ὀνόματος. See also the note on ἐξ ὀνόματος *Ephes.* 20.

ἔρρωσθε] See the note on *Ephes.* 21.

7.

TO POLYCARP.

7.

TO POLYCARP.

WHILE addressing a letter from Troas to the Church of Smyrna generally, Ignatius writes at the same time more especially to the bishop Polycarp. He had during his stay in Smyrna received much kindly attention from Polycarp, whom he mentions affectionately in letters written thence (*Ephes.* 21, *Magn.* 15), and had learnt to admire his character and work.

Like the Pastoral Epistles of S. Paul, with which it has many points in common, this letter is the exhortation of an older servant of Christ to a younger friend who holds a responsible office in the Church. Like them also, though special, it is not private. It was obviously intended to be communicated to the Smyrnæan Church, for at the beginning of § 6 the writer turns from the bishop to the congregation and addresses them directly on their reciprocal duties towards their chief officer.

In this letter fuller instructions than in the more general epistle are given respecting the delegate who is to represent the Smyrnæans at Antioch (§ 7). Moreover Polycarp is charged with the duty of writing to other churches nearer to Syria and directing them to send representatives in like manner (§ 8). As in the letter to the Smyrnæans, so here special salutations are sent to individual persons (*ib*). On the other hand there is no mention, beyond a passing allusion expressed in general terms (§ 3), of the heresy which occupies so large a space in the companion epistle. The directions have reference to the internal circumstances and private life of the Church, not to its relations with alien persons and creeds. Owing to this fact it has escaped with

comparatively few changes from the violence of the interpolator, who accepts any mention of heresy as a signal for free-handling and insertion.

The following is an *analysis* of the epistle.

'IGNATIUS to POLYCARP greeting.

'It was a great privilege to see thee. I exhort thee to greater zeal than ever. More especially have a care for unity. Be firm and tender and watchful. Bear the ailments of all (§ 1). Adapt thy medicines to the complaints of thy patients. Join the wisdom of the serpent with the guilelessness of the dove. Thou art compact of flesh and spirit, that thou mayest use each in its proper function. Thou art the pilot of the vessel of the Church, the athlete in the race of God (§ 2). Be not scared by false teachers. Be firm as an anvil; submit to bruises, as a victorious athlete. Read the signs of the times, but await the advent of the Eternal (§ 3).'

'Provide for the widows. Let nothing be done without thee. Let your meetings be more frequent. Do not overlook slaves, but do not exalt them unduly (§ 4). Warn thy flock against evil arts. Explain the duties of husbands and wives to each other. Vows of chastity and vows of marriage should be taken with thy cognisance; and all things done to God's honour (§ 5).'

'Ye laity, obey your bishop and your clergy. Work and suffer, sleep and rise, together. Be not remiss in your spiritual warfare; but buckle on your armour and win your reward. Be patient one with another (§ 6).'

'As the Church of Antioch now enjoys peace, I am the more ready to die. Gather together a council, Polycarp, and elect a representative who shall go to Syria. A Christian is not his own master. It remains for you to complete your good deed (§ 7).'

'Hurried in my departure hence, I have had no time to write to the distant Churches. Do thou, Polycarp, urge them to send delegates to Syria. Salutations to the widow and children of Epitropus, to Attalus, to your elected representative, to Alce. Farewell (§ 8).'

ΠΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΝ.

'ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, μᾶλλον ἐπεσκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

ΠΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΝ] *σμυρναιοῖς ἀπὸ τρωάδος πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἰγνάτιος* (numbered *β* in the marg.) G (the first three words being the subscription to the previous epistle); *epistola 2a ignacii smyrneis. a troade policarpo* L* (where the two are confused); *ad polycarpum episcopum zmyrnae urbis* A; *epistola* [*domini*] *ignatii* [*episcopi antiochiae*] Σ*; *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης* g.

1 ὁ καὶ] See *Ephes.* inscr. 2 ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων] GLg; *ecclesiae zmyrnae urbis* S_1A; *zmyrnae* Σ. μᾶλλον] txt GΣg; add. *autem* L; def. A. ἐπεσκοπημένῳ] g; ἐπισκοπημένῳ G. 3 'Ιησοῦ] Lg*; *κυρίου ἰησοῦ* GΣA.

'IGNATIUS to POLYCARP who is overseer of the Church in Smyrna, but himself is overseen by God and the Lord Jesus Christ; greeting'.

2. **Σμυρναίων**] The Syriac Version (and after it the Armenian) writes the word with a Z, as it is written also in the Syriac translations of the Martyrology (Moesinger pp. 5, 10) and of Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 36 (Cureton *C. I.* p. 203, four times). This may be a scribe's caprice, but it not improbably represents the original form in Ignatius. At all events elsewhere (e.g. in the fragments in Cureton *C. I.* pp. 198, 210, 212, 214, and in Rev. i. 11, ii. 8) it is spelt with S in the Syriac. The forms **Ζμύρνα, Ζμυρναῖος**, are common in Greek inscriptions; e. g. *C. I. G.* 3032, 3203, 3211, 3270, 3276, 3286, 3289, 3311, 3371, all these at Smyrna itself, besides several elsewhere (e.g. Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 20, p. 70). On the coins too this name is written indifferently with a **Σ** or a **Z**: see Eckhel *Doctr. Num.* II. p. 545 sq. In the earliest coins the **Z** seems to be preferred, in the latest the **Σ**, while about the age of Ignatius both seem to be used impartially; see Mionnet III. p. 302 sq, *Suppl.* VI. p. 190 sq. In Rev. i. 11, ii. 8, it is **Ζμύρνα** in ℵ, and *Zmyrna* in the Cod. Amiat. Nor is this form very uncommon in Latin MSS elsewhere (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 56). The title of Cinna's poem was evidently so written, 'Zmyrna'; see Catull. 95 (p. 67 ed. Mueller, with the fragments of the poem itself, *ib.* p. 88). Lucian

I. Ἀποδεχόμενός σου τὴν ἐν Θεῷ γνώμην ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀκίνητον, ὑπερδοξάζω καταξιωθεὶς τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ ἀμώμου, οὗ ὀναίμην ἐν

1 σου τὴν ἐν Θεῷ γνώμην] G; *tuam in deo sententiam* L; τὴν ἐν θεῷ σου γνώμην g; dub. ΣA. 2 ὑπερδοξάζω] GLg; add. *deum* ΣA. 3 τοῦ ἀμώμου] GLg; om. ΣA. 4 ἐν χάριτι] For the addition in L see Appx. 5 πάντας

(*Jud. Voc.* 9) makes Σ complain that among other aggressions Z has 'robbed him of all Smyrna'. The form Ζμύρνα is supported by the analogy of ζμάραγδοι, 'zmaragdi,' which is frequent, ζμερδαλέα in the Herculanean papyri of Philodemus, etc: see Munro on Lucret. iv. 1126. Similarly the duplicate forms Σμῆθος, Ζμῆθος, of a proper name occur in the inscriptions. Compare also the two forms Σωτίων, Ζωτίων, in *Magn.* 2 with the note. The substitution of 'bishop of Smyrna' in the Syriac of Cureton for 'bishop of the Church of the Smyrnæans' is an indication of a later date.

ἐπεσκοπημένῳ] See below § 8 ἐν ἑνότητι Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπῇ, *Magn.* 3 τῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ; comp. also 1 Pet. ii. 25. For this use of the verb, referring to God's supervision, comp. Orig. *de Orat.* 31 (I. p. 268) ὑπηρεσία τοῦ θείου βουλήματος ἐπισκοποῦντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν...οἱ τοιοῦτοι...οὐκ ἐπισκοπηθήσονται. There is perhaps the same play, as here, intended by Polycrates in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24 Μελίτωνα...ὃς κεῖται ἐν Σάρδεσι περιμένων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπήν κ.τ.λ., and in Eusebius himself *H. E.* iii. 7 Ἰάκωβος αὐτὸς ὁ τῆδε πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος...τῆς θείας ἐπισκοπῆς εἰσέτι τότε μακροθυμούσης. For the sentiment here comp. Gal. iv. 9 γνόντες Θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ Θεοῦ; and for similar turns of expression in Ignatius see the note on *Smyrn.* 5.

I. 'I welcome thy firm faith in God, and I give glory that I have seen thee face to face. Be more diligent in thine own life, and exhort all men to be saved. Vindicate thine office; be zealous for unity; bear the burdens of all; give thyself to prayer and ask for more grace; be vigilant; address thyself to each man severally; bear the sicknesses of all. The greater the pain, the greater the gain.'

1. Ἀποδεχόμενος] '*Welcoming, approving*,' as in *Ephes.* 1 Ἀποδεξάμενος ὑμῶν ἐν Θεῷ τὸ πολυαγάπητον ὄνομα, *Trall.* 1 ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν εὔνοιαν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐδόξασα κ.τ.λ.

ἐν Θεῷ] These words might be connected with ἡδρασμένην, as in the Syriac and Armenian versions. For ἑδράζεσθαι ἐν see *Philad.* inscr. (with the note). Comp. also ἑδραιοῦσθαι ἐν Θεῷ Epiphan. *Haer.* lxi. 8 (p. 512). Perhaps however they are better taken with γνώμην; comp. *Rom.* 7 τὴν εἰς Θεόν μου γνώμην, and *Trall.* 1 (quoted above).

2. ἐπὶ πέτραν] As in the parable, Matt. vii. 24, 25, Luke vi. 48.

ὑπερδοξάζω] Used absolutely, like ἐδόξασα in *Trall.* 1 quoted above (see the note there). The Syriac and Armenian versions, followed by Petermann, supply 'Deum,' from not appreciating this usage. For ὑπερδοξάζω see Orig. *Comm. in Ioann.* xiii (*Op.* IV. p. 235), and comp. ὑπερενφραίνομαι Barnab. 1, ὑπερευχαριστῶ Barnab. 5.

Θεῷ. παρακαλῶ σε ἐν χάριτι ᾗ ἐνδέδυσαι προσθεῖναι
5 τῷ δρόμῳ σου, καὶ πάντας παρακαλεῖν ἵνα σώζωνται.
ἐκδίκει σου τὸν τόπον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ

παρακαλεῖν] GLg; *petas pro omnibus hominibus* (*filiis hominum*) Σ; *petere pro filiis hominum* A. 6 σου τὸν τόπον] GLg (and so Antioch 11 αὐτοῦ τὸν τόπον); *convenientia* (*decentia*) ΣA: see the lower note. σαρκικῇ τε καὶ] GLΣAg; om. Antioch.

καταξιωθεὶς κ.τ.λ.] '*having been permitted to see thy face.*' 'Numquam igitur ante viderat Polycarpum,' says Pearson. This seems a just inference from the language; and if so, it refutes the statement in *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 3 that Polycarp had been a fellow-disciple (συνακροατὴς) of Ignatius under S. John. For the frequency of καταξιοῦν in Ignatius see the note on *Ephes.* 20.

3. τοῦ ἀμώμου] The absence of these words in the Syriac and Armenian versions renders them doubtful here; but ἄμωμος, ἀμώμως, are favourite words of Ignatius, especially in the addresses of his letters: see the note on *Ephes.* inscr.

οὗ ὀναίμην] '*and may I have joy of it.*' See the note on *Ephes.* 2.

4. προσθεῖναι κ.τ.λ.] '*to add to thy race,*' i.e. 'to run thy race with increased vigour.' The words are copied by the pseudo-Ignatius *Hero* 1 προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου καὶ ἐκδικεῖν σου τὸ ἀξίωμα. The word δρόμος reproduces S. Paul's favourite metaphor of the stadium; e.g. πληροῦν τὸν δρόμον Acts xiii. 25, τελειοῦν τὸν δρόμον Acts xx. 24, τελεῖν τὸν δρόμον 2 Tim. iv. 7. For the metaphor in Ignatius see the note on *Rom.* 2.

6. ἐκδίκει κ.τ.λ.] '*vindicate, assert, thine office,*' i.e. 'make it felt and respected by a diligent discharge of its duties.' Pearson quotes Origen *Comm. in Matt.* xii. (III. p. 531) οἱ τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκδικοῦντες χρῶνται τῷ ῥητῷ ὡς Πέτρος, Cornelius in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43 (speaking of Novatian) ἐπισκοπὴν...μὴ ἐπιβάλλουσαν αὐτῷ ἐκδικεῖ. In the first passage the phrase is used exactly as here; in the second somewhat differently. The word ἐκδικεῖν occurs frequently in the LXX, but most commonly in another sense, 'to exact vengeance for or from,' 'to avenge,' 'to punish.'

τὸν τόπον] '*thy place,*' i.e. '*thine office*'; comp. *Smyrn.* 6 τόπος μηδένα φυσιούτω. See also Acts i. 25 τὸν τόπον τῆς διακονίας (the correct reading), Clem. Rom. 40 τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, *ib.* 44 μή τις αὐτοὺς μεταστήσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου, Polyc. *Phil.* 11 'ignoret is *locum* qui datus est ei,' *Mart. Vienn.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 4 εἰ γὰρ ᾔδειμεν τόπον τινὶ δικαιοσύνην περιποιεῖσθαι, ὡς πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας κ.τ.λ, *Apost. Const.* ii. 2 καθίσταται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ii. 11 γνωρίζων τὸν τόπον σου καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν, ii. 18 ἀξίως τοῦ τόπου σου ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ ἀναστρέφου, ii. 35 τῆς ἱερωσύνης τοῦ τηλικούτου τόπου, Alexander in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 11 Νάρκισσος ὁ πρὸ ἐμοῦ διέπων τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν ἐνθάδε, Orig. *Comm. in Matt.* l. c. So also in Latin, Tertull. *de Fuga* 11 'omnem servum dei...etiam minoris loci, ut majoris fieri possit...sed cum ipsi auctores, id est, ipsi diaconi et presbyteri et episcopi fugiunt, etc', Cyprian *Epist.* iii (p. 469 ed. Hartel) 'immemor sacerdotalis loci tui et

πνευματικῇ. τῆς ἑνώσεως φρόντιζε, ἧς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον· πάντας βάσταζε, ὡς καί σε ὁ Κύριος· πάντων ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ ποιεῖς· προσευχαῖς σχόλαζε ἀδιαλείπτοις· αἰτοῦ σύνεσιν πλείονα ἧς ἔχεις· γρηγόρει

2 ὡς καί] GLAg Dam-Vat 2 Antioch (twice) 7, 11; *sicut* (om. *καί*) $S_4\Sigma$. ὁ Κύριος] GLg Antioch (twice) Dam; add. *portat* $S_4\Sigma$; add. *portavit* A: see a similar addition of ΣA in § 6 ὡς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν. 3 ὥσπερ καί] GL*Ag; *sicut* (om. *καί*) Σ (see above l. 2); *id quod* S_4: def. Dam-Vat Antioch. ἀδιαλείπτοις] GLg* Dam-Vat Antioch 11 (who paraphrases προσευχέσθω ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀδιαλείπτως); om. $S_4\Sigma A$ (seemingly, but see the note on *Ephes.* 10). 5 πνεῦμα]

officii,' xv (p. 513) 'solicitudo loci nostri,' xvi (p. 517) 'aliqui de presbyteris nec evangelii nec loci sui memores,' xl (p. 586) 'promovebitur quidem...ad ampliorem locum religionis suae.' See Pearson here and on *Smyrn.* 6, where several passages are collected. So in English we speak of 'placemen,' 'place-seekers.' The scruples of Cureton (*C. I.* p. 265) respecting τὸν τόπον are groundless; for τόπος was certainly so used in the time of Ignatius, as the quotations given above show. The rendering of the Syriac and Armenian 'things becoming' is perhaps merely a loose paraphrase, meaning the 'official duties' of a bishop (see e.g. Payne Smith *Thes. Syr.* s. v. ܫܠܝܚܐ). But in uncial characters ΤΟΝΤΟΠΟΝ might easily be read ΤΟΠΡΕΠΟΝ, the confusion between Ν, Π and between Ε, Ο, being very frequent where the MS is blurred; and the plural is explained by *ribui.*

σαρκικῇ τε κ.τ.λ.] As we should say, 'secular as well as spiritual.' For this favourite combination in Ignatius, see the note on *Ephes.* 10.

1. τῆς ἑνώσεως] See the note on *Magn.* 1.

οὐδὲν ἄμεινον] Comp. *Ephes.* 13, *Magn.* 7.

2. πάντας βάσταζε] i.e. 'support the burdens of all men'; comp. Rom. xv. 1, Gal. vi. 2. So *Epist. ad Diogn.* 10 τὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἀναδέχεται βάρος. See *Apost. Const.* i. 1 βαστάζετε οὖν, οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλήλους, ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τὴν γυναῖκα κ.τ.λ.

ὡς καί σε ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] An allusion to Isaiah liii. 4 paraphrased in Matt. viii. 17 αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν. The influence of the evangelist's paraphrase is clear, when we compare the words used just below, πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε: for the LXX rendering is quite different, οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται. The interpolator has seen the reference, and has introduced the words of Is. liii. 4, as given in S. Matthew, into the context of πάντων τὰς νόσους κ.τ.λ. just below.

πάντων ἀνέχου] This describes the passive side of his duty to others, as the previous clause had described the active. See Ephes. iv. 2 ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ, which Ignatius probably has in his mind. Comp. also the saying of Epictetus, ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου, Aul. Gell. xvii. 19. This verb generally takes the genitive in the N. T.

3. ἀδιαλείπτοις] See *Ephes.* 10 ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε with the note, where the omission of ἀδιαλείπτοις in some texts here is discussed.

5 ἀκοίμητον πνεῦμα κεκτημένος· τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα κατὰ ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ λάλει· πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε, ὡς τέλειος ἀθλητής· ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ κέρδος.

GLS$_4$ΣAg Dam-Reg; ὅμμα Dam-Vat; def. Antioch. 6 ὁμοήθειαν] g* (but *adjutorium* l); *consuetudinem* L; *voluntatem* S$_4$ΣA; βοήθειαν G. 7 ἀθλητής] Gg Antioch; ὁ ἀθλητής Dam-Vat. ὅπου] txt GLAg (but add. *enim* l) Dam; add. γὰρ S$_4$Σ Antioch. πλείων] g*L Antioch Dam-Vat; πλεῖον G Dam-Reg; *multus* S$_4$ΣA. πολὺ] GLg (but præf. *ibi etiam* l) Dam-Vat; add. *etiam* S$_4$ΣA; add. καὶ τὸ Antioch.

5. πνεῦμα] The substitution of ὅμμα in a quotation of the passage was probably suggested by the fact that ἀκοίμητον ὅμμα is a more familiar combination; e.g. Philo *de Mut. Nom.* 1 (I. p. 579), *de Mon.* 6 (II. p. 219).

τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα] '*to each singly*': see the note on *Ephes.* 4 for this characteristic Ignatian phrase.

κατὰ ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ] '*in conformity with God*.' If the balance of authorities had left any doubt about the reading, it would have been settled by *Magn.* 6 ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ λαβόντες. The Syriac and Armenian give a loose rendering of ὁμοήθειαν, which it was difficult to translate accurately. The similarity of the letters β and μ in cursive MSS explains the variation βοήθειαν, a common word being substituted for an uncommon. See also the note on *Mart. Rom.* 10. For ὁμοήθεια see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 12 (p. 878), Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* ii. 11 (p. 61), Cyril. *c. Julian.* x. p. 338 (ed. Spanheim). Ignatius here means 'conformity with the character of God' our Father, who neglects no one, but makes His sun to shine alike upon the good and evil (Matt. v. 45 sq). It will appear, I think, from the context, that Ignatius has this saying of Christ in his mind; comp. πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε ὡς τέλειος ἀθλητής, with ver. 48 ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ., and καλοὺς μαθητὰς ἐὰν φιλῇς κ.τ.λ. with ver. 47 sq ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε κ.τ.λ.

6. τὰς νόσους κ.τ.λ.] See the note on ὡς καί σε κ.τ.λ. above.

7. τέλειος ἀθλητής] So Polyb. ii. 20. 9 ἀθληταὶ τέλειοι γεγονότες τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων; comp. *ib.* i. 59. 12 ἀθλητὰς ἀπετέλεσε. In this application of the word 'athlete' Ignatius had already been anticipated by Clement of Rome, § 5. The allied words, ἀθλεῖν, ἄθλησις, occur in this connexion as early as 2 Tim. ii. 5, Heb. x. 32, and the idea is constantly present to S. Paul's mind. It afterwards became a very favourite metaphor, more especially as applied to the martyrs; e.g. *Mart. Polyc.* 18, *Epist. Vienn.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 (several times), *Act. Perp. et Felic.* 10, etc. Naturally also it was frequently employed by the Stoics. Here Ignatius seems to be contemplating the *pancratiast* (πάντων κ.τ.λ.), in whom all the faculties were on the alert, and all the muscles brought into play; so Panætius in Aul. Gell. xiii. 28. 3 'Vita hominum qui aetatem in medio rerum agunt ac sibi suisque esse usui volunt, negotia periculaque ex improviso adsidua et prope cotidiana fert: ad ea cavenda atque declinanda perinde esse opor-

II. *Καλοὺς μαθητὰς ἐὰν φιλῇς, χάρις σοι οὐκ ἔστιν· μᾶλλον τοὺς λοιμοτέρους ἐν πραΰτητι ὑπότασσε.*

1 *φιλῇς*] txt GLg Dam-Vat Antioch (*φιλῇ*) Anton 4 (*φιλεῖς*); add. *tantum* S_4ΣA. *ἔστιν*] or *ἔστι* GLS_4ΣAg Antioch Anton; *ἔσται* Dam-Vat. 2 *μᾶλλον*] GLΣ Dam-Vat Anton; *μᾶλλον δὲ* g; *ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον* Antioch; *sed potius* S_4A. *τοὺς λοιμοτέρους*] Gg; *deteriores* L; *malos* S_4ΣA; *τοὺς ἀπειθεστέρους* (*ἀπιθεστέρους*) Antioch Dam-Vat Anton. *πραΰτητι*] g (but with a v. l.)

tet animo prompto semper atque intento, ut sunt athletarum qui pancratiastae vocantur: nam sicut illi ad certandum vocati etc.' For *τέλειος* Pearson compares Plato *Legg.* vii. p. 795 *ὁ τελέως παγκράτιον ἠσκηκὼς κ.τ.λ.*, Galen *de San.* iii. 2 (VI. p. 168 sq, Kühn) *οὐδ' οἱ πλεῖστα πονοῦντες ἀθληταὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι γυμνάσιον ἐφεδρεύοντα κόπον ἔχουσι πλὴν τὸ καλούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν τέλειον*, and again *τὸ τελεώτατον ἐκεῖνο γυμνάσιον ὃ δὴ καὶ κατασκευὴν ὀνομάζουσι.*

ὅπου πλείων κ.τ.λ.] '*The more pain the greater gain.*' So S. John in Browning's '*Death in the Desert*,' 'When pain ends gain ends too.' A contemporary of Ignatius, R. Tarphon (Tryphon), is credited with a saying which resembles this, *Pirke Aboth* ii. 19 'Dies brevis et *opus multum* et operarii pigri et *merces multa* et magister domus (*οἰκοδεσπότης*) urget.' So too Tertull. *ad Mart.* 3 of athletes, 'quanto plus in exercitationibus laboraverint, tanto plus de victoria sperant,' Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xl (I. p. 706) *αὐτὸ τὸ καμεῖν πλέον, πλείων μισθὸς κ.τ.λ.* The word *κόπος* is used especially of the athlete's training: comp. e.g. Galen l. c., and see the note on *συγκοπιᾶτε* § 6.

II. 'It is not enough to love good scholars. Bring the pestilent into subjection. Apply not the same remedy to all diseases. Be wise as the serpent and harmless as the dove. Thou art compact of flesh and spirit, that thou mayest humour the things that are visible and mayest acquire a knowledge of the things that are invisible. The occasion demands thee, as a pilot the gales or as a storm-tossed mariner the haven. Train thyself, as God's athlete. The prize is eternal life. I am thy devoted friend, I and my bonds.'

1. *Καλοὺς κ.τ.λ.*] Luke vi. 32 *εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν; κ.τ.λ.* (see the note on § 1 *κατὰ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ*), 1 Pet. ii. 18 *οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκολιοῖς· τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις κ.τ.λ.* See also [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 13 *οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν, εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς.*

2. *τοὺς λοιμοτέρους*] '*the more pestilent*,' with a reference to the metaphor in § 1 *πάντων τὰς νόσους κ.τ.λ.* This word, like *ὄλεθρος*, is used of persons even in classical writers, e.g. Demosth. *c. Aristog.* i. 80 (p. 794) *ὁ λοιμός* 'the pest.' Hence it comes to be employed as an adjective, and is even declined as such; e.g. 1 Sam. i. 16 *θυγατέρα λοιμήν*, Barnab. 10 *ὄντα λοιμὰ τῇ πονηρίᾳ αὐτῶν.* This usage is most common in the LXX; comp. also Acts xxiv. 5. But I have not found an earlier instance of the comparative. Zahn refers to Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 67 (p. 464), where this father mentions having heard a wise man (Pantænus?) interpret *καθέδραν λοιμῶν* (Ps. i. 1) as referring to the heretical sects (*τὰς αἱρέσεις*).

πραΰτητι] Probably the correct

οὐ πᾶν τραῦμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ θεραπεύεται· τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς ἐμβροχαῖς παῦε. φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς

Anton; πραότητι G Antioch Dam-Vat. 3 τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς] GLg Antioch Dam-Vat Anton; *abscissionem* Σ; *abscissam* A. 4 ἐμβροχαῖς] g* (but with v. l.) Dam-Vat Anton; ἐν βροχαῖς GL Antioch; (*in*) *lenitate* Σ; *lenitate* A; ἐν εὐχαῖς Dam-Reg.

form here. See the note on *Galatians* v. 23.

3. τραῦμα] The word, as a medical term, is not confined to bleeding wounds, but includes all external bruises and sores.

τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ] '*the same plaster* or *salve*': comp. Clem. Alex. *Fragm.* p. 1020 (Potter) ἐν μιᾷ ἐμπλάστρῳ καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον ἰασάμενος, Hermes Trism. περὶ βοτ. χυλ. p. 331 (ed. Roether) ἐμπλάστρῳ μὴ τῷ αὐτῷ χρῶ. The word is properly an adjective, θεραπεία or φαρμακεία being perhaps understood, and hence its gender. In late Greek however it became a neuter, τὸ ἔμπλαστρον. On the other hand, the recognised Latin form was the neuter *emplastrum*, and Gellius (xvi. 7) complains of certain 'novicii semidocti,' who treated it as a feminine. This branch of medicine seems to have been especially elaborated by the ancients. Their treatises are largely occupied in describing the different kinds of 'emplastra'; e.g. Celsus *Med.* v. 19, Galen *de Comp. Med. per Gen.* i. 4 sq (XIII. p. 357 sq). In the index to Galen the list of emplastra occupies several pages. The familiarity of the Latins with the word appears from the passage of Laberius, 'Quid est jusjurandum? emplastrum aeris alieni,' quoted by Gellius l. c., and by the remarks of Gellius himself on it. With the expression here comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 41 ὡς συμπαθὴς ἰατρὸς τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας πάντας θεράπευε ... μὴ μόνον τέμνων ... ἀλλὰ καὶ...καταβρέχων λόγοις παρακλητικοῖς· ἐὰν δὲ κοῖλον ᾖ τὸ τραῦμα, θρέψον αὐτὸ δι' ἐμπλάστρων κ.τ.λ., a passage which is evidently taken from Ignatius. See also *Clem. Hom.* x. 18 οὐ γὰρ χρὴ τὴν ἔμπλαστρον προσφέρειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὑγιεινὸν μέρος κ.τ.λ. Zahn quotes Orig. *Hom. in Jes. Naue* vii. § 6 (II. p. 414) 'si oleo perunximus, si emplastris mitigavimus, si malagmate mollivimus, nec tamen cedit tumoris duritia, solum superest remedium desecandi.' See also Epict. ii. 21. 20 sq τὰ γὰρ κολλύρια οὐκ ἄχρηστα τοῖς ὅτε δεῖ καὶ ὡς δεῖ ἐγχριομένοις, with what follows.

This passage of Ignatius is quoted anonymously by Peter of Alexandria as retranslated into the Greek from the Syriac by Lagarde *Rell. Jur. Eccl. Gr.* p. xlvi ἐκ περισσοῦ [μάλιστα?] ἀκούομεν ὅτι Οὐ πᾶν τραῦμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ θεραπεύεται.

4. παροξυσμούς] '*sharp pains* or *inflammations*'; a medical term with a much wider meaning than the derived English 'paroxysm.' Its Latin equivalent is 'accessio.'

ἐμβροχαῖς] '*embrocations*' or '*fomentations*,' Galen *Op.* XIV. pp. 314, 316; comp. Plut. *Mor.* p. 42 C οὐδὲ ζητεῖν μυρίζεσθαι, δεόμενον ἐμβροχῆς καὶ καταπλάσματος. For parallels to the metaphor see also Plut. *Mor.* p. 74 D οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τέμνοντες ἐν τῷ πονεῖν καὶ ἀλγεῖν καταλείπουσι τὸ πεπονθὸς ἀλλ' ἐνέβρεξαν προσηνῶς κ.τ.λ., *Apost. Const.* ii. 41 (quoted above) καταβρέχων λόγοις παρακλητικοῖς: comp. Galen *Op.* XIII. p. 210 παρηγο-

ὁ ὄφις ἐν πᾶσιν καὶ ἀκέραιος εἰσαεὶ ὡς ἡ περιστερά. διὰ τοῦτο σαρκικὸς εἶ καὶ πνευματικός, ἵνα τὰ φαινόμενά σου εἰς πρόσωπον κολακεύῃς· τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα

1 ὁ ὄφις] g* (but with a v. l. ὄφις), and so prob. Antioch who substitutes the plur. οἱ ὄφεις; ὄφις (om. ὁ) G. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 597) is not altogether correct about the authorities. The clauses are balanced, ὁ ὄφις against ἡ περιστερά. πᾶσιν] or πᾶσι g Antioch; ἅπασιν G. εἰσαεὶ] g (but om. I, which likewise omits ἐν πᾶσιν in the first clause); *ad ea quae requiruntur* (εἰς ἃ δεῖ) Σ; *iis quae digna* (or *qui digni*) *sunt* A; om. GL Antioch. The omission is doubtless owing to the recurrence of similar letters. ὡς ἡ] Gg, and so prob. Antioch, who has the plural ὡς αἱ περιστεραί; ὡσεὶ vulg. 3 σου εἰς πρόσωπον] G; *in tuam faciem* L; *coram facie tua* ΣA; σοι εἰς πρόσωπον g Dam-Vat 2. In Antioch 1 it stands αὐτῶν εἰς πρόσωπον, where αὐτῶν corresponds to σου, but as the context is in the 3rd person *singular* we should prob. read αὐτῷ corresponding to σοι. κολακεύῃς] GLΣ Dam-Vat; κολακεύεις Dam-Reg; κολακεύῃ Antioch (transferred to the 3rd pers.); *lucreris* A; ἐπανορθώσῃς g*. 4 αἴτει] G Dam-Vat, and this was prob. the reading of g*, though the existing authorities vary; *pete* ΣA; *petas* L. Antioch has αἰτῇ, which corresponds to αἰτῇς, when

ρίας μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν δεῖται ἢ βίας ἐν τοῖς παροξυσμοῖς κ.τ.λ. (comp. *ib.* p. 182 sq).

φρόνιμος κ.τ.λ.] A reference to the saying in Matt. x. 16 γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί. Ignatius has substituted the singular, and inserted ἐν πᾶσιν and εἰσαεὶ in the respective clauses.

2. διὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'You are composed of two elements; of flesh, that you may be able to deal with the world of matter, and shape it to God's ends; of spirit, that you may be competent to receive a revelation of the unseen world.' For διὰ τοῦτο ἵνα comp. *Magn.* 9.

3. σου] This seems to be the right reading; and if so, it should probably be taken with εἰς πρόσωπον. This position of the pronoun, even when there is no special emphasis, is common in Hellenistic Greek (e.g. Matt. vi. 17, ix. 6, xvi. 18, etc.), and occurs, as here, even with an interposing preposition, e.g. Luke vii. 44 εἰσῆλθόν σου εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, John ix. 15 ἐπέθηκέν μου ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς (the correct reading). By 'the things which appear before thy face' is meant 'the visible and material world.' Pearson wrongly interprets τὰ φαινόμενά σου 'corpus tuum.'

κολακεύῃς] '*mayest humour*'; a characteristic word of Ignatius, *Rom.* 4 κολακεύσατε τὰ θηρία, *ib.* 5 ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω, and (as I have restored the Greek) *ib.* 6 μηδὲ ὕλῃ κολακεύσητε. The word is used here in a good sense, as in *Clem. Hom.* xii. 25 ὑπ' ἐλέου κολακευθεῖσα ἐπέπειστο εὐεργέτις γενέσθαι κ.τ.λ., xiii. 16 ἡ σώφρων τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνδιαθέτως φιλεῖ...κολακεύει, ἀρέσκει (comp. *Apost. Const.* i. 2 τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ μόνον βουλόμενος ἀρέσκειν καὶ ταύτην κολακεύειν ἐντίμως, which can hardly be independent of this passage), xiii. 17 ἄκουσαν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν σωφρονίζοντα ἀεὶ εἰσέρχεσθαι λόγον ἀνάγκασον, κολάκευσον. The advice here is not very different from S. Paul's maxim of 'becoming all things to all men.' The things of this world are to be 'coaxed' into conformity with the will of God.

4. αἴτει] So we should probably

αἴτει ἵνα σοι φανερωθῇ· ἵνα μηδενὸς λείπῃ, καὶ παντὸς
5 *χαρίσματος περισσεύῃς. ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ σε, ὡς κυβερνῆται ἀνέμους καὶ ὡς χειμαζόμενος λιμένα, εἰς τὸ Θεοῦ*

transferred from the third person to the second. See the lower note. *φανερωθῇ*] G Dam-Vat; *φανερωθείη* g; dub. Antioch. *ἵνα* sec.] g Antioch Dam-Vat; *ὅπως* G. The change seems to have been made to avoid the repetition of *ἵνα*; comp. the note on *Rom.* 3. *μηδενὸς*] GLΣA Antioch Dam-Vat; *μηδέν σοι* g. 5 *ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ σε*] GL, and so Antioch (transferred to the 3rd pers.; see the next note); add. *εὔχεσθαι* g; *tempus poscit* (or *posce*) Σ*; *pete tu tibi in tempore* A. *ὡς κυβερνῆται ἀνέμους*] GL; *sicut sapiens gubernator ventum* A; *ut gubernator navem* Σ. The sentence is paraphrased in g*, *ὥσπερ γὰρ κυβερνήτῃ ἄνεμος συμβάλλεται καὶ ὡς νηὶ χειμαζομένῃ λιμένες εὔθετοι εἰς σωτηρίαν, οὕτω καὶ σοὶ τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν θεοῦ*, which points to the same reading as GL. The paraphrase of Antioch is very different, *ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἀπαιτεῖ αὐτόν, ὡς κυβερνήτην πρὸς τοὺς ἀνέμους καὶ τὰς τρικυμίας καὶ ζάλας τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πορνείας στῆναι γενναίως καὶ ὁδηγεῖν τοὺς χειμαζομένους ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ θεοῦ*. See the lower note.

read, as the evidence suggests. The form of the sentence is suddenly changed. Otherwise we should expect *τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αἰτοῦντί σοι φανερωθῇ*, or words to that effect. For this sudden transition to an imperative in the antithetical clause comp. *Magn.* 11 *πεπληροφόρησθε*, *Trall.* 2 *ὑποτάσσεσθε*, *Smyrn.* 4 *προσεύχεσθε*. In all these examples scribes have shown a leaning towards a more obvious mode of expression. See the vv. ll. in the several passages.

φανερωθῇ] The other reading *φανερωθείη* would perhaps seem more apt here, as expressing greater diffidence; but in the N.T. at all events final particles like *ἵνα* are never found with the optative; comp. Winer § xli. p. 360.

μηδενὸς λείπῃ κ.τ.λ.] James i. 4 sq *ἐν μηδενὶ λειπόμενοι· εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν λείπεται σοφίας, αἰτείτω κ.τ.λ.*, 1 Cor. i. 7 *ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι*.

5. *ὁ καιρὸς κ.τ.λ.*] Hippol. *de Antichr.* 5 (p. 4 Lagarde) *ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς λοιπὸν ἀπαιτεῖ κ.τ.λ.*, where Lagarde refers to Herodian i.. 1. 5 *μερισθεῖσα ἐς πλείους δυναστείας ἢ ὁ χρόνος ἀπήτει*. Cureton here quotes *Period. Ioann.* in Birch's *Auctar. Cod. Apocr.* p. 265 *καὶ γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ τοῦ ταῦτα γενέσθαι*.

ὡς κυβερνῆται κ.τ.λ.] There was perhaps some early corruption in the text here. The Syriac *ut gubernator navem* hardly makes sense, for we should naturally expect *ut gubernatorem navis*. On the other hand, the Greek text *ὡς κυβερνῆται ἀνέμους*, making the crisis the captain and Polycarp the breeze, is certainly not what we should expect. I can only conjecture that the original reading was *ὡς κυβερνήτην ναῦς καὶ ὡς ἀνέμοις χειμαζόμενος λιμένα*. The variations at all events suggest the existence of both words, *ναῦς* and *ἄνεμος*, in the original text in some form or other. When so read, the metaphor is intelligible. 'The ship of the Church is tossed to and fro on the ocean of the world. It is a critical moment, a tempestuous season. You must be both its

ἐπιτυχεῖν. νῆφε, ὡς Θεοῦ ἀθλητής· τὸ θέμα ἀφθαρσία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος, περὶ ἧς καὶ σὺ πέπεισαι. κατὰ πάντα σου ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ ἠγάπησας.

1 *τὸ θέμα*] GL; *οὗ θέλημα* g; *quicquid promissum est nobis* Σ; *quoniam quodcunque promisit nobis* A. The paraphrase of ΣA points to *θέμα*. *ἀφθαρσία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος*] Gg; *incorruptio vita aeterna* (om. *καὶ*) L; *vita quae in aeternum sine corruptione* Σ; *vita saeculorum quae non transit* A. 4 *ἀξιόπιστοι*] GL*g; *aliquid* S_1ΣA. 5 *στῆθι*] Gg; *στῆκε* Dam-Rup 8 Anton 10; al.

helmsman and its haven; must guide its course and afford it a shelter. So will it arrive at God, its destined goal.'

This is the earliest example of a simile which afterwards was used largely by Christian writers. The comparison of the Church to a ship is drawn out at great length in *Clem. Hom.* Ep. Clem. 13 sq *δυνήσεσθε εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀναπαύσεως ἐνεχθῆναι λιμένα, ἔνθα μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐστὶν εἰρηνικὴ πόλις. ἔοικε γὰρ ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας νηῒ μεγάλῃ διὰ σφοδροῦ χειμῶνος ἄνδρας φερούσῃ κ.τ.λ.*, where the writer dwells chiefly on the *personnel* of the vessel, the owner being God, the captain Christ, the mate the bishop, the sailors the presbyters, etc. It is elaborated also by Hippolytus *de Antichr.* 59 (p. 30 Lagarde) *θάλασσα δέ ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὡς ναῦς ἐν πελάγει χειμάζεται μὲν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, ἔχει γὰρ μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τὸν ἔμπειρον κυβερνήτην Χριστὸν κ.τ.λ.*, where this father dwells especially on the *furniture* of the ship, the mast being the Cross, the two rudders the two covenants, the undergirding ropes the love of Christ, with much more to the same effect. The ship is one of the ornaments which Clement of Alexandria allows a Christian to wear, doubtless as representing the Church; *Paed.* iii. 11 (p. 289) *ναῦς οὐριοδρομοῦσα* (for so it should be read). On the use of this particular symbol as an ornament, see Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. Gems, I. p. 715. In the *Apost. Const.* ii. 57 we have probably the earliest instance of the application of this metaphor to the *material building*, *ὅταν συναθροίζῃς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς ἂν κυβερνήτης νηὸς μεγάλης... καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ οἶκος... ἔοικε νηΐ*, after which the writer describes the functions of the different officials in reference to the building, having regard to this simile.

This simile was used of the State by classical writers long before it was applied by Christians to the Church. It is found as early as Alcæus *Fragm.* 28 (Bergk), a passage which has been imitated in the familiar ode of Horace *Carm.* i. 14. In Plato *Resp.* vi. p. 488 it appears at some length (comp. *Polit.* p. 302), as also in Polyb. vi. 44, in both which passages it is applied to mutiny and disorder in the crew. For other examples see Orelli's Excursus on Horace l. c.

1. *νῆφε*] '*be temperate*,' as an athlete training for the contest: comp. 1 Cor. ix. 25 *πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν κ.τ.λ.* Comp. Tertull. *ad Mart.* 3 'athletae...continentur a luxuria, a cibis laetioribus, a potu jocundiore etc.,' Epict. *Diss.* iii. 15. 2 sq (comp.

III. Οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι καὶ ἑτεροδιδα-
5 σκαλοῦντες μή σε καταπλησσέτωσαν. στῆθι ἑδραῖος,

Antioch 8. Add. δὲ $gS_1\Sigma A$; txt GL [Dam-Rup] [Anton]; al. [Antioch]. ἑδραῖος] GLg, and so Antioch (substituting ἑδραῖοι to conform to other changes which he has made); ἑδραίως Dam-Reg; *in veritate* $S_1S_4\Sigma A$ (which represents ἑδραῖος or ἑδραίως); om. Dam-Rup Anton.

Ench. 29) θέλω Ὀλύμπια νικῆσαι... δεῖ σε εὐτακτεῖν, ἀναγκοφαγεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι πεμμάτων...μὴ ψυχρὸν πίνειν, μὴ οἶνον, ὅτ' ἔτυχεν κ.τ.λ., Plut. *Mor.* 59 F ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν ἀλείπτης ἐῶν μεθύειν καὶ ἀκολασταίνειν, Horace *Ars Poet.* 412 sq. This is probably the idea also in the parallel passage, 2 Tim. iv. 5 σὺ δὲ νῆφε ἐν πᾶσιν, κακοπάθησον, as the direct reference to the ἀγὼν and δρόμος in ver. 7 seems to show.

τὸ θέμα] '*the prize*'; see e. g. *C. I. G.* 2758, 2759, 2954, 3082, 3493 (at Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Troas, and Thyatira), and esp. *Orac. Sib.* ii. 45 sq ἀγνὸς γὰρ Χριστὸς τούτοις τὰ δίκαια βραβεύσει, καὶ δοκίμους στέψει, αὐτὰρ θέμα μάρτυσι δώσει κ.τ.λ. The θέμα was a prize of money, as distinguished from the στέφανος. Contests were of two kinds, either στεφανῖται or ἀργυρῖται (Athen. xiii. p. 584 C); for which latter word θεματικοὶ or θεματῖται was a synonyme (Pollux iii. 153). Two Smyrnæan inscriptions make mention of θεματικοὶ ἀγῶνες, *C. I. G.* 3208, 3209.

3. ἀντίψυχον κ.τ.λ.] '*I am thy devoted friend, I and my bonds which etc.*'; comp. *Smyrn.* 10. For ἀντίψυχον see the note on *Ephes.* 21.

ἠγάπησας] '*didst welcome, caress, fondle*'; see *Smyrn.* 9 ἀπόντα με καὶ παρόντα ἠγαπήσατε. The word seems originally to have referred to the *outward demonstrations* of affection. In Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 214 it is used of welcoming a new comer: in Eurip. *Hel.* 937 πρόσω σφ' ἀπόντα δακρύοις ἂν ἠγάπων, *Suppl.* 764 φαίης ἂν εἰ παρῆσθ' ὅτ' ἠγάπα νεκρούς, of the last offices paid to the dead. This original sense appears still more strongly in ἀγαπάζω. The application of the term to the *inward feeling* of love is a later development; and the earlier meaning still appears occasionally. On the other hand I do not know of any instance where it has the very precise sense of φιλεῖν 'to kiss,' as Bunsen and Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 415) would take it here; though it is quite possible that the ἀγάπησις in this instance might take this particular form, as e.g. in Tert. *ad Ux.* ii. 4 'ad osculanda vincula martyris' (quoted by Zahn).

III. 'Be not dismayed by false teachers. Stand firm as an anvil. A true athlete will suffer blows that he may win the victory. We must endure all things for God's sake. Grow in diligence. Discern the seasons. Await the eternal, invisible, intangible, impassible One, who was seen and handled and suffered for our sakes.'

4. ἀξιόπιστοι] '*plausible*': comp. *Trall.* 6 καταξιοπιστευόμενοι (with the note). For the bad sense of ἀξιόπιστος see the note on *Philad.* 2.

ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες] Comp. 1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 3. So ἑτεροδιδάσκαλος, Hegesipp. [?] in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 32. See the notes on κακοδιδασκαλοῦντες [Clem. Rom.] ii. 10, and on ἑτεροδοξία *Magn.* 8.

5. στῆθι ἑδραῖος κ.τ.λ.] 1 Cor. vii. 37 ὃς δὲ ἕστηκεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ

ὡς ἄκμων τυπτόμενος. μεγάλου ἐστὶν ἀθλητοῦ [τὸ] δέρεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν. μάλιστα δὲ ἕνεκεν Θεοῦ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνῃ. πλέον

1 *ἄκμων*] GLg Antioch Dam-Reg Dam-Rup Anton; *vir fortis* (היל‍תנא) S_1S_4A; *athletes* (אתליטא) Σ. *μεγάλου*] GLg (but add. *enim* l) Antioch Dam-Reg Dam-Rup Anton; add. *enim* S_1S_4ΣA (but S_4A om. *μεγάλου*). *ἐστὶν ἀθλητοῦ*] Gg; *ἀθλητοῦ ἐστιν* (or *ἐστι*) Antioch Dam-Reg Dam-Rup Anton. *τὸ*] G; om. g Antioch Dam-Reg Dam-Rup Anton. 2 *δὲ*] GLS_4g Antioch Dam-Reg Dam-Rup Anton; om. ΣA (Petermann's transl. is misleading).

ἑδραῖος. Comp. *Ephes.* 10 *πρὸς τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἑδραῖοι τῇ πίστει*, of these same false teachers.

1. *ὡς ἄκμων κ.τ.λ.*] '*as an anvil struck with the hammer*'; comp. Job xli. 15 *ἔστηκε δὲ ὥσπερ ἄκμων ἀνήλατος*. This passage of Ignatius is plainly in the mind of Ephraem Syrus *Paraen. de Pat.* (*Op. Graec.* II. p. 367) *γενώμεθα ὡς ἄκμονες τυπτόμενοι καὶ μὴ ἐνδίδοντες...δερόμενοι νικήσωμεν τὸν ἀντίπαλον διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ...πάντα ὑπήνεγκε διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν*. For the image comp. Æsch. *Pers.* 51 *λόγχης ἄκμονες* (quoted by Jacobson), Aristophon 1 (*Fragm. Com.* III. p. 357, Meineke) *Καπανεύς, ὑπομένειν πληγὰς ἄκμων*, Callim. *Hymn. Dian.* 146 *τοῖος γὰρ ἀεὶ Τιρύνθιος ἄκμων ἕστηκε πρὸ πυλέων*, Shakespeare *Coriol.* iv. 5 'Here I clip the anvil of my sword.'

δέρεσθαι κ.τ.λ.] '*to be bruised and conquer*'; comp. Epict. iii. 10 7 *οἷον εἴ τις πληγὰς λαβὼν ἀποσταίη τοῦ παγκρατιάζειν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν ἔξεστι καταλῦσαι καὶ μὴ δαίρεσθαι* (v. l. *δέρεσθαι*), *ἐνθάδε δ' κ.τ.λ.* The word *δέρειν* 'to flay' was originally a vulgar expression in this sense; but in the later language the vulgarity had worn off, and it came to signify merely 'to beat, bruise.' For the application to athletes see e.g. 1 Cor. ix. 26, Timocles *Fragm. Com.* III. p. 610 *ἑαυτοὺς ἀντὶ κωρύκων δέρειν παρέχοντες ἀθληταῖσιν* (where *δέρειν* is Porson's conj. for *λέγειν*). For the idea see Seneca *de Provid.* 2 'Athletas videmus ... caedi se vexarique patiuntur ... marcet sine adversario virtus: tunc apparet quanta sit quantumque polleat, cum quid possit patientia ostendit,' *de Ira* ii. 14 'Athletae quoque...ictus doloresque patiuntur, ut vires caedentis exhauriant etc.,' *Epist.* 13 'Non potest athleta magnos spiritus ad certamen adferre, qui numquam suggillatus est: ille qui sanguinem suum vidit, cujus dentes crepuere sub pugno, ille qui supplantatus adversarium toto tulit corpore nec projecit animum projectus, qui quotiens cecidit contumacior resurrexit, cum magna spe descendit ad pugnam,' *Epist.* 78 'Athletae quantum plagarum ore, quantum toto corpore excipiunt... nos quoque evincamus omnia...virtus et firmitas et pax in ceterum parta, si semel in aliquo certamine debellata fortuna est.' Cotelier quotes the Metaphrast *Vit. Chrysost.* 43 (*Op.* I. p. 1161, Migne), where Epiphanius writes to Chrysostom *ἀθλητὰ Ἰωάννη, παίου καὶ νίκα.*

2. *πάντα ὑπομένειν*] For this phrase see the note on *Smyrn.* 4; and for the turn of expression in this sentence, the note on *Smyrn.* 5 *μᾶλλον δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

4. *τοὺς καιροὺς κ.τ.λ.*] See esp. Matt. xvi. 3 *τὰ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν οὐ*

σπουδαῖος γίνου οὗ εἶ. τοὺς καιροὺς καταμάνθανε· τὸν ὑπὲρ καιρὸν προσδόκα, τὸν ἄχρονον, τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὁρατόν, τὸν ἀψηλάφητον, τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι'

ἕνεκεν Θεοῦ] Gg Dam-Rup Anton; ἕνεκε Θεοῦ Dam-Reg; θεοῦ ἕνεκεν Antioch. ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ] GLg; ἡμᾶς ὑπομένειν δεῖ Dam-Rup Anton; δεῖ ἡμᾶς ὑπομένειν Dam-Reg; al. Antioch. 3 ἵνα...ὑπομείνῃ] al. S_4. 5 ὑπὲρ καιρὸν] ὑπερκαιρὸν G; ὑπέρχρονον Antioch; al. g. 6 ἀψηλάφητον] GLΣA Sev-Syr 2: add. δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ ψηλαφηθέντα [Antioch]; add. δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπτὸν καὶ ψηλαφητὸν ἐν σώματι [g]; see the lower note.

δύνασθε [διακρίνειν]: comp. Luke xii. 56. The suspicion of Mill on Rom. xii. 11, that Ignatius had the reading τῷ καιρῷ δουλεύοντες there, has not much weight, since the passages in the Gospels were more likely to have suggested the expression to him.

τὸν ὑπὲρ καιρόν] '*who is above opportunity*,' i.e. 'to whom all seasons are alike.' Smith's translation 'omni tempore priorem' would be more appropriate to ἄχρονον. It fails to recognise the distinction between χρόνος and καιρός: see Trench *N. T. Synonyms* § lvii. p. 197 sq. The editors before Jacobson read it as one word ὑπέρκαιρον. If such a word had existed, it would mean, as Jacobson points out, 'immoderate': but in the only passage adduced, Xenophon as quoted in Athen. xiv. p. 613 σίτων δὲ ὑπερκαίρων, the text of this author himself (*Ages.* v. 1) has ὑπὲρ καιρόν.

5. ἄχρονον] '*eternal*,' '*transcending the limits of time*,' as explained in Plut. *Mor.* p. 393 ἔστιν ὁ Θεὸς... καί ἐστι κατ' οὐδένα χρόνον ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἀκίνητον καὶ ἄχρονον: comp. Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 101 (II. p. 96) εἴπερ μὴ ταὐτὸν...τὸ ἄχρονον τῷ ὑπὸ χρόνον. For the word in this sense comp. Iren. i. 17. 2 (where it is translated 'intemporalis,' as here), Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 1, p. 829. Occasionally it has the opposite meaning 'instantaneous,' and so 'brief,' 'short-lived,' e.g. Plut. *Mor.* p. 908 δυστυχεῖς καὶ ἀχρόνους (comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* viii. 9, p. 931). The corresponding adverb ἀχρόνως too has both meanings; (1) 'eternally,' e.g. Hippol. *Haer.* viii. 12, Julian. *Orat.* iv. p. 156 Spanheim; (2) 'instantaneously,' e.g. Philo *de Sacr. Ab. et Ca.* 13 (I. p. 172).

τὸν ἀόρατον κ.τ.λ.] See Melito *Fragm.* 13 (p. 419 Otto) 'Invisibilis videtur, neque erubescit; incomprehensibilis prehenditur, neque indignatur; incommensurabilis mensuratur, neque repugnat; impassibilis patitur, neque ulciscitur; immortalis moritur, neque respondet verbum; ... tunc intellexit omnis creatura propter hominem...invisibilem visum esse et incommensurabilem mensuratum esse et impassibilem passum esse et immortalem mortuum esse etc.,' Iren. iii. 16. 6 'hominem ergo in semetipsum recapitulans est invisibilis visibilis factus, et incomprehensibilis factus comprehensibilis, et inpassibilis passibilis etc.,' Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxviii (I. p. 664) ὁ ἀόρατος ὁρᾶται, ὁ ἀναφὴς ψηλαφᾶται, ὁ ἄχρονος ἄρχεται, *Epist.* ci (II. p. 85) παθητὸν σαρκί, ἀπαθῆ θεότητι, περιγραπτὸν σώματι, ἀπερίγραπτον πνεύματι, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπίγειον καὶ οὐράνιον, ὁρώμενον καὶ νοούμενον, χωρητὸν καὶ ἀχώρητον, κ.τ.λ. See also the Christological passage, *Ephes.* 7.

6. ἀψηλάφητον] The preponder-

ἡμᾶς παθητόν, τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.

IV. *Χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν· μετὰ τὸν Κύριον σὺ αὐτῶν φροντιστὴς ἔσο. μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης σου γινέσθω, μηδὲ σὺ ἄνευ Θεοῦ γνώμης τι πρᾶσσε· ὅπερ*

1 *κατὰ πάντα τρόπον*] GLg Sev-Syr; *πάντα* [Antioch]; *omnia omnimodo* ΣA (thus inserting another *πάντα*). 3 *Χῆραι*] G; *αἱ χῆραι* g. *μετὰ*] GLg; *propter* Σ; def. A; see the lower note. 4 *γνώμης*] G Ps-Chrysost 4; *τῆς γνώμης* g. 5 *Θεοῦ γνώμης*] g; *γνώμης θεοῦ* Ps-Chrysost; *θεοῦ γνώμης* or *γνώμης θεοῦ* ΣA; *θεοῦ* (om. *γνώμης*) GL. *πρᾶσσε*] Gg;

ance of authority forbids the insertion of the balancing clause *δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ ψηλαφητόν*, however tempting; and indeed the run of the sentence is against it. For *τὸν ἀψηλάφητον* stands alone before the antithesis *τὸν ἀπαθῆ...παθητόν*, just as previously *τὸν ἄχρονον* stood alone before a similar antithesis *τὸν ἀόρατον...ὁρατόν*.

IV. 'Be a guardian to the widow. Let nothing be done without thee, and do thou nothing without God. Let your meetings be held more frequently. Address thyself to each singly. Despise not slaves: yet the slaves themselves must not be puffed up, nor desire to be set free at the common cost.'

3. *Χῆραι*] On the care taken of widows in the early Church see the note on *Smyrn.* 6.

μετὰ τὸν Κύριον] '*after the Lord*,' who is before all 'the Father of the fatherless and Judge of the widows,' Ps. lxviii. 5 (comp. cxlvi. 9). The Syriac translator in writing ܡܛܠ 'metul' for *μετὰ* has consulted the sound rather than the sense. Other examples of this substitution have been pointed out to me in the Syriac versions of Aristotle (?) and Isocrates in Lagarde *Anal. Syr.* p. 150 l. 6, p. 174 l. 25.

4. *φροντιστής*] '*guardian, protector, trustee*,' a semi-official term: comp. Diod. Sic. *Exc.* xxxvi ad fin. (II. p. 611) *τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων στρατηγῶν εἰωθότων διδόναι προστάτας τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐρήμοις συγγενῶν, οὗτος ἑαυτὸν τούτων ἀνέδειξε φροντιστήν*, *Clem. Hom.* xii. 10 *ὑπὸ φροντιστὰς ποιήσας με καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην καταλείψας δωδεκαετῆ* (Clement is here speaking of his father). It corresponds to the Latin 'curator'; e.g. *φρόντισμα* = 'curatio,' Conc. Chalc. *Can.* 2 (Labb. Conc. IV. p. 1682, ed. Colet.). Like *curator*, it may refer to the guardianship of orphans or widows, etc., as here, or to the direction of public works, or to the management of finance, e.g. Boeckh *C. I. G.* 3612 *φροντιστὴν Δρούσου Καίσαρος*, where the officer intended was probably 'curator' (or 'procurator') 'fisci' to this prince.

μηδὲν κ.τ.λ.] Quoted in the *Hom. de Uno Legisl.* 4, attributed to Chrysostom and printed in Montfaucon Chrys. *Op.* VI. p. 410. For the sentiment comp. *Magn.* 7 with the note.

6. *εὐστάθει*] '*be firm.*' The word occurs two or three times in the LXX; also in Hermas *Mand.* v. 2, *Sim.* vi. 2, vii, *Clem. Hom.* Ep. Clem. 15 *εὐσταθείτωσαν οὖν οἱ ἐπι-*

οὐδὲ πράσσεις. εὐστάθει. πυκνότερον συναγωγαὶ γινέσθωσαν. ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας ζήτει. δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φυσιούσθωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πλέον δουλευέτωσαν, ἵνα κρείτ-

πρᾶττε Ps-Chrysost. 6 πράσσεις] G; πράττεις g. εὐστάθει] gΣA; εὐσταθῆς G; εὐσταθές (apparently) L*. 8 ὑπερηφάνει] ὑπεριφάνει G. φυσιούσθωσαν] GLg; *contemnant* ΣA. These last two authorities use the same word here by which they have rendered ὑπερηφάνει above; but A alters the whole meaning of the sentence. 9 ἀλλ'] GLg Dam-Rup 4 Anton 6; ἀλλ' ὡς ΣA. πλέον] G Anton; πλεῖον Dam-Rup; πλείονα g* Nicon (see Cotelier).

βάται ἑδραῖοι. The substantive εὐστάθεια occurs Clem. Rom. 61, 65 (59). It is naturally a favourite Stoic word; e.g. in M. Aurel. v. 18 ἐπιδεικνύμενος μεγαλοφροσύνην εὐσταθεῖ, vi. 10 σέβω καὶ εὐσταθῶ, and in Epictetus frequently, e.g. iii. 9. 17 τίνος οὖν ἔχω χρείαν;...τοῦ εὐσταθεῖν, τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν τὴν διάνοιαν, τοῦ μὴ ταράσσεσθαι. Yet it is said to have been especially affected, if not invented, by Epicurus and the Epicureans: Cleomedes *Theor. Cycl.* ii. 90, Schol. Venet. on Hom. *Il.* v. 2, quoted by Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 283, where several examples of this word, which with its congeners was abhorrent to purists, are collected from later classical writers. It was common ground for the ἀταραξία of the Epicurean, the ἀπάθεια of the Stoic, and the εἰρήνη of the Christian.

πυκνότερον κ.τ.λ.] See for this injunction the note on *Ephes.* 13, where the meaning of πυκνότερον is discussed. See also *Magn.* 4 with the note.

συναγωγαί] '*gatherings, meetings.*' The word is applied to Church gatherings among Jewish Christians, who would naturally adopt the name of the 'synagogue,' in James ii. 2; see Trench *N. T. Syn.* § 1, p. 1 sq. See also *Test. xii Patr.* Benj. 11 ἐν συναγωγαῖς ἐθνῶν (the prophecy relating to S. Paul). In Ignatius however it is not employed as a technical term, but resembles the use of ἐπισυναγωγή in Heb. x. 25 μὴ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν κ.τ.λ.; comp. Hermas *Mand.* xi ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων (and several times in the context), Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 14 δέδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ κόσμῳ κυμαινομένῳ ...τὰς συναγωγάς, λεγομένας δὲ ἐκκλησίας ἁγίας, ἐν αἷς καθάπερ λιμέσιν κ.τ.λ.

7. ἐξ ὀνόματος] Like the Athenian general at Syracuse, Thuc. vii. 69 ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀνεκάλει πατρόθεν τε ἐπονομάζων καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀνομαστὶ κ.τ.λ. See the note on ἐξ ὀνόματος, *Ephes.* 20.

9. πλέον δουλευέτωσαν] A reminiscence of 1 Tim. vi 2 μὴ καταφρονείτωσαν ὅτι ἀδελφοί εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δουλευέτωσαν: see also 1 Cor. vii. 21 εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι, according to one, though not the most probable, interpretation (see *Epistles to Colossians etc.* p. 324 sq). See also Ephes. 6 sq, Col. iii. 22 sq.

κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας] 1 Cor. vii. 22 ἀπελεύθερος Κυρίου ἐστίν,

τονος ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ Θεοῦ τύχωσιν· μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, ἵνα μὴ δοῦλοι εὑρεθῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας.

1 ἀπὸ Θεοῦ τύχωσιν] GL Anton; ὑπὸ θεοῦ τύχωσιν Dam-Rup; τύχωσιν ἀπὸ θεοῦ g; τύχωσι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Nicon. ἐράτωσαν] Gg* Dam-Rup Anton; *desiderent* L; *ament* ΣA. For the v. l. αἱρέτωσαν in g see the Appx. 5 ποιοῦ] GLΣAg*. For the reading μὴ ποιοῦ in some texts of g see Appx. 6 τὸν

1. ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ] '*from the common fund, the public money.*' See *Apost. Const.* iv. 9, where it is said of the disposal of the alms of the Church, ἀθροιζόμενα χρήματα διατάσσετε εἰς ἀγορασμοὺς ἁγίων, ῥύομενοι δούλους κ.τ.λ. As the money available for this purpose was limited, it was necessary to select cases of special hardship; and a general anxiety of slaves to obtain their emancipation in this way was to be deprecated. For this sense of τὸ κοινὸν see e.g. Herod. vii. 144, Thucyd. vi. 6, Polyb. x. 17. 2, Orig. *Comm. in Matt.* xv (III. p. 674); and even without the article, so that ἀπὸ κοινοῦ is 'from the common stock,' Xen. *Anab.* iv. 7. 27, v. 1. 12, Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9. Others would take τὸ κοινὸν here to be 'the community,' and Lucian *Peregr.* 13 τῶν Χριστιανῶν στελλόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ is quoted in support of this (see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 333). But with ἐλευθεροῦσθαι we should certainly expect ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, not ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, in this sense. Other interpretations, which have been proposed, do not deserve discussion.

V. 'Shun the evil arts of false teachers, and warn thy flock against them. Admonish wives to be faithful to their husbands, and husbands to cherish their wives. Let not those who remain in single chastity parade their virtue. Let those who marry seek the approval of the bishop for their union. Let all things be done for the honour of God.'

4. Τὰς κακοτεχνίας] The meaning here is not obvious in itself, but is shown by the parallel passage, *Philad.* 6 φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακοτεχνίας, where it is a warning against the schismatical designs of the false teachers. See Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. 8 (p. 340) οἷς φίλη ἡ στωμύλος αὕτη κακοτεχνία, εἴτε Ἕλληνες εἶεν εἴτε καὶ βάρβαροι σοφισταί (with reference to the heresy condemned in 1 Tim. vi. 3 sq), Theodt. *H. F.* i. 1 τῆς τούτου [τοῦ διαβόλου] κακοτεχνίας ὑπουργὸς ἀνεφάνη (speaking of Simon Magus). So too κακοτέχνως, Hippol. *Haer.* vi. 9, also of Simon Magus. It was used especially of 'magical arts,' and of these most commonly as connected with heretical teaching; e.g. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 66, quoted by Jacobson. There is something to be said for giving it this very definite sense here, as is done e.g. by Hilgenfeld *A. V.* p. 206. Witchcraft, sorcery, and the like (γοητεία, φαρμακεία), were highly attractive in these regions; and against them Christian teachers waged internecine war from the first (see Acts xix. 19, and the note on Gal. v. 20); comp. *Ephes.* 19 ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία. Thus κακοτεχνίαι would correspond with the Latin 'maleficia,' e.g. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 69 'carmina et devotiones...aliaque maleficia'; see also Heumann *Handlex. des Röm. Rechts* s. v. But

V. Τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεῦγε, μᾶλλον δὲ περὶ τούτων ὁμιλίαν ποιοῦ. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου προσλάλει ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Κύριον καὶ τοῖς συμβίοις ἀρκεῖσθαι σαρκὶ

Κύριον] GLAg; *in domino nostro* Σ. The reading of Σ is a corruption ܒܡܪܝ for ܠܡܪܝ, as A shows; the corruption would be suggested by Col. iii. 18, 20.

it may be doubted whether these arts were practised by the heretics in question, and the parallel passage (*Philad.* 6) must fix the interpretation. Cureton (*C. I.* p. 172) thinks that it means 'nothing more than an improper means of gaining a livelihood' (comp. Strabo vii. p. 301 for the general sense of the word), including however magical arts among these; and so Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 321). The emendation of Bunsen, *τὰς κακοτέχνους* 'coquettish women,' has met with no favour. In a list of practical exhortations we need not look for any close connexion with the preceding or following topics.

μᾶλλον δὲ κ.τ.λ.] This qualifies the previous prohibition, 'Shun them indeed, but do not forget to warn your hearers against them'; where *τούτων* refers to the foregoing *κακοτεχνίας*, and not (as it is taken by Pearson and some others) to what follows. For *μᾶλλον δὲ* comp. 1 Cor. xiv. 1, 5. The fidelity with which Polycarp observed this injunction in after-life appears from the account of him left by his scholar Irenæus, iii. 3. 4 *πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων αἱρετικῶν ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μίαν καὶ μόνην ταύτην ἀλήθειαν κηρύξας ὑπὸ* [*ἀπὸ?*] *τῶν ἀποστόλων παρειληφέναι.* The reading *μὴ ποιοῦ*, as the critical note shows, has no authority and therefore need not be seriously considered, though it has found favour with some modern critics.

5. *ὁμιλίαν ποιοῦ*] '*hold discourse*,' as Justin *Dial.* 85 (p. 312) *τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν τῶν προφητικῶν ὁμιλίας ποιούμενον*, *ib.* 28 (p. 245) *ἀπό τε τῶν γραφῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τάς τε ἀποδείξεις καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας ποιοῦμαι.* For this use of *ὁμιλία*, 'a conversation,' 'discourse,' and so even a 'sermon,' 'homily,' comp. also Justin *Dial.* 68 (p. 294), *Clem. Hom.* Ep. Clem. 2, 14, 18, 19, *ib.* i. 20, Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 1, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 13 (p. 603). In Prov. vii. 21 *πολλῇ ὁμιλίᾳ* it is a translation of לקח 'instruction.'

6. *τοῖς συμβίοις*] The word *σύμβιος* is common for a husband or a wife in this age and even earlier; comp. Diod. Sic. iv. 46, Philo *de Congr. Erud. Gr.* 12 (i. p. 527), *Test. xii Patr.* Jud. 23, *Clem. Hom.* xiii. 5, xiv. 6, 11, xx. 18, Hermas *Vis.* ii. 2. In the inscriptions during the Roman period it is especially frequent. In those of Smyrna alone, to which place this letter was written, I find it several times, *C. I. G.* 3265, 3270, 3318, 3320, 3347, 3349, 3361, 3364, 3380; and in those at Troas, from which it was written, though very few in number, it occurs twice, 3586, 3588 b. I mention these facts, because Donaldson (*Apostolic Fathers* p. 388) has alleged its use as an argument against the genuineness of the Greek text of

καὶ πνεύματι. ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παράγγελλε ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγαπᾶν τὰς συμβίους, ὡς ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. εἴ τις δύναται ἐν ἁγ-

2 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GL*g; præf. *domini nostri* ΣA. 3 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] GLg; *ecclesiam suam* ΣA. 4 τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου] GLΣA Antioch 3 Dam-Rup Anton 1; τοῦ κυρίου τῆς σαρκὸς G. ἐν ἁγνείᾳ] GΣAg [Antioch] Dam-Rup Anton; add. *domini* L (the word has probably crept in from the preceding clause). 5 καὶ ἐὰν] GLAg Dam-Rup Anton; ἐὰν

Hermas, and an evidence of a later date. To the Christians it would perhaps be an especially welcome term, because it would cover those unions of slaves which are called *contubernia*, and which the Christian Church regarded as not less sacred and inviolable than wedlock among the free-born, though the Roman law did not recognise such a thing as marriage among slaves; comp. esp. *Apost. Const.* viii. 31 (speaking of slaves) εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔχει γυναῖκα ἢ ἡ γυνὴ ἄνδρα, διδασκέσθωσαν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἑαυτοῖς. On this subject see Allard *Les Esclaves Chrétiens* p. 152 sq, p. 274 sq, and *Colossians* p. 321. The passage from the *Apost. Const.* just quoted seems to show that Ignatius had especially in view such cases, where the union being ignored by the law naturally led to great irregularities.

ἀρκεῖσθαι] '*to be content*.' Besides *Apost. Const.* viii. 31 (see last note) comp. Alexander in Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 7. 4 σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἀρκεσθεῖσα τούτῳ [sc. τῷ γάμῳ], Epiphan. *Ancor.* 104 (p. 107) μὴ ἀρκουμένης τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀνδράσιν, quoted by Pearson. The Anglo-Latin translator has stumbled, and translates it 'sufficere,' as if ἀρκεῖν.

3. ὡς ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] A reminiscence of Ephes. v. 29, where however the correct reading is καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

εἴ τις δύναται κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Clem. Rom. 38 ὁ ἁγνὸς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἤτω καὶ μὴ ἀλαζονεύεσθω, with the note (comp. *ib.* § 48), Minuc. Felix 31 'Casto sermone, corpore castiore, plerique inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua fruuntur potius quam gloriantur.' In this place ἁγνεία is clearly 'virgin purity,' like ἁγνὸς in Clem. Rom. l. c.; though the words themselves will apply equally well to the chastity of married life (e.g. Tit. ii. 5, 1 Pet. iii. 2, Clem. Rom. 1, Polyc. *Phil.* 4). The language of S. Paul (1 Cor. vii. 1 sq) is quite sufficient to explain the state of things as it appears in Ignatius half a century later than the Apostle's time. A few years afterwards Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 15 (p. 62), says πολλοί τινες καὶ πολλαὶ ἑξηκοντοῦται καὶ ἑβδομηκοντοῦται, οἳ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄφθοροι διαμένουσι· καὶ εὔχομαι κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων τοιούτους δεῖξαι: see also Athenag. *Suppl.* 33 to the same effect. For the ever-increasing and somewhat extravagant feeling which prevailed in the Church during the second and third centuries on this point, see Probst *Kirchliche Disciplin* p. 129 sq. On the other hand there is no indication here of an 'order' of virgins, such as we meet with soon after. See also on this point the note on *Smyrn.* 13.

4. τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου] '*the flesh, the body, of the Lord*'; which is explained by 1 Cor. vi. 15 sq οὐκ

νεία μένειν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐν ἀκαυ-
χησίᾳ μενέτω· ἐὰν καυχήσηται, ἀπώλετο· καὶ ἐὰν
γνωσθῇ πλέον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔφθαρται. πρέπει δὲ

(om. καὶ) Σ. 6 γνωσθῇ] GΣg Dam-Rup Anton; *inveniatur* A (probably a misunderstanding of the Syriac, rather than a corruption of the Armenian, as Petermann supposes); *videri velit* L (where L departs from its usual literalism and gives a paraphrase). πλέον] GL Dam-Rup Anton; *extra* (*praeter*) לבר מן Σ; *sine* A; πλὴν g.

οἴδατε ὅτι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστίν;...δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν: see [Clem. Rom.] ii. 14. It is true of all Christians that their flesh is the Lord's, not their own nor another's; but it is especially true of those contemplated here: comp. Tertull. *de Virg. Vel.* 16 'Nupsisti Christo, illi tradidisti carnem tuam,' Cypr. *Epist.* lxii (p. 699 Hartel) 'Membra Christo dicata et ad aeternum continentiae honorem pudica virtute devota'; comp. Method. *Conv.* iii. 8, iv. 5, v. 4.

5. ἐὰν γνωσθῇ κ.τ.λ.] '*if it be known beyond the bishop*'; where the nominative to γνωσθῇ is 'his purpose or vow of chastity,' as implied in the preceding words. Just as persons intending to marry are to marry 'with the approval (γνώμης) of the bishop,' so persons devoting themselves to a single life are to take the bishop into their counsels, but no one else; comp. *Magn.* 7 μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσετε, μηδὲ πειράσητε εὔλογόν τι φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν. The precept of Ignatius thus contrasts with the usage of a later age, where the *public profession* of such vows was an essential feature in the system. If πλὴν be the right reading, the interpretation which I have given seems to be necessary. For similar elliptical usages of πλὴν (where the context explains the meaning) comp. Thuc. iv. 54 ἐπιτρέψαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν πλὴν θανάτου, Herod. v. 71 ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου, Plato *Resp.* v. p. 469 σκυλεύειν...τοὺς τελευτήσαντας πλὴν ὅπλων, [Arist.] *de Plant.* ii. 4 (p. 825) οἱ δὲ τόποι οἱ ψυχροί, εἰ καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ὅμοιον ποιοῦσί ποτε, πλὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, Polyb. xii. 22. 1 μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν πάντα, πλὴν τελέως ὀλίγων (comp. xi. 25. 6). There is no sufficient reason however for displacing the reading πλέον here; comp. *Magn.* 10 ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται πλέον τούτου. And if πλέον be adopted, the passage should still probably be interpreted in the same way. The Greeks were very loose and elliptical in their comparative clauses; see the examples in Kühner II. p. 850 sq. The Oriental versions must either have had πλήν, or must have interpreted πλέον in this way. On the other hand several modern critics take it otherwise, 'if he be better known than the bishop,' 'if he become more famous than the bishop'; but I cannot think this at all a natural expression in the present context. See the passages in the next note.

6. ἔφθαρται] '*he is corrupted*,' i.e. 'his chastity is violated by the very publicity given to it,' the word φθείρειν being chosen for its special meaning; comp. e.g. Rev. xix. 2. For the sentiment comp. Tertull. *de Virg. Vel.* 3 'Omnis publicatio virginis bonae stupri passio est,' *ib.* 13 'utique primo illicitum, ut gloriae

τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμούσαις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Κύριον καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν. πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γινέσθω.

VI. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς 5

1 γαμούσαις] g; γαμουμέναις G Dam-Rup Anton. 2 ὁ γάμος] GΣAg Dam-Rup Anton; om. L. 3 Κύριον] gΣA; θεὸν G Dam-Rup Anton. For L see the Appx. κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν] GLΣA; κατὰ (κατ') αἰσχρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν Dam-Rup Anton. πάντα] GLAg; add. δὲ Σ. 5 ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν] GLg, Antioch 14; ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς Dam-Rup 5. 6 ὑμῖν] GLg Antioch Dam-Rup; add. προσέχῃ $S_1AΣ$; see above § 1. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ] GLg Antioch; ἐγὼ ἀντίψυχον Dam-Rup. τῶν ὑποτασσομένων] GL[S_1]Σ[A]g Dam-Rup; τῷ ὑποτασσομένῳ Antioch. τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ] G; ἐπισκόπῳ (om. τῷ) g Dam-

libidinosum; gloria enim illicitum est eis quorum probatio in omni humiliatione constat,' *ib.* 14 'ipsa concupiscentia non latendi non est pudica; patitur aliquid quod non virginis sit etc.,' Cyprian *de Hab. Virg.* 9 (p. 191 sq) 'maculis te concupiscentiae carnalis aspergis, cum integritatis candidata sis et pudoris,' Method. *Conv.* xi. 1 οὐδέ γε, ὁπόταν ...ὑπεραίρηται φυσιούμενος αὐτῷ δὴ τούτῳ τῷ δύνασθαι τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς ὑπεκκαυμάτων κρατεῖν, καὶ πάντας οὐδὲν ἡγῆται, ἁγνείαν τιμᾷ· ἀτιμάζει γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑβρίζων ὑψηλοφροσύνῃ κ.τ.λ.

1. τοῖς γαμοῦσι] On the sanction given by the Church to marriages in the early ages see Probst *Sakramente* p. 438 sq, Bingham *Ant.* xxii. 2. 2, xxii. 4. 1 sq.

γαμούσαις] In so reading I have followed the MSS of the interpolator's text, whereas the MS of the genuine Ignatius has the more correct γαμουμέναις. The familiar distinction (e.g. Pollux iii. 45 γῆμαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λέγεται, γήμασθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γυναικός, οὐ γαμηθῆναι) apparently holds universally in classical writers, except where some reversal of the natural relation is implied, as when the henpecked husband in Antiphanes says ἐγημάμην (see Porson on Eurip. *Med.* 264); comp. also Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 3 (p. 264). Accordingly Irenæus writes v. 9. 4 νύμφη γαμῆσαι οὐ δύναται, γαμηθῆναι δὲ δύναται [the passive however is forbidden by Pollux l. c.], ὅταν ἔλθῃ καὶ παραλήψηται αὐτὴν ὁ νυμφίος, where the Latin translator has 'sponsa assumere sponsum non potest, assumi autem a sponso potest.' This distinction however is not observed in the N. T., but the active is used of the woman by S. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 28, 34, 1 Tim. v. 11, 14; and in Mark x. 12 γαμήσῃ ἄλλον is unquestionably right, though most texts have γαμηθῇ ἄλλῳ. This last instance betrays a tendency in later transcribers to return to classical forms; and, as in these small matters the MSS of the interpolator are generally more trustworthy than that of Ignatius himself, I have adopted γαμούσαις.

2. κατὰ Κύριον] As Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 12 (p. 549) ἀλλοῖος δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὸν Κύριον γάμος. Ignatius is apparently thinking of S. Paul's words 1 Cor. vii. 39 μόνον ἐν Κυρίῳ.

3. εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ] See the note on *Ephes.* 21.

ὑμῖν. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων [τῷ] ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις· μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο σχεῖν παρὰ Θεῷ. συγκοπιᾶτε ἀλλήλοις, συναθλεῖτε, συντρέχετε, συμπάσχετε, συγκοιμᾶσθε, συνεγείρεσθε, ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκονόμοι καὶ πάρεδροι καὶ ὑπη-

Rup [Antioch]. 7 *πρεσβυτέροις*] GL; *πρεσβυτέροις τε καὶ* Antioch; *et presbyteris et* S_1ΣA; *πρεσβυτερίῳ* g Dam-Rup. *μετ' αὐτῶν*] S_1ΣAg Antioch Dam-Rup; *καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν* GL. 8 *σχεῖν*] G; *ἔχειν* g* Antioch; *capere* L; om. S_1ΣA Dam-Rup. For Σ see the note on *Ephes.* 1 *κεκτῆσθαι*. *παρὰ Θεῷ*] g* (with a v. l. *παρὰ θεοῦ*); *apud deum* S_1ΣA; *ἐν θεῷ* GL Antioch Dam-Rup. 9 *συναθλεῖτε*] *συναθλῆτε* G. *συντρέχετε*] GLΣAg; om. S_4. *συγκοιμᾶσθε, συνεγείρεσθε*] GLΣAg; om. S_4.

VI. 'Give heed to your bishop. I devote myself for those who are obedient to the officers of the Church. Be united one with another in doing and in suffering, in toil and in rest, as stewards of God. Strive to please your Captain; do not desert from His ranks. Your Christian graces are your arms. Invest your good deeds as savings; that you may receive a bounty in accordance therewith. Be long-suffering one with another. Give me joy in all things.'

5. *Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ κ.τ.λ.*] Ignatius here turns from Polycarp individually and addresses the whole Church of Smyrna. In the subsequent part of the letter, whenever he has any message directed specially to Polycarp, he mentions him by name; e.g. § 7 *πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε κ.τ.λ.*, and § 8 *τοῦ πέμποντος αὐτὸν Πολυκάρπου*. Like the Pastoral Epistles of S. Paul, this letter was obviously intended to be made known to the Church also. Polycarp (*Phil.* 13) apparently puts it in the same category with the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, speaking of the two as *τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*. For the admonition see *Philad.* 7.

ἵνα καὶ κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Smyrn.* 5 *μᾶλλον δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

6. *ἀντίψυχον*] Comp. § 2, and see the note on *Ephes.* 21.

7. *μετ' αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.*] A biblical expression; comp. Matt. xxiv. 51, Luke xii. 46, Rev. xxi. 8. There can be little doubt, I think, looking at the authorities, that the correct reading here is *παρὰ Θεῷ* 'in the presence of God,' for it explains all the others.

8. *συγκοπιᾶτε*] This word prepares the way for *συναθλεῖτε, συντρέχετε*, since *κοπιᾶν* is used especially of the toilsome training for an athletic contest; comp. Phil. ii. 16 *οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα*, Col. i. 29 *εἰς ὃ καὶ κοπιῶ ἀγωνιζόμενος*, 1 Tim. iv. 10 *εἰς τοῦτο κοπιῶμεν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμεθα*, [Clem. Rom.] ii. 7 *οἱ πολλὰ κοπιάσαντες καὶ καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι*. So Anthol. III. p. 166 *μὴ τρέχε, μὴ κοπία*. The metaphor of the athletic training, etc., probably continues to the end. Thus *συγκοιμᾶσθε, συνεγείρεσθε*, will refer to the uniform hours of going to bed and getting up prescribed by the trainer to the athletes under his charge. Any reference to 'death' and 'resurrection,' such as some commentators have found in these words, seems altogether out of place.

10. *Θεοῦ οἰκονόμοι*] The expression occurs Tit. i. 7; comp. 1 Cor. iv.

ρέται. ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ ὀψώνια κομίσεσθε. μήτις ὑμῶν δεσέρτωρ εὑρεθῇ. τὸ βάπτισμα

1 *ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε*] GLg; *placete* [*ei*] *et servite ei* S_4ΣA. 2 *κομίσεσθε*] g* (with a v. l. *κομίσησθε*) [S_4][Σ][A], and so app. Antioch 9 (in a loose reference) *κομισόμεθα*; *κομίσεσθε* GL. *δεσέρτωρ εὑρεθῇ*] GAg*; *rebellet*

1, 1 Pet. iv. 10. The reference here is not to the Christian pastors, but, as the context (esp. *ἀντίψυχον κ.τ.λ.*) requires, to the whole brotherhood, according to the language of 1 Pet. iv. 10 *ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς αὐτὸ διακονοῦντες, ὡς καλοὶ οἰκονόμοι ποικίλης χάριτος Θεοῦ*. Pearson supposes a reference to the three orders of the ministry, the *οἰκονόμοι* being bishops, the *πάρεδροι* presbyters, and the *ὑπηρέται* deacons; but how then is the plural *οἰκονόμοι* to be explained?

πάρεδροι] '*assessors*' of God; a stronger expression even than S. Paul's *Θεοῦ συνεργοί* (1 Cor. iii. 9, 1 Thess. iii. 2 v. l.), but it is immediately qualified by *ὑπηρέται*. For *ὑπηρέτης* in connexion with *οἰκονόμος* comp. 1 Cor. iv. 1.

1. *ἀρέσκετε κ.τ.λ.*] '*please the Captain under whom you serve*,' probably a reminiscence of 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4, *οὐδεὶς στρατευόμενος ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις, ἵνα τῷ στρατολογήσαντι ἀρέσῃ*.

τὰ ὀψώνια] '*soldier's pay*,' as e.g. 1 Cor. ix. 7 *τίς στρατεύεται ἰδίοις ὀψωνίοις ποτέ*; Luke iii. 14; and probably the reference is the same in the other two passages where the word occurs in the N. T., Rom. vi. 23, 2 Cor. xi. 8. So always in the LXX, 1 Esdr. iv. 56, 1 Macc. iii. 28, xiv. 32. It is the Greek equivalent to the Latin 'stipendia'; for the word *obsonia* in Latin seems never to have acquired this meaning. The derivation of the word explains its use. The soldier's reward for his service was twofold; (1) a ration in kind, which was an allowance of corn (*σιτομέτρημα*) for making bread, and (2) a small payment in money (*ὀψώνιον*), by which he might *purchase a relish* (*ὄψον*) to be eaten with his bread: as in Polyb. vi. 39. 12 sq *ὀψώνιον δ' οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ λαμβάνουσι...σιτομετροῦνται οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ κ.τ.λ.*, *C. I. G.* 3137 *τά τε μετρήματα καὶ τὰ ὀψώνια* (an inscription found at Smyrna itself); comp. Dion. Halic. *A. R.* ix. 36. 5 *τό τ' ὀψώνιον τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου συγχωρηθὲν...ἀργυρίον* (where the rations could not be supplied in kind). In Greek *ὀψωνία* is the act of purchasing *ὄψα*, while *ὀψώνιον* is the money for purchasing them and is used almost exclusively of soldier's pay. In Latin however the derived word *obsonium* has a different sense. From *ὀψωνεῖν* the Romans adopted *obsonari*, 'to purchase delicacies, to cater,' and from this they used the substantive *obsonium* to signify food so purchased, 'delicacies,' without reference to the meaning of the corresponding Greek *ὀψώνιον*.

2. *δεσέρτωρ*] For the same metaphor see Clem. Rom. 21 *μὴ λιποτακτεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, ἰδ.* § 28 *τῶν αὐτομολούντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, *Clem. Hom.* xi. 16 *ὁ μὴ ποιῶν τὸν νόμον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πιστεύειν τῷ Θεῷ λιποτακτεῖ* (comp. Ep. Clem. 12, 17).

The adoption of Latin words in a Greek writer is natural in technical and more especially in military terms (e.g. here, and *δεπόσιτα*, *ἄκκεπτα*, below); and from Ignatius who was in charge of a *στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα* and bound to a soldier night and day (*Rom.* 5), nothing else was to be ex-

ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὅπλα, ἡ πίστις ὡς περικεφαλαία, ἡ ἀγάπη ὡς δόρυ, ἡ ὑπομονὴ ὡς πανοπλία· τὰ δεπόσιτα

$S_1\Sigma$; *otiosus inveniatur* L. G has a marginal gloss *ἀργὸς* to *δεσέρτωρ*, whence the rendering of L. *τὸ βάπτισμα...περικεφαλαία*] GLΣg; *et* (*sed*) *fides maneat vobiscum sicut arma, et spes sicut galea* S_4A. 4 *δεπόσιτα*] g*; *διπόσητα* G.

pected. For similar instances see Epictet. iii. 7. 30 *Καῖσάρ μοι κωδίκελλον ἔγραψε*, *ib.* iii. 24. 117 *ἢ ὀρδινατίων δήξεταί σε ἢ οἱ ἐπιθύοντες ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπτικίοις* (*ὀπφικίοις*? 'officiis'), Herm. *Vis.* iii. 1 *ἐπὶ τοῦ συμψελλίου ἔκειτο κερβικάριον λινοῦν καὶ ἐπάνω λεντίου ἐξηπλωμένον λίνον καρπάσινον*, *Mart. Polyc.* 16 *κομφέκτωρ*, Symmachus Eccles. ii. 8 *πεκούλια* (comp. Hieron. *Op.* VII. pp. 34, 726), *Evang. Nic.* 2 sq *κούρσωρ*, *σίγνα*, *φακεώλιον*, etc; besides the instances familiar to us in the N. T., e.g. centurio, euraquilo, flagellum, legio, lintium, membrana, paenula, praetorium, quadrans, semicinctium, sudarium, etc. The only other instance in Ignatius is *ἐξεμπλάριον*; see the note on *Ephes.* 2. The gloss *ἀργὸς* which appears on *δεσέρτωρ* in the Greek MS is taken from Ps-Ign. *Tars.* 9.

3. *ὡς ὅπλα*] '*as your shields*,' as the context requires. The Latin translator rightly renders it *scutum*. Comp. Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 17 *ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα* (where however it might include spears as well), Polyb. i. 22. 10 *ὑπὲρ τὸν δρύφακτον ὑπερτιθέμενοι τὰς ἴτυς τῶν ὅπλων*. This sense seems to be more frequent in Hellenistic Greek; LXX 1 Kings x. 17 *τριακόσια ὅπλα χρυσᾶ κ.τ.λ.*, Ps. xc. (xci). 5 *ὅπλῳ κυκλώσει σε ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτοῦ* (and several times elsewhere in the LXX), Aquila Hos. xi. 8 *ὅπλῳ κυκλώσω σε* (where the LXX has *ὑπερασπιῶ σου*), *Test. xii Patr.* Levi 5 *ἔδωκέ μοι ὅπλον καὶ ῥομφαίαν*, Barnab. 12 *τίθησιν οὖν Μωυσῆς ἓν ἐφ' ἓν ὅπλον*. See also Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* ii. 7 (p. 6) *πίστιν ἔχοντες τὸ ξίφος καὶ ὅπλον τὸν σταυρόν*. This meaning of *ὅπλον* is preserved both in the derivative *ὁπλίτης* 'bearing the heavy-shield', as opposed to the *πελταστὴς* 'bearing the light-target,' and in the secondary meaning of the word itself 'a medallion,' like the Latin 'clypeus,' e.g. *C. I. G.* 124 *εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν ὅπλῳ* (see Boeckh's note, II. p. 664). This sense explains *μενέτω*; 'Hold out your baptismal vows, your baptismal privileges, as a shield before you. Do not throw away your best defence, and incur the reproach of a *ῥίψασπις* in this sacred warfare.'

4. *πανοπλία*] Here 'the complete body-armour,' breast-plate, greaves, etc: for nothing else remains. Patience protects the whole spiritual man, wherever the blow is aimed. Comp. *Act. SS. Tarach. Prob. etc.* 7 (Ruinart p. 465, Ratisb. 1859) *οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι τὴν πανοπλίαν μου βλέπειν τυφλὸς ὤν*.

This passage was doubtless suggested by Ephes. vi. 13—17, which it closely resembles, though the parts of the armour are differently assigned in the metaphor. The resemblance to 1 Thess. v. 8 is less. Comp. also Is. lix. 17.

τὰ δεπόσιτα] When a donative was accorded to the soldiery, one half only was paid at the time, the remaining half being placed in a savings-bank attached to the cohort. This money was said 'deponi apud signa' (Sueton. *Dom.* 7, Veget. ii. 20); and the fund was managed by a special

ὑμῶν τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, ἵνα τὰ ἄκκεπτα ὑμῶν ἄξια κομίσησθε. μακροθυμήσατε οὖν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐν πραΰτητι, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός.

1 *τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν*] Gg; *opera bona* [S_4]ΣA; *opera* (om. *ὑμῶν*) L* (but the varying position of *vestra* in the MSS should be noticed). *τὰ ἄκκεπτα ὑμῶν ἄξια*] GL; add. *θεοῦ* g; *donum* (or *dona*) *dei, sicut justum est* S_4Σ; *dona a deo* (om. *ἄξια*) A. 2 *μακροθυμήσατε*] G; *μακροθυμεῖτε* g Dam-Rup 8 Anton 10. *οὖν*] GLg; om. S_4ΣA [Dam-Rup] [Anton]. *πραΰτητι*] g* Dam-Rup Anton; *πραότητι* G Antioch 9. 3 *ὡς*] GLS_4ΣA Dam-Rup Anton; *καὶ* g; *ὡς καὶ* Antioch. *μεθ'*] S_4ΣAg Dam-Rup Anton Antioch; om. G;

officer entitled 'curator fisci' (e.g. Orell. *Inscr.* 3462). We read also of a 'librarius depositorum' (*Dig.* l. 6. 7), perhaps the clerk who kept this deposit account. The deposits however, as entered in the name of any soldier, would include other items besides, e.g. other portions of donatives voluntarily so deposited, prize-money, etc. The 'peculium' thus accumulated was paid over to the soldier at his discharge, or an equivalent in land given to him. See Becker and Marquardt *Röm. Alterth.* III. 2, p. 429. 'Accepta' would thus be the sums placed to his credit and ultimately paid over to him. The *Castrense Peculium* is the subject of a work by H. Fitting (Halle, 1871). It was the special privilege of this kind of property ('quae sunt parta labore militiae'), that it was secured to the man himself, and was accordingly exempted from the *patria potestas*, on the principle enunciated in [Juv.] xvi. 58 sq, 'Ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur, Ut qui fortis erit, sit felicissimus idem, etc.', where the fact is stated. The exceptional character of this kind of property gives its force and appropriateness to the image here. Cotelier moreover aptly quotes Veget. ii. 20 'Miles...qui sumptus suos scit apud signa depositos, *de deserendo nihil cogitat*, magis diligit signa, pro illis in acie fortius dimicat, etc.' Those who deserted or were dismissed for misconduct would forfeit all this accumulated property. For the metaphor comp. August. *Op.* v. Appx. p. 150 'Milites igitur Christi sumus, et stipendium ab ipso donativumque percepimus etc.', in a sermon by an unknown writer. The metaphor of the *signum* (*σύσσημον*) appears in the companion epistle, *Smyrn.* 1.

1. *ἄξια*] '*due*', i.e. 'corresponding to the *deposita*,' as in [Juv.] xvi. 56 'Hunc labor *aequus* provehit et pulcro *reddit* sua dona labori,' speaking of this same thing.

3. *μεθ' ὑμῶν*] sc. *μακροθυμεῖ*, as above *ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν* sc. *προσέχῃ* (see the note). I should not have thought it necessary to explain the construction, if Jacobson had not quoted Phil. iv. 5 *ὁ Κύριος ἔγγυς*, apparently led astray by the Armenian mis-rendering 'quasi Deus sit in mediis vobis.'

ὀναίμην] See the note on *Ephes.* 2.

VII. 'I hear that the Church of Antioch has peace at length; and the news has gladdened me, if only I am allowed to finish my course. Summon a council, and elect a trusty

VII. Ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας εἰρηνεύει, ὡς ἐδηλώθη μοι, διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς ὑμῶν, κἀγὼ εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ Θεοῦ, ἐάνπερ διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, εἰς τὸ εὑρεθῆναί με ἐν τῇ

dub. L. ὑμῶν pri.] GLΣS$_4$Ag; ἡμῶν Dam-Rup Anton [Antioch]. παντός] Here Σ breaks off, and has only two sentences more, § 7 χριστιανὸς κ.τ.λ. and § 8 ἀσπάζομαι τὸν μέλλοντα κ.τ.λ. 5 διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς] g; *per orationem* L (which prob. represents the gen., since L commonly translates διὰ with the accus. correctly *propter*); διὰ τὴν προσευχὴν G; *precibus* A.

person to carry your congratulations to Antioch. This is God's work. I trust to your compliance; and knowing your zeal, I have thought few words sufficient.'

4. Ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ.] On this matter, which is mentioned in all the letters written from Troas, see the notes to *Philad.* 10.

6. ἀμεριμνίᾳ Θεοῦ] For this genitive Θεοῦ, describing the character of the preceding substantive, comp. *Magn.* 6 ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ with the note.

7. Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω] See the note on *Magn.* 1.

ἐν τῇ αἰτήσει ὑμῶν] '*through your supplication.*' For the expression see *Ephes.* 20 ἐάν με καταξιώσῃ Ἰ. Χ. ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν, *Philad.* 8 θέλω ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν δικαιωθῆναι, *Smyrn.* 11 ἵνα ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. The word αἴτησις occurs only once elsewhere in Ignatius (*Trall.* 13), but he uses it rather than προσευχὴ here because he had already exhausted the latter word in the context. For the idea of 'discipleship,' as the final result of martyrdom, see the note on *Ephes.* 1 διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητὴς εἶναι. In the connexion διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν... μαθητήν, Ignatius probably has in his mind the proverb παθήματα μαθήματα; comp. e.g. Æsch. *Agam.* 177 τὸν πάθει μάθος θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν (comp. *ib.* 257), Herod. i. 207 τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γεγόνεε, Philo *de Leg. Spec.* 6 (II. p. 340) ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ παθεῖν μάθῃ, with other passages quoted by Wetstein and Bleek on Heb. v. 8 ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν.

This reading is to be preferred, both on account of the parallel passage in the companion epistle, *Smyrn.* 11, and by reason of the combination of authorities for it. If it had stood in the interpolator's text alone, it might have been classed with such wilful changes of θέλημα for θέμα above § 2, ἀγνοτάτης for ἁγνίζομαι *Ephes.* 8, διαλυθῆναι for δῦναι *Rom.* 2, where similarity of sound has suggested the substituted word. But the coincidence of the Armenian Version shows that it was already in the text of Ignatius. On the other hand it has not the authority of any MS of the Latin Version, as commonly represented. At the same time the other reading, ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει, would make very good sense; comp. *Ephes.* 11 ἐν οἷς γένοιτό μοι ἀναστῆναι ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν. The opposition would then be between παθεῖν and ἀνάστασις, as in *Rom.* 4 ἐὰν πάθω...ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. And for ὑμῶν μαθητήν (which in this case must be taken together) comp. *Ephes.* 3 with the note.

αἰτήσει ὑμῶν μαθητήν. πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστότατε, συμβούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον καὶ χειροτονῆσαί τινα ὃν ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχετε καὶ ἄοκνον, ὃς δυνήσεται θεοδρόμος καλεῖσθαι· τοῦτον καταξιῶσαι, ἵνα πορευθεὶς εἰς Συρίαν δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ἄοκνον ἀγάπην εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ. χριστιανὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει ἀλλὰ Θεῷ σχολάζει. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Θεοῦ ἐστιν

1 αἰτήσει] g*; *precibus* A (the same word which is used just before to translate διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς); ἀναστάσει GL (there is no v. l. in the MSS of L; see the Appx). μαθητήν] gLA; παθητήν G: see also *Smyrn.* 5 for a similar error. πρέπει] GLAg; add. *tibi igitur* S_1. 3 τινα ὃν] GL; *illum qui* S_1; *eos qui* A; εἴ τινα g. 4 καλεῖσθαι] GLg; *fieri* A; *ut sit et vocetur* S_1. καταξιῶσαι] g*; καταξιῶσε (an itacism) G; *dignificari* L* (MSS); *huic persuadeatur* (lit. *hic persuadeatur*) S_1; al. A. 6 Θεοῦ] gLS_1; χριστοῦ G; def. A. χριστιανὸς] G Dam-Vat 7 Dam-Rup 10; ὁ χριστιανὸς g; *christianus* L[Σ]; *christianus enim* S_1; *ergo christiano* A. ἑαυτοῦ

1. πρέπει] See the note on *Ephes.* 2.

θεομακαριστότατε] See the note on *Smyrn.* 1.

3. χειροτονῆσαί τινα] Similar instructions are given in the companion letter, *Smyrn.* 11. Polycarp himself refers to this intended delegate, *Phil.* 13 Ἐγράψατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος ἵνα, ἐάν τις ἀπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀποκομίσῃ γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω...εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύσοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν.

4. θεοδρόμος] '*God's courier.*' The word is used here in reference to the *special mission*, which he was promptly (ἄοκνον) to execute. In *Smyrn.* 11 he is styled θεοπρεσβύτης. On the other hand in *Philad.* 2 θεοδρόμοι is used of the Christian course generally. Lucian seems to be referring to these directions of Ignatius, *de Mort. Peregr.* 41, where he says of Peregrinus, previously a Christian, but now a Cynic, φασὶ δὲ πάσαις σχεδὸν ταῖς ἐνδόξοις πόλεσιν ἐπιστολὰς διαπέμψαι αὐτὸν διαθήκας τινὰς καὶ παραινέσεις καὶ νόμους· καί τινας ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρεσβευτὰς τῶν ἑταίρων ἐχειροτόνησε νεκραγγέλους καὶ νερτεροδρόμους προσαγορεύσας.

καταξιῶσαι] '*to commission*', '*accredit*'; comp. *Philad.* 10 ὃς καταξιωθήσεται τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας of a similar person. For the use of this word in Ignatius generally see the note to *Ephes.* 20.

5. πορευθεὶς εἰς Συρίαν] The object of this mission is more distinctly stated in *Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11, as the congratulation and encouragement of the Church at Antioch. The delegate was to bear a letter from the Smyrnæans.

7. Θεῷ σχολάζει] '*devotes his time to God*'; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 10 (p. 236) ἡ ἄγαμος μόνῳ σχολάζει τῷ Θεῷ. The sentiment here has reference to the Smyrnæans generally, but to the individual messenger more especially.

Θεοῦ...καὶ ὑμῶν] '*of God, as well as of yourselves*,' where Θεοῦ ex-

καὶ ὑμῶν, ὅταν αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσητε. πιστεύω γὰρ τῇ χάριτι, ὅτι ἕτοιμοί ἐστε εἰς εὐποιΐαν Θεῷ ἀνήκουσαν. 10 εἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὸ σύντονον τῆς ἀληθείας δι' ὀλίγων ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων παρεκάλεσα.

VIII. Ἐπεὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἠδυνήθην γράψαι διὰ τὸ ἐξαίφνης πλεῖν με ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εἰς Νεάπολιν, ὡς τὸ θέλημα προστάσσει, γράψεις ταῖς

ἐξουσίαν] GL Dam-Vat Dam-Rup; ἐξουσίαν ἑαυτοῦ g. 7 Θεῷ] Gg; τῷ θεῷ Dam-Vat Dam-Rup. τοῦτο] GLg; *hoc enim* S_1; *et hoc* A. 8 αὐτὸ] g*S_1A; αὐτῷ G; *ipsi* (αὐτῷ or αὐτοί) L* (see the next note). ἀπαρτίσητε] GS_1Ag; *perfecti estis* (ἀπαρτισθῆτε) L (so that the previous word was probably read αὐτοί). 10 εἰδὼς] txt gL; add. οὖν G; *nam et scio* A. σύντονον] G; σύντομον g*; *compendium* L; *praeparationem* (*promptitudinem*) A ('videtur legisse ἕτοιμον' Petermann; see the v. l. in *Rom.* 5). 12 Ἐπεὶ] txt GA; add. οὖν Lg. 14 ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν] Gg; *quae supra nos sunt* A; *aliis* L.

plains and justifies the preceding Θεῷ σχολάζει.

8. τῇ χάριτι] '*the Divine grace*'; see below § 8, and the note on *Smyrn.* 12.

9. Θεῷ ἀνήκουσαν] See the note on *Philad.* 1.

10. τὸ σύντονον] '*intensity, directness*', properly '*tension*'; comp. Philo *Leg. ad Cai.* § 20 (p. 565 M) τὸ τάχος καὶ σύντονον τῆς σπουδῆς. This therefore is probably the reading here, rather than τὸ σύντομον; but the words are constantly confused. Sometimes they occur together; e.g. Plut. *Mor.* p. 759 D σύντονον ὁμοῦ καὶ σύντομον εὑρηκέναι πορείαν εἰς ἀρετήν, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 3 (p. 103) τὰς συντόμους ὁδοὺς καὶ συντόνους εἰς ἀϊδιότητα, Julian. *Orat.* vii. (p. 225 C) τὴν σύντομον, φησίν, ὁδὸν καὶ σύντονον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν εἰσιοῦσιν.

τῆς ἀληθείας] '*your sincerity*,' '*your fidelity*'; comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 4 στεγούσας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἐν πάσῃ ἀληθείᾳ. In the LXX ἀλήθεια is a frequent rendering of אמונה, 'stedfastness,' 'constancy,' which is also translated by πίστις in other places.

δι' ὀλίγων κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Rom.* 8.

VIII. 'I am prevented by the hurry of my departure from writing to all the churches. I charge thee therefore to direct the churches in front to send delegates or letters, as circumstances may allow, to Syria. I salute all individuals, especially the widow of Epitropus with her family, and Attalus. I salute the delegate who will go to Syria, and Polycarp who will send him. I pray for a blessing on you all. Abide in the unity of God. I salute Alce. Farewell.'

13. πλεῖν] The letter therefore is written from Troas; and the preceding ἠδυνήθην is an epistolary aorist; see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 283.

εἰς Νεάπολιν] The port-town of Philippi (Acts xvi. 11), where he would take the great Egnatian road across the continent to Dyrrhachium; see *Philippians* p. 47 sq.

14. τὸ θέλημα] '*the Divine will*'; see the note on *Ephes.* 20. There is

ἔμπροσθεν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς Θεοῦ γνώμην κεκτημένος, εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι—οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι πεζοὺς πέμψαι, οἱ δὲ ἐπιστολὰς διὰ τῶν ὑπό σου πεμπομένων, ἵνα δοξασθῆτε αἰωνίῳ ἔργῳ—ὡς ἄξιος ὤν.

'Ασπάζομαι πάντας ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ 'Επι- 5
τρόπου σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων· ἀσπά-

1 *εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.*] For the reading of L see the Appx. 2 *τὸ αὐτὸ*] GA; *τοῦτο* g; om. (?) L*. 4 *δοξασθῆτε*] GAg; *glorificeris* L. *αἰωνίῳ ἔργῳ*] GL; *ἐν αἰωνίῳ ἔργῳ* g; *in operibus aeternitatis* A. *ὡς ἄξιος ὤν*] GLg*; *quomodo et digni estis* A. 6 *τῶν τέκνων*] GLg. Petermann translates A *filiis* (= *τέκνοις*), but the case is ambiguous and may be either *filiorum* or *filiis*. 7 *τὸν μέλλοντα...πορεύεσθαι*] GLg (but g omits *τοῦ*); *eum fratrem qui paratus est ire in Syriam* A (ܠܡܐܙܠ for ܠܡܐܙܠ); *illum qui dignatur ire ad antiochiam pro me, sicut praecepi tibi* Σ (but Σ_3 for *praecepi tibi* reads *praecepisti*

no reason for departing from the ordinary use of Ignatius, and explaining it here of the will of the emperor or the Roman authorities.

ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκκλησίαις] '*the churches lying in front*,' i.e. nearer to Syria than Smyrna itself. The writer naturally imagines himself looking towards Antioch, whither the delegates are to be sent. Ignatius had been unable himself to write to any of these, except Philadelphia, since they lay at too great a distance from Troas. For *ἔμπροσθεν* comp. Xen. *Anab.* v. 6. 9 *πολεμίων πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων*. Uhlhorn (p. 31) refers to Herod. vii. 126 *πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης*, but he himself prefers explaining it by the Semitic use of מקדם 'in front,' i.e. eastward. This is quite unnecessary. Other explanations which have been suggested hardly deserve consideration.

1. *Θεοῦ γνώμην κ.τ.λ.*] '*possessing the mind of God*.' For *Θεοῦ γνώμη* see the note *Ephes.* 3.

3. *πέμψαι*] sc. *πεμψάτωσαν*, i.e. 'Let those who are able to send messengers, send them, and let the others send letters.' The sentence, *οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι...αἰωνίῳ ἔργῳ*, must be regarded as parenthetical, so that *ὡς ἄξιος ὤν* will be connected with *γράψεις...ὡς Θεοῦ γνώμην κεκτημένος*, and refer to Polycarp himself. Much unnecessary difficulty has been made about this singular *ἄξιος ὢν* by translators and commentators.

διὰ τῶν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. by the hands of the messengers whom Polycarp will send to the several cities, to inform them of the wish of Ignatius. The letters of the several churches will thus be collected, and placed in the hands of the Smyrnæan *θεοδρόμος*, who will carry them to Syria; comp. Polyc. *Phil.* 13, quoted above on § 7 *χειροτονῆσαί τινα*.

4. *ἵνα κ.τ.λ.*] '*that ye*,' i.e. all who participate in this mission, '*may be glorified by an ever-memorable work*.'

5. *ἐξ ὀνόματος*] See the note on § 4.

τὴν τοῦ 'Επιτρόπου] '*the widow*,' rather than the wife, '*of Epitropus*,' as the words following seem to show. The name appears to be very rare;

ζομαι Ἄτταλον τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου· ἀσπάζομαι τὸν μέλλοντα καταξιοῦσθαι τοῦ εἰς Συρίαν πορεύεσθαι· ἔσται ἡ χάρις μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός, καὶ τοῦ πέμποντος αὐτὸν Πολυκάρπου. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς ἐν Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ εὔχομαι, ἐν ᾧ διαμείνητε ἐν ἑνότητι Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπῆ. ἀσπάζομαι Ἄλκην τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ.

nobis by the change of a letter). 11 Χριστῷ] χριστοῦ G. διαμείνητε] G; διαμείνατε or διαμείνετε (sic) g*. 12 ἐπισκοπῇ] GLg*; ἐπισκόπου A. Ἄλκην] ἄλκην G. There is no aspirate in LAg; see *Smyrn.* 13. 13 μοι] g; *mihi* L; μου G; al. A. See also *Smyrn.* 13, *Rom.* 10. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ] GLg; om. A.

Subscription πρὸς Πολύκαρπον G. There is no subscription in LA. For g see the Appx.

but I find one Ti. Claudius Epitropus in an inscription, Muratori MCLI. 10. Perhaps the word is wrongly taken as a proper name; and we should rather translate, 'the wife (or widow) of the procurator.' Mention is made in the inscriptions at Smyrna of an officer called ἐπίτροπος στρατηγός or ἐπίτροπος τῆς στρατηγίας (*C. I. G.* 3151, 3162), and perhaps this officer may be meant. Another Smyrnæan inscription speaks of ὁ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (*C. I. G.* 3203). This woman is not improbably the same with Gavia mentioned in the companion epistle, *Smyrn.* 13 τὸν οἶκον Γαουΐας κ.τ.λ.

7. Ἄτταλον] This name appears many times in inscriptions and coins belonging to Smyrna, *C. I. G.* 3141, 3142, 3239, 3288, 3289, 3299, 3304, 3331, Mionnet III. pp. 232, 233, *Suppl.* VI. p. 309 (?), 344. The coins belong to the time of M. Aurelius.

τὸν μέλλοντα κ.τ.λ.] The Θεοδρόμος, about whom he has given directions in the preceding chapter. The Syriac epitomator, having struck out the whole of the preceding passage which explains who is meant, substitutes here 'him that is thought worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I commanded thee.' His abridgment rendered some explanation necessary; but his language would suggest to the reader that the person in question was intended to succeed Ignatius as bishop. There is no reason to think that the epitomator himself intended this, or that this was anything more than a piece of slovenly wording, such as characterizes his abridgment elsewhere.

9. ἡ χάρις] '*the Divine grace*,' as in § 7 πιστεύω τῇ χάριτι (see the note).

11. Θεῷ ἡμῶν] See the note on *Ephes.* inscr.

12. ἑνότητι Θεοῦ] See the note on *Philad.* 8.

ἐπισκοπῇ] '*superintendence*.' He had begun the letter by speaking of Polycarp as ἐπεσκοπημένος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. There is therefore much propriety in his ending with διαμείνητε κ.τ.λ. The reading ἐπισκόπου however

is ancient, as the Armenian Version shows, though its presence in any Greek texts has no authority. It would make good sense; comp. *Smyrn.* 9 Θεὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι, *Trall.* 7 οὗσιν ἀχωρίστοις [Θεοῦ] Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. But the alteration of ἐπισκοπῇ into ἐπισκόπου would be so much more natural to a transcriber than the converse, that I have not hesitated to adopt ἐπισκοπῇ in preference.

Ἄλκην] See the note on *Smyrn.* 13.

τὸ ποθητόν μοι κ.τ.λ.] So *Rom.* 10, *Smyrn.* 13. Similarly Eusebius speaks of his friend Pamphilus as τὸ ποθεινόν μοι ὄνομα, *Act. Pamph.* 1, 6 (*Op.* II. 1441, 1445, Migne).

13. ἔρρωσθε] See the note on *Ephes.* 21.

ACTS OF MARTYRDOM

OF

S. IGNATIUS.

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I.

THE ACTS OF MARTYRDOM of S. Ignatius appear in five forms.

1. The ANTIOCHENE ACTS. These are extant in three languages.

(i) *GREEK*; *Paris.* 1451 (formerly *Colbert.* 460). From this MS the Acts were first published by Ruinart (*Act. Prim. Mart. Sinc.* 1689, p. 605 sq). No other Greek MS of these Acts is known to exist.

(ii) *LATIN*; attached to the Anglo-Latin Version of the Ignatian Epistles discovered and published by Ussher in his edition (1644) from two MSS.

(iii) *SYRIAC*; first published in part by Cureton (*Corp. Ign.* p. 222, London, 1849) and afterwards entire by Moesinger (*Supplementum Corporis Ignatiani*, 1872, p. 7 sq). Four MSS of this version are known to exist, of which two are imperfect at the end.

As these Antiochene Acts incorporate the Epistle to the Romans, a full account of the MSS in the three languages has been given already in the notices of the MSS of the Ignatian Epistles. The original Greek is printed below; and the Latin and Syriac will be found in the Appendix.

2. The ROMAN ACTS, which are extant in the original Greek and in a Coptic Version.

(i) *GREEK.* Of this I am not aware of more than three MSS.

(*a*) *Vatic.* 866. From this MS Dressel first published these Acts in his edition of the *Patres Apostolici* (1857). He thus describes it: 'membraneus, foliis dimidiatis 395, saeculi x. Ex eo (fol. 185—188) 'Acta Martyris Ignatii' deprompsi inedita. Alia insunt martyria, epistolae sanctorum, similiaque adhuc parum cognita.'

(*b*) *Bodl. Laud. Graec.* 69, fol. 245 b—255 a. This MS is described in Coxe's *Catal. Cod. Graec. Bibl. Bodl.* p. 552 sq[1]. It is a large fol. in parchment, of the 11th century, and contains a Martyrology for December. The Martyrdom of Ignatius is preceded by μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου βονηφατίου καὶ πολιτεῖα ἀγλαΐδος fol. 240 b, and followed by βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας μάρτυρος ἀναστασίας καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῇ μαρτυρησάντων ἐν ῥώμῃ fol. 255 b. Ussher gave some extracts from this MS in his *Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistolae* 1644, and in his *Appendix Ignatiana* 1647; but, notwithstanding the interest of the subject, it has lain unexamined since. I have collated it throughout for this edition. The iota is adscript, not subscript.

(*c*) *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Graec.* 1491 (formerly *Colbert.* 450), fol. 86 a, col. 2—fol. 93 b, col. 2. (See the *Catal. Bibl. Reg.* II. p. 338.) It is a folio in double columns in a bold cursive hand, without iota adscript or subscript, and appears to have been written in the 11th century. The Martyrdom of Ignatius is preceded (fol. 64 b) by βίος τοῦ ὁσίου πρς ἡμῶν βλασίου, and succeeded (fol. 94 a) by τοῦ ὁσίου πρς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ θεοδώρου κατήχησις ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα. The volume is mainly occupied with the Acts of saints and martyrs who are commemorated in the latter half of December. This copy of the Roman Acts has never, so far as I am aware, been noticed before. I have collated it throughout for this edition. It is quite the most important authority for the text.

(ii) *COPTIC.* These Acts are extant in the two principal dialects of the Coptic language, (α) the Memphitic and (β) the Thebaic or Sahidic.

[1] Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 2, note 2), misled by Smith p. 45, supposes that the Oxford MS which Ussher used was *Barocc.* 192; and, as Grabe (*Spicil.* II p. 4) refers to the *Laudian* MS for the Acts of Martyrdom quoted by Ussher, he infers that these Acts are contained in two Oxford MSS. If Zahn has rightly apprehended Smith's meaning (for his words are somewhat ambiguous), Smith is certainly in error; for the Martyrdom of Ignatius in *Barocc.* 192 is that of the Metaphrast.

(α) The *Memphitic* is found in *Vatic. Copt.* lxvi. This Vatican MS is described by Quatremère *Recherches sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Égypte* p. 128 sq (Paris 1808), and by Assemani in Mai *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* v. Appx. p. 161 sq (see also *Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 618). It is a parchment MS in fol., of 313 leaves, written in various hands, and contains a Martyrology for the Egyptian month Epiphi. The Martyrdom of Ignatius begins the volume (fol. 1). The third document in the volume has a note appended to the effect that it was given to the church of S. Macarius in Scete, A. Mart. 641 (A.D. 925); and the fifth is stated to have been written A. Mart. 634 (A.D. 918). At the close of the volume is a note bearing the date A. Mart. 741 (A.D. 1025). A transcript of this MS, made by Tuki, belonged to the Borgian collection (Cod. xviii)[1], and is described by Zoega *Catal. Cod. Copt. Mus. Borg.* p. 19. This transcript is now probably in the Naples Library, with the other patristic and kindred MSS belonging to the Borgian collection. Professor Guidi, with his habitual kindness, made a transcript of the Vatican MS for me; and from his transcript this Coptic Version was published for the first time in my first edition. It will be found in the Appendix in the third volume of the present edition, p. 281 sq.

(β) The *Sahidic* or *Thebaic* is preserved in *Taurin. Papyrus* I, in the Egyptian Museum at Turin; described by Peyron in his *Lexicon Linguae Copticae* p. xxv. It is a papyrus of 63 leaves and contains (1) 'Martyrium S. Ignatii Antiochiae Episcopi'; (2) 'Martyrium S. Gioore'; (3) 'Historiam, seu potius fabulam virginis Eudoxiae imperatoris Constantini sororis, quae post Persas a fratre devictos Hierosolymam contendit etc; haec vero contigerunt anno 365 post Christi resurrectionem.'

This Sahidic text has been published since the appearance of my first edition, with a translation, by F. Rossi in his *Papyri Copti del Museo Egizio di Torino*, in the part bearing the title *Vita di Sant' Ilarione e Martirio di Sant' Ignazio*, Torino 1886, being taken from the *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, Serie 2, Tom. XXXVIII. From this I have taken the various readings for my apparatus criticus in the present edition.

The earlier part of these Coptic Acts (as far as § 3 ὑπὸ ἀπίστων) in both dialects was published by Revillout in the *Revue Égyptologique* III. p. 34 sq (1883), the Thebaic text being placed below the Memphitic on the same page. The two texts were taken from the two MSS described above, and indeed I am not aware of any other MS of either version.

[1] Tattam in a letter to Cureton (*Corp. Ign.* p. 362) writes loosely, 'It is marked Cod. xviii of vol. lxvi Vatic. in Zoega's Catalogue of the Borgian MSS'.

Though Revillout's publication had appeared before my first edition (1885), I was unaware of the fact. My own text of the Memphitic Acts had been passed through the press some time before its appearance.

It is evident at once that these two versions are not independent the one of the other. Not only do they follow the same text with the same insertions and omissions, but they render the Greek in the same way. The one therefore must have been taken from the other; and further examination shows that the priority should be assigned to the Thebaic. Though here and there we stumble on a passage which seems to point to the Memphitic as the original, yet these are capable of being explained otherwise. On the other hand the phenomena which indicate that the Thebaic is the parent of the Memphitic are too numerous and decisive to be set aside. Occasionally the Memphitic preserves a purer form of the Egyptian text where the existing Thebaic MS is corrupt; but, as a rule, the Thebaic text is found to be older and closer to the original Greek.

From what has been said, it will have appeared that the two cannot be regarded as independent authorities; but as each manuscript is mutilated in parts by the loss of a leaf or leaves, they supplement each other, and no part is wanting to both versions. The Memphitic omits a considerable portion of the 6th chapter; the Thebaic is defective at the beginning and leaves out parts of the 10th and 11th chapters. There are likewise smaller omissions in other parts.

Cureton (*C. I.* p. 362), while giving an extract from Peyron, speaks of these Coptic Acts as if they were a translation of the Colbertine or (as I prefer to call them) the *Antiochene* Acts, though Peyron's own words ought to have saved him from this erroneous identification. Zoega (l. c.) writes somewhat carelessly, 'Auctor videtur esse Heron quidam, nam circa finem inter alias invocationes S. Ignatii legitur ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲏⲣⲱⲛ *Memento filii tui Heronis*.' The fact is that the Acts are followed by the *Prayer of Hero*, of which these words form part; but there is nothing to connect the Acts themselves with Hero. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 3, note 6) is perplexed by this statement of Zoega, as repeated by Tattam, and says that, if the statement be correct, this must be different from any known Martyrdom of Ignatius.

3. The BOLLANDIST ACTS, extant only in Latin. A portion of these was published by Ussher in his *Appendix Ignatiana* (1647) from a Cotton MS. This was, I suppose, Otho D. viii (see the *Catalogue* p. 369), since charred and rendered illegible by the fire. They were afterwards given in full in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* Febr. I, 'ex

pluribus eisque vetustissimis codicibus MSS desumpta, et cum Rosweydo olim, tum nobis communicata: eorum praecipui sunt Lobiensis, Audomarensis, Ultrajectinus, aliusque Burgundicus a Chiffletio nostro transmissus'. The most convenient and best text is that of Funk (1881), who collated several manuscripts. Manuscripts of these Acts seem to be numerous. Sometimes they are attached to the Latin version of the interpolated and spurious Ignatian Epistles: e.g. *Troyes* 412; *Brussels* 5510; *Brussels* 703 (perhaps a transcript from the preceding); *Paris. Bibl. Nat.* 1639 (formerly *Colb.* 1039). These MSS have already been described among the authorities for the text of the Ignatian Epistles. Sometimes the Acts of Martyrdom are apart from the epistles: e.g. *Bodl. Laud. Lat.* 31, fol. 118 a; *Laud. Miscell.* 114, fol. 61 b; *Sangall.* 454[1].

4. The ARMENIAN ACTS, first published by J. B. Aucher in his Armenian Lives of all the Saints of the Armenian Calendar (Venice 1810—1814), and reprinted from him by Petermann in his edition of Ignatius (p. 496 sq). As these Acts contain the Epistle to the Romans, they have been already noticed in the account of the authorities for the text of the Ignatian Epistles.

5. The ACTS OF THE METAPHRAST. As these also contain the Epistle to the Romans, they have been noticed already in the account of the MSS of the Ignatian Epistles.

The short Latin Acts, published by Moesinger (*Suppl. Corp. Ignat.* p. 18 sq) from a MS in the Vallicellian Library at Rome (see *ib.* p. 5), may be dismissed at once; as they are put together from Rufinus'

[1] It is necessary to warn readers who use Petermann's edition for these Acts, that he has omitted a long paragraph, 'Fuerunt autem custodientes ... pejores fiunt', at the end of § 3 (p. 487) without any notice of the omission. It appears in its proper place in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* p. 29 sq, but is omitted by Ussher (p. 5), because Ussher was only concerned with those parts which were taken from the Antiochene Acts, and this piece comes from the Roman Acts. Petermann seems to have copied Ussher and omitted it through inadvertence, as his purpose is to give these Acts complete. Zahn (*l. v. A.* p. 18, note) is misled by Petermann. This paragraph certainly appears in the only two MSS which I have consulted for this part, *Laud. Lat.* 31, and *Laud. Miscell.* 114. So again in § 1 Petermann (p. 484) and Zahn (*l. c.*) treat the words 'secundus post apostolos factus, qui post Euodium' as an interpolation in the Bollandist MSS, whereas they were probably omitted by Ussher though found in his Cotton MS, because there was nothing corresponding to them in the Antiochene Acts. The alternative hypothesis, that some later scribe interpolated them from the Roman Acts, is highly improbable.

Latin version of Eusebius and the account of Ignatius in the Martyrology of Ado (see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 30).

2.

The next point is to determine the mutual *relations* of the five documents described in the last section. And here our task is easy. The two first-mentioned Acts, which (for reasons which will appear presently) I have called the *Antiochene* and the *Roman* respectively, are quite independent the one of the other; while the remaining three are combinations of these two more or less modified[1].

1. The first of these five documents begins with an account of the successful administration of the Antiochene Church by Ignatius under the persecution of Domitian and during the early part of Trajan's reign (§ 1). We are then carried forward to the ninth year of Trajan. The emperor, elated by his victories over the Scythians and Dacians, is exasperated by the refusal of the Christians to worship the gods of heathendom. Their subjugation is necessary to crown his triumphs. He is now at Antioch, preparing for his expedition against Armenia and the Parthians. Ignatius is summoned before him. After some altercation, which turns entirely on the word θεοφόρος, Trajan condemns the saint to be carried a prisoner to Rome and there to be thrown to the wild-beasts. With much thanksgiving he invests himself in his chains (§ 2). The narrative of the journey to Rome is given at some length. It more resembles the progress of a conqueror than the transportation

[1] Ussher seems to have rightly divined the relations of the Bollandist Acts (which he read in the Cottonian MS) to the two independent works which I have called Antiochene and Roman Acts respectively (see his preface); but he was unacquainted with the Armenian Acts and does not appear to have paid sufficient attention to the Metaphrast. To Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 10 sq) belongs the credit of having first stated distinctly the relations of the five documents to each other. Some years before Zahn's book appeared, I had myself investigated these relations and arrived at the same results. Indeed a careful comparison of the documents themselves can only lead to one conclusion. On the other hand, Aucher confidently maintained that the Armenian Acts were translated from the original document, of which all the others were abridgements or modifications (see Petermann pp. 496 sq, 545); but it must be remembered, as an excuse for this very untenable view, that he was unacquainted with the Roman Acts which are the key to the solution. About the time when Zahn's book was published, Kraus (*Theolog. Quartalschr.* LV. p. 115 sq, 1873) discussed the various Acts of Ignatius, but did not trace their relations.

of a convict. From Antioch he goes to Seleucia the port-town, where he takes ship for Smyrna. Arrived at Smyrna, he enjoys the society of Polycarp, formerly his fellow-disciple under the tuition of S. John. Here he receives delegates from the churches, and exhorts them to second his desire of martyrdom (§ 3). As a reward for their kindly attention, he writes letters of exhortation to them. At this point the Epistle to the Romans is inserted to show the spirit of his letters (§ 4). From Smyrna he is hurried forward by his guards to Troas; thence by ship to Neapolis; thence by land through Philippi and Macedonia to Epidamnus, where again he embarks. The course of the vessel is through the Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas to Portus. As they pass by Puteoli, he desires to land there, so that he may tread in the footsteps of S. Paul; but adverse winds prevent this. At Portus he disembarks (§ 5). Leaving this place, he and his companions are met by 'the brethren' who had heard the rumour of his coming. He entreats them not to interpose and rob him of his crown. Immediately on his arrival he is carried to the amphitheatre. It is the great 'thirteenth' day, and the spectacle is already drawing to a close. He had prayed that his remains might not give any trouble to the brethren. His prayer is granted. The beasts devour all but the more solid bones. These are carried back to Antioch, and preserved as reliques there (§ 6).

This happened on the xiii Kal. Jan., in the consulship of Sura and Senecio II. His companions, who relate the facts, were comforted during the night following by various appearances of the martyred saint. They write this account to the Antiochene Church, that the very day of the martyrdom may be religiously observed (§ 7).

Thus it appears that in these Acts the centre of interest is Antioch. Antioch is the scene of the interview and condemnation; at Antioch the martyr's remains are deposited and venerated. It will be seen also hereafter, that these Acts were probably written at Antioch, and that their principal circulation at first was in this city and neighbourhood. I have therefore called them the *Antiochene Acts*.

2. The second of these documents likewise gives the date as the 9th year of Trajan, but the consuls are differently named, Atticus Surbanus and Marcellus. Ignatius, the successor of Euodius as bishop of Antioch, is sent to Rome in custody of ten soldiers of the body-guard, of whose cruelty he complains in his letter. He is taken through Asia, and thence to Thrace and Rhegium (§ 1). From Rhegium he sails to Rome. At Rome he is heard by Trajan in the presence of the senate.

The emperor attempts at first to bribe him; he will make him high-priest of Jupiter and share his sovereignty with him, if he will recant. Ignatius refuses (§ 2). Then ensues a long altercation between the emperor and the saint, in which the senate from time to time joins. Ignatius ridicules the myths of the gods and assails their morality. Trajan intersperses his part of the dialogue with arguments more powerful than words; he threatens and inflicts a series of the most excruciating tortures, but without producing any effect. This interview extends over several long chapters (§§ 3—9). The emperor ends by condemning him to starve in prison three days and nights, that he may be brought to his senses. The senate confirms the sentence (§ 9). On the third day Ignatius is led into the theatre in the presence of the emperor, the senate, the prefect, and the Roman mob. At the last moment he is offered his release, if he will deny his faith. He refuses. Two lions are let loose upon him. They crush him to death, but do not devour any part of his flesh. This was done, we are told, that his reliques might shield from harm the city, 'in which Peter was crucified and Paul was beheaded and Onesimus was perfected' (§ 10).

But Trajan is dismayed at his own act; and to increase his dismay, letters arrive from Pliny informing him how the innocent Christians press forward in crowds to suffer death for their faith. So he allows the body of the saint to be buried. The Christian brethren deposit it in a place where they can meet together safely from time to time to commemorate his martyrdom (§ 11).

After this the writer adds the testimony of Irenæus and Polycarp to the circumstances of Ignatius' life (tacitly borrowed from Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36); and the whole closes with the mention of the day of the commemoration—the 1st of Panemus (July)—and the name of the martyr's successor Hero (§ 12).

As in the former case the interest of the story centred in Antioch, so here it centres in Rome. In Rome the saint is heard and condemned by the emperor; at Rome his body is preserved. I have therefore designated these the *Roman Acts*. By this designation however it is not meant to imply that they were actually written in Rome. They can hardly have been composed before the beginning of the fifth century at the very earliest; and long before this time Greek had ceased to be the vulgar tongue of the Church in Rome. There are some indications indeed, as I shall point out hereafter, that these Acts were written at Alexandria; but, whether intentionally or not, they are subservient to the interests of the Roman Church.

These two Acts of Martyrdom are quite independent, the one of the other. They unite indeed in assigning the martyrdom to the 9th year of Trajan; but in all the other details they are not only distinct, but contradictory to each other, agreeing only in the main facts of a journey to Rome, an interview with Trajan, and a martyrdom in the amphitheatre.

In the remaining three documents in which these two conflicting accounts are combined in different ways, the patch-work is more or less apparent.

3. The clumsiest form of the combined narrative appears in the *Bollandist Acts*. In this recension little or no attempt is made to fuse the Antiochene and Roman Acts. In the incidents at Antioch and the journey to Rome the former account is followed (*Mart. Ant.* §§ 1—5), with two unimportant exceptions in § 1—a notice giving the succession to the see of Antioch and a paragraph relating to the cruel treatment of his guards—both these being insertions from the Roman Acts (see above, p. 367, note). As soon as Ignatius arrives in the metropolis, the latter account is taken up and continued to the close (*Mart. Rom.* §§ 2—12). Thus the end of the first document and the beginning of the second are knocked off; and the two, thus mutilated, are joined together. The narrative at its joining runs thus: 'Denique una die et ea nocte prosperis ventis usi pervenerunt ad urbem Romam: et nuntiaverunt imperatori de adventu ejus.' This sentence is made up of τοιγαροῦν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ τῇ αὐτῇ οὐρίοις ἀνέμοις προσχρησάμενοι from *Mart. Ant.* 5, followed by παραγίνονται [v. l. παρεγένοντο] ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ· καὶ προσήνεγκαν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ from *Mart. Rom.* 2. The result of this agglutination is utter incongruity. Trajan appears first at Antioch and then at Rome, but how he got from the one place to the other does not appear. Ignatius has an altercation with him in both cities. The condemnation takes place twice over. The editors of the *Acta Sanctorum* can only explain this startling incongruity by supposing that some chapters have been displaced. Generally these Acts of Martyrdom are a corrupt rendering, first of the Antiochene, and then of the Roman account, running off occasionally into paraphrase. The day of commemoration is altered in the last paragraph to the Kalends of February in accordance with the Roman usage.

4. The *Armenian Acts* are a more successful attempt to amalgamate the two narratives. The compiler is not satisfied with agglutination, as in the former case, but aims at fusion. He strives to work in

all, or nearly all, the incidents of both accounts, and yet to guard the unity of the story. From the Antiochene Acts he has taken the whole account of the interview with Trajan at Antioch, the journey to Rome, and the martyrdom, borrowing here and there an incident or an expression from the Roman Acts. To the Roman Acts he is indebted for the lengthy altercation between the emperor and the saint, with the account of the tortures inflicted on the latter in the course of this examination. This portion of the story however he has transferred from Rome to Antioch, inserting it in the midst of the conversation between Trajan and Ignatius as given in the Antiochene Acts, and thus the incongruity of the Bollandist Acts, which relate two interviews with Trajan at different places and two condemnations, has been avoided. Occasionally the compiler has inserted notices which have no counterpart in either the Antiochene or the Roman narrative, and these he perhaps invented himself. But with one or two exceptions (see below, p. 373), the insertions are slight and unimportant. The Armenian version is unfortunately so edited that it is not always easy to separate the notices inserted by the editor Aucher from the body of the Armenian text which he had before him. One chapter (§ 50), which gives an account of the authorship of this document, is described by Petermann as 'additamentum editoris'; by which expression he probably means Aucher, as Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 24) takes him to mean. In this chapter it is stated that the copy before the writer was 'translated from the Greek.' If this statement is Aucher's own, we should be glad to know on what authority he made it. If we may judge from his language in his preface (see Petermann, p. 496), he had no authentic information on this point, but offers it as his own decided opinion. There is no reason however for questioning its truth[1]. The amalgamation of the two narratives is much more likely to have been the work of a Greek compiler than of an Armenian translator.

This Armenian Martyrdom is made up as follows:

§§ 1—5 (pp. 497—505, ed. Petermann), 'Paulo ante...male pereant,' from *Mart. Ant.* §§ 1, 2, Ἄρτι διαδεξαμένου ... κακῶς ἀπολοῦνται: but the notice § 1 'etenim Evodium excepit' is taken from *Mart. Rom.* 1; in § 3 a paragraph is inserted from *Mart. Rom.* 1 (see above, p. 367, note); and in § 5, where *Mart. Ant.* 2 has ὡς δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔστη Τραϊανοῦ, it substitutes 'et ut stetit coram Trajano *et senatu*,' in order to account for the senate taking part in the proceedings as represented in *Mart.*

[1] The hypothesis of Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 21), that it was translated from an intermediate Syriac version, has been considered already.

Rom., which is afterwards followed. In § 4 it is worthy of notice that, whereas in one place Ignatius voluntarily goes to Trajan (after *Mart. Ant.* 2 ἑκουσίως ἤγετο), in another he is represented as ordered into the emperor's presence (after *Mart. Rom.* 2 ἐκέλευσεν...εἰσαχθῆναι αὐτόν). There are also amplifications and explanations (e.g. that Trajan succeeded Nerva) due to the redactor himself, if not to Aucher.

§ 5 (p. 505) 'qui et Antiochenorum ... christianismum,' from *Mart. Rom.* 2 ὁ τὴν Ἀντιοχέων ... εἰς τὸν χριστιανισμόν.

§ 6 (p. 505) 'Ignatius dicit, Deo vestitum ... malitiam daemonum,' from *Mart. Ant.* 2 Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν Οὐδεὶς θεοφόρον ... καταλύω ἐπιβουλάς.

§§ 6—35 (pp. 505—533) 'Utinam possem ... ego vice fiam,' from *Mart. Rom.* 2—10 εἴθε, βασιλεῦ, οἷός τε ἤμην ... ὧν ποθῶν ἄπειμι πρὸς αὐτόν. But here again to prepare the way for the transition to the Antiochene narrative, we have an insertion in § 34, 'etenim festinabat in Armeniam et ad Parthos,' taken from *Mart. Ant.* 2 σπουδάζοντα... ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Πάρθους. In this portion of the Armenian Martyrdom there is also a long passage inserted (§§ 9, 10, p. 509) 'sicut et priusquam crucifigeretur ... argillam illuminationi oculorum dabat inservire,' which is not found in either of the Greek narratives, and which contains an account of our Lord's miracles somewhat irrelevant to the matter in hand. So again § 17 has no counterpart in either the Roman or the Antiochene Acts.

§§ 36—46 (pp. 533—541) 'Trajanus dicit; Cruci affixum...festinabat deinde intrare in theatrum,' from *Mart. Ant.* 2—6 Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Τὸν σταυρωθέντα ... ἀπήχθη μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον. At the end of § 41 the redactor has inserted a note of his own to the effect that Ignatius calls himself Θεοφόρος in the superscription of all his epistles.

§ 46 (p. 541) 'et stans in medio populo dicebat ... panis purus,' from *Mart. Rom.* 10 ἔφη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον...ἄρτος καθαρὸς γίνωμαι.

§§ 47, 48 (pp. 542, 543) 'et quum haec dixisset ... proverbiorum auctor dixit.' This portion of the narrative, the account of the actual martyrdom and the reliques, presented the greatest difficulty in the fusion, since the two Greek narratives directly contradict each other. The redactor fuses them as follows:

Armenian.	*Greek.*
'Et quum haec dixisset,	καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ *M. R.* 10.
bestiis ferocibus projiciebant eum impii carnifices;	οὕτως θηρσὶν ὠμοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἀθέων παρεβάλλετο *M. A.* 6.
et accurrentes duo leones suffo-	ἔδραμον ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ λέοντες καὶ

Armenian.

cabant beatum, et absumserunt sanctum corpus ejus,

et implebatur desiderium ejus secundum dictum divinae scripturae quod *desiderium justorum acceptabile est.* Etenim volebat ut absumeretur a bestiis et non molesta fieret collectio corporis ipsius fratribus; et secundum desiderium promtitudinis ejus itidem et fecit Deus. Etenim quum absumsissent bestiae totum corpus sancti, paullum quidquam e magnis ossibus reliquerunt, quod postea abstulerunt in Antiochenorum urbem, thesaurum incomparabilem in testimonium gratiae sanctae ecclesiae relictum.'

'Sed tunc conventum instituentes sancti fratres qui Romae erant, quibus et scripsit beatus ut non impedimento fierent ipsius bono proposito, et tollentes reliquias sancti posuerunt in loco quodam, in quo accidebat congregatis una laudare Deum et filium ejus unigenitum et sanctum spiritum in memoriam decessus sancti episcopi et martyris; etenim et *memoria justorum cum laude,* proverbiorum auctor dixit.'

Greek.

ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν προσπεσόντες ἀπέπνιξαν μόνον, οὐκ ἔθιγον δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν σαρκῶν *M. R.* 10.

ὡς παραυτὰ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου πληροῦσθαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐπιθυμία δικαίου δεκτή, ἵνα μηδενὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπαχθὴς διὰ τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ λειψάνου γένηται, καθὼς φθάσας ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι τελείωσιν. μόνα γὰρ τὰ τραχύτερα τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ λειψάνων περιελείφθη, ἅτινα εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀπεκομίσθη καὶ ἐν ληνῷ κατετέθη, θησαυρὸς ἀτίμητος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ μάρτυρι χαρίτος τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καταλειφθέντα *M. A.* 6.

οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀδελφοί, οἷς καὶ ἐπεστάλκει ὥστε μὴ παραιτησαμένους αὐτὸν τῆς ποθουμένης μαρτυρίας ἀποστερῆσαι ἐλπίδος, λαβόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἀπέθεντο [ἐν τόπῳ] ἔνθα ἦν ἐξὸν ἀθροιζομένους αἰνεῖν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα [vv. ll.] ἐπὶ τῇ τελειώσει τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου· μνήμη γὰρ δικαίου μετ' ἐγκωμίων *M. R.* 11.

Thus in this section the Antiochene story is followed as regards the two main points in which it differs from the Roman—the devouring of the body with the exception of the harder bones and the translation of the reliques to Antioch. At the same time portions of the Roman story relating to both these points are introduced with modifications. (i) The wild beasts in the Roman story are said to 'crush him to death only' (*ἀπέπνιξαν μόνον*), this mode of death being invented to account for the body being preserved whole. The incident of the

'crushing' is retained, but the qualifying adverb 'only' (*μόνον*) is omitted, and the beasts proceed to devour the body. (ii) The deposition of the reliques and gatherings of the Roman brethren to commemorate the martyr are also adopted from the Roman story; but the account is introduced by the words 'sed tunc,' to show that this was only their temporary resting-place, prior to their translation to Antioch.

§ 49 (pp. 543—545) 'et dum nos noctem...Januarias,' the account of the appearances of Ignatius to his friends on the night after the martyrdom, from *Mart. Ant.* 7 *ἐγένετο δὲ ταῦτα ... μακαρίσαντες τὸν ἅγιον*; but the date is transferred from the beginning to the end of this section; the day is altered from xiii Kal. Jan. to ix Kal. Jan. (apparently to suit the Armenian Calendar); and the names of the consuls are omitted.

§ 50 (p. 545) is an addition of the editor, as already stated.

§ 51 (pp. 545, 547) 'Novit ejus martyrium ... gavisuros esse,' from *Mart. Rom.* 12 *οἶδεν δὲ αὐτοῦ ... ὠφεληθήσεσθε*, the passage of Eusebius containing the testimony of Irenæus and Polycarp respecting Ignatius.

§ 52 (p. 547) runs 'Pone verba Polycarpi addit Eusebius *Illud quidem, quod de sancto Ignatio erat et martyrium ejus hucusque; excepit episcopatum Antiochiae Heron.*' This corresponds to *Mart. Rom.* 12 *τοῦτο Ἰγνατίου τὸ μαρτύριον ... Ἥρων*, where however the name of Eusebius is not mentioned. The editor then continues 'At pone has Eusebianas sectiones rursus profert collectio [i.e. Actorum] tanquam ex ore genuini auctoris sic.' The words which follow are an amalgamation:

'Memoriam Deo dilecti et probi athletae Ignatii in Hrotitz mensis die primo [secundum Graecos Decembr. 20] manifestavimus vobis et diem ut tempore martyrii congregati participes fiamus ... in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μνήμη τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ γενναίου μάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου μηνὶ πανέμῳ νεομηνίᾳ M. R. 12. *ἐφανερώσαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἵνα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου συναγόμενοι κοινωνῶμεν...εἰς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν M. A.* 7.

This date, 1st Hrotitz (i.e. July), taken from the Roman story, is quite inconsistent with the previous date, ix Kal. Jan., modified from the Antiochene.

5. The two documents last mentioned, while combining the Antiochene and Roman stories, appropriate not only the incidents but the very language of these narratives. The Acts which bear the name

of Symeon the *Metaphrast* use the materials much more freely[1]. With a higher literary aim, the author recasts both the diction and the incidents, toning down the ruggedness of the one and rejecting the more revolting features of the other. But though he alters without scruple, it is easy to trace the influence of one or other of the independent narratives throughout the main part of his composition. Like the author of the Armenian Acts, he borrows the dispute with Trajan from the Roman story and transfers it in like manner to Antioch. The discussion however is much curtailed, and the tortures are omitted. At the commencement he introduces the story that Ignatius was the child whom our Lord took up in His arms and blessed (§ 1); and at the close, where he mentions the translation of the reliques from Rome to Antioch (§ 24), he seems to be recalling the language of S. Chrysostom in his panegyric on the martyr (*Op.* II. p. 600 B, ed. Bened.). With these exceptions, he does not appear to employ any other sources of information but the two independent Acts of Martyrdom, which he amalgamates.

Our first impulse is to suppose that the Metaphrast had before him not the two independent narratives, but the same combined narrative which the Armenian translated from the Greek into his own language. The discussion on the name Θεοφόρος from the Antiochene story is interrupted in the same way by interposing the altercation with Trajan from the Roman story; and in the account of the scene in the theatre and the disposal of the reliques there is a similar juxtaposition of features derived from both narratives. But a closer examination dispels this first impression. The Metaphrast preserves portions from each story, which are not found in the combined narrative of the Armenian Acts. Thus for example these last-mentioned Acts have nothing corresponding to § 4 *καὶ τί ἐστι θεοφόρος*; and *ib. τί δὲ ἡμεῖς*; *οἱ σοὶ δοκοῦμεν κ.τ.λ.* of the Metaphrast, which are adopted and adapted from *Mart. Ant.* 2, or again to § 27 *ἀκούσας δὲ πολλὰ κ.τ.λ.* of the Metaphrast, which is taken from the account of Pliny's letter to Trajan in *Mart. Rom.* 11. Nor again is the sequence the same in the Metaphrast as in the Armenian Acts. Thus in § 4 of the Metaphrast we have in close proximity two pieces of conversation, *σὺ οὖν ὁ ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Χριστὸν περιφέρων*; *ναί, φησί, γέγραπται γάρ· Ἐνοικήσω κ.τ.λ.*, and *ὃν εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέγνως ... μονιμώτερα*, which appear at an interval of 30 chapters and in the reversed

[1] It did not seem worth while to reprint the *Acts of the Metaphrast* in the present volume, as they have no independent value. They will be found in the editions of Cotelier, Petermann (p. 472), Dressel (p. 350), Zahn (p. 316), and Funk (II. p. 246). The text of this last edition is founded on fresh collations.

order in the Armenian version (§ 36, and § 6). It seems probable therefore that the Metaphrast fitted together the two stories for himself; but if he used a combined narrative, it must have been somewhat different from that which was in the hands of the Armenian translator.

3.

It remains to enquire whether either of the two Acts of Martyrdom, which alone have an independent character, the Antiochene and the Roman, deserves any consideration as regards *historical credibility*.

And here we may at once dismiss the *Roman Acts*, for internal evidence condemns this work as a pure romance. The exaggerated tortures inflicted on the saint, the length and character of the discourses attributed to him, and the strange overtures made to him by the emperor, all alike are fatal to the credit of the narrative.

Moreover, the writer is not even consistent with himself. He gives the year of the emperor's reign and the names of the consuls at the time of the martyrdom (§ 1, see the note). The one date is irreconcilable with the other. He states also that letters reached Trajan from Pliny after the martyrdom. The receipt of these letters is represented as following so immediately on this event, that they influence the emperor in the disposal of the body (§ 11). This statement again cannot be harmonized with either of the dates given in the opening chapter. The year of the emperor's reign points to A.D. 106, or 105 at the earliest; the names of the consuls give A.D. 104: but the proconsulship of Pliny in Bithynia, and the consequent letters respecting the Christians, cannot date before about A.D. 112 (see below, p. 393 sq).

Nor is there any reason for supposing that this document was founded on an earlier writing or tradition. Zahn indeed has endeavoured to show this (*I. v. A.* p. 31 sq), but his evidence to my mind fails to establish his point.

(1) His first witness is Jerome. This father (*Catal.* 16), after giving an account of the letters of Ignatius which is taken altogether from Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 36), adds; 'Quumque jam damnatus esset ad bestias, ardore patiendi, cum rugientes audiret leones, ait, *Frumentum Christi sum; dentibus bestiarum molar, ut panis mundus inveniar.* Passus est anno decimo (v. l. undecimo) Trajani: reliquiae corporis ejus Antiochiae jacent extra portam Daphniticam in coemeterio.' So at least this father's text is read in the common editions. In like manner our

martyrologist ascribes these same words to Ignatius (§ 10), when he is actually in the amphitheatre and sees the wild beasts let loose[1]. And as Jerome was several times at Antioch from A.D. 373 onward and held intimate relations with the Antiochene Church, it is argued by Zahn that he derived this tradition from Antioch itself, where also he learnt about the burial place of Ignatius.

But what was Jerome's position with relation to Ignatius? There is no evidence that he had ever seen the Ignatian letters. He only twice elsewhere quotes or attempts to quote Ignatius. The one quotation (*Comm. in Matth.* i. § 1, *Op.* VII. p. 12) is a stock passage from *Ephes.* 19, and occurs in a work of Origen *Hom.* vi *in Luc.* 1 (*Op.* III. p. 938), which Jerome himself translated. The other (*adv. Pelag.* iii. 2, *Op.* II. p. 783) is a mere blunder; for the words which he ascribes to Ignatius belong to Barnabas, and here again he probably owed the quotation to Origen, misnaming however the author. In this very notice of Ignatius in the *Catalogue* he borrows the whole of the preceding account of the life and letters from Eusebius; but even thus he falls into a strange blunder. Misled by an expression of Eusebius (*τῇ Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἰδίως τε τῷ ταύτης προηγουμένῳ Πολυκάρπῳ*), he identifies the Epistle to the Smyrnæans with the special letter to Polycarp, and consequently quotes as from the latter a passage which Eusebius gives as from the former (*Smyrn.* 3). When therefore we find that his account of the saying of Ignatius in the amphitheatre has likewise a parallel in the narrative of Eusebius, which he might easily misunderstand so as to bear this sense, we are led perforce to conclude that here also he was indebted to this same source. The words of Eusebius are: 'And Irenæus also knows of his martyrdom and makes mention of his letters, saying thus: *As one of our own people said, when he was condemned to wild beasts for his testimony* (μαρτυρίαν) *to God; I am the wheat of God, and I am ground* (ἀλήθομαι) *by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread.*' The saying occurs in *Rom.* 5, whence Irenæus doubtless derived it; but the language of this father, though not incorrect, is sufficiently ambiguous to mislead one unacquainted with the letters, and Jerome accordingly, if the common text be correct, has transferred the saying to the time of the martyrdom, embellishing it with a rhetorical

[1] Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* p. 189) suggests that Jerome did not really mean to ascribe these words to Ignatius at the time of martyrdom; but if we retain the common text, which Pearson had before him, I agree with Zahn (p. 32) in considering this view untenable. With more cogency Pearson urges (pp. 189 sq, 610) that it does not matter what Jerome meant, since his information is derived at second hand from Eusebius.

flourish of his own, 'quum rugientes audiret leones.' But the correct text appears to be 'et ardore patiendi rugientes audiret leones,' and this probably means that in his eagerness for martyrdom the saint already heard by anticipation the roaring of the lions. The author of these Roman Acts, who likewise had Eusebius before him, though not unacquainted with the epistles themselves, has made the same mistake which Jerome is supposed to have made.

(2) The second passage, to which Zahn refers, is taken from the panegyric of Chrysostom on Ignatius. The words of Chrysostom are: 'Therefore that all the inhabitants of Rome might learn these things in deed, God allowed the saint to be martyred (τελειωθῆναι) there. And that this was the reason, I will make good (τοῦτο πιστώσομαι) from the very manner of his death. For he did not receive the sentence of condemnation (τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἐδέξατο ψῆφον) outside the walls, in a dungeon (ἐν βαράθρῳ), nor in a law court, nor in any corner; but in the midst of the theatre, while the whole city was seated overhead, he underwent this form of martyrdom (τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τρόπον), wild beasts being let loose upon him that he might erect a trophy against the devil before the eyes of all, etc. (*Op.* II. p. 599).' These words are taken to mean that the actual conviction of the saint took place at Rome, as represented in the Roman Acts. This interpretation seems to me to be more than doubtful in a highly rhetorical passage as this is[1]. But even if it were correct, the passage would only show that Chrysostom drew his own inference from the letters, just as the author of our Acts did. The expression κατάκριτος (*Rom.* 4, *Trall.* 3, *Ephes.* 12) is most naturally interpreted to mean that the conviction had already taken place; but this inference that the final sentence had been pronounced is not quite certain, and the fears elsewhere expressed by Ignatius lest he should be robbed of the martyr's crown by the interference of the Romans might easily suggest the opposite conclusion, as it has done to some modern critics.

Nor can any inference, I think, be drawn from another passage of Chrysostom (p. 600 A), 'He considered the mouths of these (the wild beasts) to be much less savage (πολλῷ ... ἡμερώτερα) than the tongue of the tyrant. And reasonably too (καὶ μάλα εἰκότως); for while it invited him to gehenna, their mouths escorted him to a kingdom.' There are

[1] The expression τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἐδέξατο ψῆφον is as applicable to the execution as to the delivery of the sentence; and the expression which balances it in the antithetical clause, τὸν τοῖ μαρτυρίου τρόπον ὑπέμεινε, suggests the former meaning. Moreover the preceding words, ἐκεῖ τελειωθῆναι, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς τελευτῆς, have no reference at all to the trial, but refer solely to the actual martyrdom.

indeed passages in our Acts (§§ 2, 5) to which the allusion might conveniently be referred. But this contrast between the temporal and the eternal tortures was an obvious commonplace of martyrologies; and the threats and blandishments of a tyrant were almost a necessity in such a scene. The elements moreover of Chrysostom's rhetoric are found in the language of Ignatius himself, *Rom.* 5, 6, 7, where he defies the present tortures for the sake of the future kingdom and denounces the attempts of 'the prince of this world' to corrupt his mind and divert him from his purpose.

(3) Zahn's third argument is built on a coincidence with the spurious Epistle to the Antiochenes. In the Acts of Martyrdom (§ 6) Ignatius, addressing Trajan, describes the Christians as 'obedient to rulers whereinsoever the obedience is free from peril' (*ὑποτασσομένους ἄρχουσιν ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ὑποταγή*); while to the Antiochenes he is made to write (§ 11), 'Be ye obedient to Cæsar, whereinsoever the obedience is free from peril' (*τῷ Καίσαρι ὑποτάγητε ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ὑποταγή*). Such a coincidence of course cannot be accidental; and Zahn supposes that the saying in these Acts and the injunction in the letter were both derived from a common tradition. He puts aside the alternative solution, that the writer of the Acts took the saying from the spurious epistle, arguing that the martyrologist is only acquainted with the Epistle to the Romans of the seven older letters, and that therefore we cannot suppose him to have had any knowledge of one of the later and spurious epistles. Now it is true, that he does not elsewhere betray any distinct acquaintance with any other Ignatian letter besides the Epistle to the Romans; but his subject matter naturally led him to quote this and this only. The same is the case also in the Menæa and elsewhere, whensoever writers are especially concerned with the martyrdom and the facts connected with it. In such cases the argument from silence ceases to have any value. But I observe that Rhegium is twice mentioned by our martyrologist (§ 1 *ἐπὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην καὶ Ῥήγιον*, § 2 *Ἀραντες οὖν ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου*); and the name of this same place occurs in one of the spurious epistles (*Philipp.* 15 *συντυχὼν περὶ Ῥήγιον*), but no where else (so far as I remember) in connexion with the history of Ignatius. Moreover in these Acts and in the spurious epistles alike it is the only place named between the same limits—Thrace or Philippi to the East, and Rome to the West. But more important still is the fact, which Zahn overlooks, that our martyrologist quotes the Epistle to the Romans from the interpolator's recension. This, I think, is clear from § 2 where Ignatius says, *οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἀγαπῶ αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα Χριστόν*, compared with a passage in *Rom.* 6, which stands

in the genuine Ignatius *ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα, ἐκεῖνον θέλω τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα*, but is read by the interpolator *ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα*. Moreover in other passages our martyrologist reproduces expressions that were first inserted into the Epistle to the Romans in the interpolator's recension, though they have also crept into the text of the genuine Ignatius in later authorities; e.g. comp. § 2 *οὔτε βασιλείας κοσμικῆς ἐφίεμαι* with *Rom.* 4 *μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοσμικόν*, *ib. τί γὰρ ὠφεληθήσομαι ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσω τὴν δὲ ψυχήν μου ζημιωθῶ* with *Rom.* 6 *τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος ἐὰν κ.τ.λ.*, § 3 *ὁ μὲν πρόσκαιρος ὁ δὲ αἰώνιος* with *Rom.* 3 *τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια*, § 10 *σῖτος γάρ ἐστιν ἀθανασίας καὶ πόμα ζωῆς αἰωνίου* with *Rom.* 7 *ἄρτον ζωῆς...καὶ πόμα...ἄένναος ζωή*. It is worthy of notice also that the rare word *ἀλωπός* occurs both in these Acts § 10 and in Ps-Ign. *Antioch.* 6 (though only as a various reading), and that 2 Cor. vi. 14 sq is quoted both by our martyrologist § 4, and in Ps-Ign. *Ephes.* 16.

But, if this narrative must be relegated to the region of pure romance, is it possible to determine the place or time of writing?

As regards the *place*, our first impulse is to attribute it to Rome, since Rome is the centre of interest in the story (see above, p. 370). But inasmuch as there is every reason to suppose that the Greek is the original language of the document, and it is certain that the Roman Church had ceased to speak Greek commonly long before this narrative can have been written, this hypothesis must be abandoned. Certain indications seem to me to point directly to Egypt, and therefore probably to Alexandria, as its birth-place. The date of the anniversary is given according to the Macedonian, and therefore Alexandrian, nomenclature of the months as the 1st of Panemus (for there can be little doubt that this was the original form of the notice, and that it has been altered to Dec. 20 in some authorities to conform to the later Greek festival of the martyrdom). There is good reason also for believing that this day, the 1st of July, corresponding to the 7th of the native Egyptian month Epiphi, was the day assigned to Ignatius in the Egyptian calendar, which in this respect differed from all the other known calendars whether Eastern or Western. Again, the emphatic attack on the animal worship which prevailed in Egypt (§ 4) seems to show a local interest in this form of paganism, just as in the earliest Sibylline Oracles, which emanated from Egypt, we find the same phenomenon (procem. 60—65, 70 sq, iii. 29 sq, v. 77, 278 sq). Lastly, we find this narrative translated into the Coptic, whereas on the other hand the Antiochene story of the martyrdom does not appear, so far as

we know, to have found its way into the native Egyptian Church. The relations between Alexandria and Rome were sufficiently close to account for the circulation of these Acts in the Western Church, while the special prominence assigned to Rome in the narrative would secure for them a favourable reception there. To account for this prominence no recondite motive need be sought. A romance writer, founding his story on the single fact that Ignatius was martyred at Rome, would naturally assume that his trial also took place in the metropolis and that his reliques were deposited there. The one inference which may be safely drawn from this treatment is the complete isolation of the writer from the influences of Antiochene sentiment and Antiochene tradition[1].

The *time* of writing can only be determined within very rough limits. The writer is evidently acquainted with the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. Several facts and expressions in the opening chapter (e.g. *μετὰ ἐπιμελεστάτης φρουρῶν φυλακῆς, ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν, τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἕνεκα μαρτυρίας, διὰ τῆς Ἀσίας*) are taken from this father's account of Ignatius (*H. E.* iii. 36); and the notice of the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan, together with the testimonies from Irenæus and Polycarp and the name of Ignatius' successor, at the close, is derived from the same source (*H. E.* iii. 33, 36). Moreover, as we have seen, there are good reasons for believing that the writer was acquainted with the interpolated recension of the Ignatian Epistles, which probably belongs to the latter half of the fourth century and cannot well have been earlier. These facts furnish us with a *terminus a quo*. For the *terminus ad quem*, the Coptic papyrus at Turin may perhaps prove an important witness; but of its probable date I am not able to say anything. Failing this, we have recourse to quotations and references; and here our earliest witnesses are Latin writers. The account of Ignatius in the Martyrology of Ado († A.D. 875) is largely taken from this story. Ado however had it before him, not in its original form, but in the combined narrative of the Bollandist Acts. This is also the case with other Latin Martyrologies of the 9th century and later, such as the so-called Bede and Usuard. We must

[1] Any one writing at the close of the 4th century or after, if he knew anything of Antioch, must have known that it claimed to have the reliques of Ignatius. This consideration seems to me to be decisive against the conclusion of Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 53) that all traces of a fixed Antiochene tradition point not to the Colbertine [i.e. Antiochene in my nomenclature], but to the Vatican [i.e. Roman] Acts. The tradition may be worthless; but, such as it is, it must be looked for altogether in the former.

therefore allow time for its combination with the Antiochene Acts and for translation into Latin before this date. The corresponding Greek witnesses are later. The *Menæa* for Dec. 20 show a knowledge of the Roman as well as of the Antiochene Acts; but whether they were used separately, or in a combined form, may be open to question. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 28) argues from the expression σιδηροῖς ὄνυξι (p. 143, ed. Venet. 1863), that the compiler must have used the same combined narrative which is preserved in the Armenian version. The Armenian Acts (§ 31) also introduce the epithet *ferreis ungulis*, where the Greek has merely τοῖς ὄνυξι (§ 9). But this inference from the insertion of a single obvious word is not conclusive. In § 4 this same epithet is supplied by the Coptic version. In the *Menology* of Basil Porphyrogenitus also (circ. A.D. 980), under Jan. 29, a knowledge of these Acts appears (*Patrol. Graec.* CXVII. 284, Migne). The *Laus Heronis* is another and probably an earlier witness; but of its date we have no evidence. Ussher was disposed to assign it to the author of the spurious and interpolated Ignatian letters (*Ign. et Pol. Mart.* p. 131). It has seemed hitherto to be a sufficient answer to this hypothesis that the *Laus Heronis*, existing only in Latin, was probably written originally in this language (Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 38). But the discovery of a Coptic version alters the case. It is not very probable that a Coptic version would be translated from Latin, and we are led therefore to postulate a Greek original. Ussher's hypothesis however has nothing to recommend it. We might with greater plausibility urge that this document proceeded from the same author as our Acts, to which it is attached in the Coptic version. But however this may be, the writer seems to be acquainted with our story; for he speaks of Ignatius as 'confounding Trajan and the senate of Rome.' On the whole we may say that these Roman Acts cannot well have been written before the fifth century, and probably were not written later than the sixth.

The claims of the *Antiochene Acts* deserve greater consideration. Their substantial genuineness has been maintained by Ussher, Pearson, and Leclerc, among earlier critics, and by a considerable number of more recent writers. But the objections which have been urged against them of late, more especially by Uhlhorn (*Die Ignatianischen Briefe* p. 248 sq) and Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 41 sq), must be felt to have the greatest weight; and the only question which can now be seriously entertained is whether—though spurious in their present form—they may not have incorporated some earlier and authentic document and thus contain a residuum of fact. This question will now be considered.

1. The *internal evidence* is decidedly adverse to their claims to be regarded as an authentic document, either wholly or in great part. The difficulties under this head are as follows.

(i) These Acts are not consistent with themselves. They give the year of Trajan in which the martyrdom occurred (§ 2), and the names of the consuls for the year (§ 7). But the two are not easily reconcilable (see the note on § 7 Σύρα καὶ Σενεκίωνος κ.τ.λ.). Still no great stress can be laid upon this discrepancy, since the names of the consuls might easily have been a later insertion.

(ii) They contradict the genuine Epistles of Ignatius. Eusebius has rightly inferred from the letters that the martyr was carried overland through Asia Minor (*H. E.* iii. 36 τὴν δι' Ἀσίας ἀνακομιδὴν... ποιούμενος); and in this he is followed by the author of the Roman Acts. But these Antiochene Acts state that he set sail from Seleucia the port of Antioch, and went by sea straight to Smyrna (§ 3). This statement conflicts directly with several notices in the epistles. Thus Ignatius in one passage says that 'even those churches which did not lie on his route went before him from city to city' (*Rom.* 9). As the letter is written from Smyrna, the expression is wholly irreconcilable with the sea voyage of our martyrologist (see the note, p. 232). Again, writing to the Philadelphians, he speaks of certain things which happened when he was among them (*Philad.* 7), and throughout this epistle a personal visit to Philadelphia is implied (see above, pp. 241, 251, 265, 266, 267); but for such a visit the sea voyage leaves no place. Moreover in a third passage (*Rom.* 5) he speaks of travelling 'by land and sea'—an expression which is explicable indeed, but appears somewhat strained, if we adopt the account of our Antiochene Acts (see the note p. 211). And generally it may be said that the incidents of the journey, more especially the movements of the delegates from the different churches, are involved in the greatest difficulties by this sea voyage. Another point of conflict with the letters is the notice of Polycarp. In the epistles Ignatius apparently makes the acquaintance of Polycarp for the first time (*Polyc.* 1); in our Acts on the other hand they are represented as having been fellow disciples under S. John in years gone by (§ 3). Again, the notices of the persecution in the two documents are not in harmony. In the epistles the Churches of Asia Minor appear to enjoy quiet, and even to the Church of Antioch peace is restored while the saint is still on his journey (*Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7). But in our Acts the persecution is coextensive with the empire. It is a resolute determination on the part of Trajan to crush the Gospel, as he had already

crushed the Dacians and Scythians, as he intended shortly to crush the Parthians (§ 2).

(iii) Not less irreconcilable are the incidents in these Acts with external history. History is silent about any visit of Trajan to Antioch, or any expedition against Parthia, at this time. His actual campaign against the Parthians, on which occasion he made a long sojourn at Antioch, took place several years later than the date assigned to the martyrdom in these Acts, whether the year of Trajan's reign (§ 2) or the names of the consuls (§ 7) be taken to determine the time. In either case the time of the martyrdom falls in the interval between the emperor's earlier campaigns in the North and his later campaigns in the East, during which interval he was residing in Rome and Italy, and busying himself chiefly with public works (see below, p. 407 sq). So also the account of the persecution, to which I have already referred, is too far removed from the actual occurrences to have proceeded from a contemporary writer, however prejudiced. It is equally irreconcilable with Trajan's own rescript to Pliny, in which, so far from entertaining this dogged purpose of stamping out Christianity, the emperor betrays a temporising policy, being desirous as far as possible to minimise the judicial proceedings against the Christians, and with the account of Eusebius, who correctly describes the sufferings of the believers under Trajan as confined to particular localities and due to popular excitement (*H. E.* iii. 32 μερικῶς καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐξ ἀναστάσεως δήμων).

(iv) Moreover, the language used from time to time is such as a contemporary writer could hardly have employed. The opening chapters for instance, giving the political events which form the setting of the narrative, are conceived altogether in the manner of a historian writing long after the occurrences. A contemporary, addressing contemporaries, would not have introduced this elaborate statement which was superfluous alike for himself and for his readers. The same remark applies also to the notice of the reliques at the end. Here the incongruity reaches a climax. The document professes to be a narrative written by companions and eye-witnesses (§§ 5, 6, 7) soon after the event for the sake of certifying their readers—apparently the members of the Antiochene Church—as to the exact date of the martyrdom, that so writers and readers might all meet together and keep the festival on the right day (§ 7). But under these circumstances why should they tell their readers that only the harder bones had been preserved, and that these 'had been carried back to Antioch and deposited there in a sarcophagus as an invaluable treasure' (§ 6)? Later ages might be in-

terested in such information, but to the persons addressed it was quite superfluous.

2. Nor are these Acts discredited by their internal character alone. The *external testimony* is notably defective. Not a single witness to their existence has been adduced till the close of the sixth century. They were unknown to Eusebius who, as we have seen (p. 384), correctly sends Ignatius by land to Smyrna, thus contradicting the story of our Acts in one of its main features. Moreover Eusebius says nothing of the altercation with Trajan, of whose intervention he betrays no knowledge. Lastly; when he has occasion to mention the account of Polycarp's martyrdom, he speaks of it as the earliest written narrative of the kind with which he was acquainted (*H. E.* iv. 15 ἀναγκαιότατον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος ἐγγράφως ἤδη φερόμενον ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν μνήμῃ τῆς ἱστορίας καταθέσθαι). We cannot but infer from his language on this occasion that if he had likewise had this Ignatian martyrology in his hands he would have felt an equally strong 'necessity' to insert extracts from it. Nor again does it appear to have been known at Antioch at the close of the fourth century; for Chrysostom in his panegyric on S. Ignatius makes no use whatever of its incidents, but on the contrary assumes, like Eusebius, that the saint journeyed to Rome mainly by land (αἱ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πόλεις...ἐξέπεμπον κ.τ.λ., ταῦτα διδάσκων κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν, ταῖς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κειμέναις πόλεσιν ἁπάσαις διδάσκαλος κ.τ.λ.), though his language is not so explicit on this point as the historian's. This father does indeed mention the translation of the martyr's remains from Rome to Antioch (p. 600 B)—of which Eusebius says nothing—and here is a point of coincidence with our Acts; but this, whether true or false, must have been a vulgar tradition of the Antiochenes quite independently of any written sources of information. Nor again is there any reason for supposing that Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 16) was acquainted with this narrative. He too, like Chrysostom, mentions the reliques as being at Antioch; but inasmuch as he speaks of their lying 'in the Cemetery outside the Daphnitic gate,' he must have derived his information from some independent source, probably from oral tradition. Nor can any inference be drawn from the fact that Jerome uses the expression 'quum jam *navigans* Smyrnam venisset'; since he, like the author of our Acts, would independently assume that Ignatius was conveyed to Smyrna in the easiest and most usual way, though a more careful reading of Eusebius, whose text was before him, might have saved him from the error.

The first coincidence of any value appears in Evagrius who wrote at

the close of the sixth century, and this is explicit enough. The notice is significant and deserves to be given at length[1].

'At that time also,' writes Evagrius, 'the divine Ignatius (as

[1] Evagr. *H. E.* i. 16 Τότε καὶ Ἰγνάτιος ὁ θεσπέσιος, ὡς Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Ῥήτορι σὺν ἑτέροις ἱστόρηται, ἐπειδή γε ὡς ἐβούλετο τάφον [MS τάφων] τὰς τῶν θηρίων ἐσχηκὼς γαστέρας ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμφιθεάτρῳ [ἐτελειώθη] καὶ [ἔπειτα] διὰ τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ἀδροτέρων ὀστῶν, ἃ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιόχου ἀπεκομίσθη, ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ κοιμητηρίῳ [κατετέθη], μετατίθεται πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις, ὑποθεμένου τοῦ παναγάθου Θεοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τὸν θεοφόρον μείζοσι τιμῆσαι τιμαῖς, ἱερόν τε πάλαι τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀνειμένον (Τυχαῖον τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ὠνόμαστο) τῷ ἀθλοφόρῳ καὶ μάρτυρι ἀναθεῖναι· καὶ σηκὸς εὐαγὴς καὶ τέμενος ἅγιον τῷ Ἰγνατίῳ τὸ πάλαι Τυχαῖον γέγονε, τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ λειψάνων μετὰ πομπῆς ἱερᾶς ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπ' ὀχήματος ἐνεχθέντων καὶ κατὰ τὸ τέμενος τεθέντων. ὅθεν καὶ δημοτελὴς ἑορτὴ καὶ πάνδημος εὐφροσύνη μέχρις ἡμῶν τελεῖται, πρὸς τὸ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον τοῦ ἱεράρχου Γρηγορίου ταύτην ἐξάραντος. γέγονε δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖθεν ἔνθεν [.....], τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰς ὁσίας τῶν ἁγίων τιμῶντος μνήμας κ.τ.λ. τοῦτο δ' ἄρα ἦν τὸ οἰκονομούμενον παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος Θεοῦ, ὡς ἂν καὶ τῶν μεμαρτυρηκότων ἡ δύναμις ἔκδηλος ᾖ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος τὰ εὐαγῆ λείψανα εὐαγεῖ μετενεχθεῖεν χώρῳ, καλλίστῳ τεμένει τιμώμενα. The passage is translated literally in the text, without any attempt to improve upon the style of Evagrius which is as bad as possible. The words which I have inserted in brackets [ ] seem to be required to complete the sense. The passage is obviously mutilated, as the break in the construction after ἐκεῖθεν ἔνθεν shows, though commentators do not appear to have noticed the fact. By this mutilation an apparent confusion is created between the original translation of the bones from Rome to Antioch, and the later translation of them from the Cemetery of Antioch to the Tychæum in this city. Hence the erroneous heading of the chapter, Ὅπως ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀνακομισθεὶς παρὰ Θεοδοσίου ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατετέθη, which must have been added after the text was mutilated. The mutilation had already taken place, and the false heading had been prefixed, before the time of Nicephorus Callistus *H. E.* xiv. 64 (Migne's *Patrol. Graec.* CXLVI. p. 1212), who derives his account from Evagrius; for (1) The heading to his chapter is substantially the same; (2) He writes ὅσα δὴ στερρότερα καὶ ἀδρότερα περιελέλειπτο τῶν ὀστέων ἐκεῖσέ πη [i.e. ἐν Ῥώμῃ] ἐκρύπτετο, and adds καὶ δὴ ἐκεῖθεν ἁράμενος [Θεοδόσιος] σὺν λαμπρᾷ τῇ πομπῇ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου ἀνήγαγε χρόνου παραρρυέντος πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ κοιμητηρίῳ σεμνῶς κατατίθησιν, ἱερόν τε μέγα δαίμοσιν ἀνειμένον, ὃ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις Τυχαῖον ὠνόμαστο, τῷ θεοφόρῳ καὶ μάρτυρι ἐχαρίζετο, thus making Theodosius transfer the reliques from Rome to Antioch, and identifying the sepulchre in the Cemetery with the Tychæum. It may be well to add by way of caution that in the opening sentence of Nicephorus, Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀνεκομίζετο, the word Κωνσταντίνου must be regarded as a mere scribe's blunder for Ἀντιόχου (assisted perhaps by the contractions). This appears both from the parallel passage of Evagrius and from the context of Nicephorus, which throughout contemplates Antioch and not Constantinople as the place of translation. The Bollandist editors have argued from this Κωνσταντίνου as if it were genuine. For the meaning of διὰ in the opening sentence of Evagrius, διὰ τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ἀδροτέρων ὀστῶν, see the note on *Magn.* 2 διὰ Δαμᾶ. It is not easily translated in its connexion here.

recorded by Joannes Rhetor and others)—forasmuch as he had met his death in the amphitheatre of Rome finding his tomb in the bellies of the wild beasts in fulfilment of his own wish, and afterwards, so far as regards the tougher bones that remained, which were conveyed back to the city of Antiochus, had been deposited in the Cemetery, as it is called—was translated long years afterwards, when the good God put it into the mind of Theodosius to honor the God-bearer with higher honours, and to dedicate to the victorious martyr a sanctuary given over from ancient times to the demons, and called the Tychæum (or Temple of Fortune) by the people of the place. Thus the ancient Tychæum is made into a consecrated shrine and holy precinct dedicated to Ignatius, his sacred reliques having with sacred pomp been conveyed through the city on a car and deposited in the precinct. Whence also a public festival and general rejoicing is celebrated down to our own times, the archbishop (high-priest) Gregory having exalted this festival to greater magnificence.' 'This then has providentially been so ordered by God our Saviour, that the power also of those who have suffered martyrdom might be clearly manifest and the sacred reliques of the holy martyr might be translated to a sacred place, being honoured with a most beautiful sanctuary.'

The historian Evagrius himself wrote about the close of the sixth century. His history reaches down to A.D. 594, and no later event in his own life is on record. The Gregory, whom he mentions, was his contemporary and friend, and held the patriarchate of Antioch from about A.D. 570 or 571 to A.D. 593 or 594. Joannes Rhetor, whose authority he quotes, was the author of a history which comprised the period from the commencement of the reign of the younger Theodosius to the earthquakes and fire at Antioch in A.D. 526 (Evagr. *H. E.* iv. 5). The translation of the bones of Ignatius, which is recorded, took place in the reign of the younger Theodosius who succeeded to the empire as a child, when 7 years old, and reigned from A.D. 408 to A.D. 450. The incident is related immediately after the notices of Isidore of Pelusium and Synesius of Cyrene (i. 15) and immediately before the account of Attila's invasions. Thus, as a rough approximation, we may suppose that the translation to the Tychæum took place about A.D. 430—440.

The account here given by Evagrius of the preservation of the tougher bones and the conveyance of these reliques from Rome to Antioch is clearly not independent of the story of our martyrologist (§ 6 *μόνα γὰρ τὰ τραχύτερα τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ λειψάνων περιελείφθη, ἅτινα εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀπεκομίσθη* κ.τ.λ.), and may have been taken directly

from it. The alternative remains, that both alike were derived from some common source, e.g. the account of Joannes Rhetor; and this solution is far from improbable. However this may be, the narrative of Evagrius is highly suggestive as to the origin of these Acts. The translation of the martyr's bones from the Cemetery outside the Daphnitic Gate to the Tychæum by Theodosius II would arouse curiosity with respect to the history of the reliques. The saint had been devoured by wild beasts at Rome, and the presence of his bones at Antioch needed explanation. The document would be compiled to gratify this curiosity and to supply this explanation. Either at the time of the translation, or more probably at some later date, when public interest was excited on the subject, as for instance when the patriarch Gregory added new splendours to the festival of the martyr, the narrative would make its appearance. To this subject I shall have to return again, when I come to speak of the change in the day of the saint's commemoration.

At a later date this document obtains a wide circulation. It finds its way into the *Menæa*. It is translated into Syriac. It is used by the Metaphrast. It is combined with the Roman Acts in different ways; and, thus combined, it is read not only by Greek-speaking Christians, but also in Armenia and in all the Churches of Latin Christendom.

It has been seen then, that these Acts have no claim to be regarded as an authentic narrative. But the possibility remains that they may have embodied some earlier document and thus may preserve a residuum of genuine tradition. Such a residuum, if it exists at all, will naturally be looked for in those portions which profess to be related by eye-witnesses, and in which the first person plural is employed. But, even when so limited, the hypothesis of authenticity is involved in great difficulties. As Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 42 sq) has truly remarked, the first person plural in this document does not justify itself in the same way as in the Acts of the Apostles. There it is suddenly dropped at Philippi, and resumed again at the same place after an interval of several chapters and a lapse of several years (Acts xvi. 17, xx. 5). Here on the contrary there is no such propriety in its presence or absence. If the writers were, as many critics suppose, Philo and Rhaius Agathopus, whom we learn from the letters to have been in the martyr's company at Troas (*Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 10, 13) the 'we' might be expected to appear, while the martyr was still on the shores of the Ægæan (see above, p. 279). As a matter of fact, its first occurrence is where we should least look for it—on the Tyrrhene Sea, as the ship is

approaching the Italian shore (§ 5 *οὐρίοις ἀνέμοις προσχρησάμενοι ἡμεῖς μὲν* κ.τ.λ.). Still the objection is very far from being fatal; while on the other hand there is at least a naturalness in its introduction without any attempt to justify or explain it. Moreover I cannot help feeling impressed with the air of truthfulness, or at least of verisimilitude, in some incidents in the latter portion of the narrative which have excited the suspicions of others. Thus Hilgenfeld (*A. V.* p. 215) argues that the desire of landing at Puteoli, attributed to Ignatius, is due to the writer's wish 'to make his journey to Rome as like as possible to that of the Apostle.' To my mind it suggests the very opposite inference. It is not easy to see how two journeys from the shores of the Levant to Rome could differ more widely. S. Paul goes by sea to Melita; Ignatius crosses over Macedonia and Epirus to Dyrrhachium. S. Paul lands at Puteoli; Ignatius is prevented from landing there and disembarks at Portus. The two journeys in short have nothing in common, except the fact that both travellers were on the Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas. The voyage of Josephus (*Vita* 3) bears a much closer resemblance to S. Paul's. On the other hand, if this is not an authentic tradition, it shows some artistic skill and very much self-restraint in the martyrologist, that having an unfettered license of invention as regards his incidents, and remembering, as evidently he does remember, the express desire of the saint to tread in the footsteps of S. Paul (*Ephes.* 12 *οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὑρεθῆναι*), he not only refrains from representing it as fulfilled, but even emphasizes the disappointment of the hope. So again, objection has been taken to the appearance of the saint to his friends on the night after the martyrdom (§ 7), as if this were impossible in an authentic document. But here too I cannot but think that such an apparition was in the highest degree natural after the agonizing scenes of the day, and with the tension of feeling which they must have left behind in the mourners. If I mistake not, scores of parallels could be produced from contemporary and genuine narratives of the deaths of saints and martyrs in later ages. At the same time it is very difficult to separate these incidents from the inauthentic references to the reliques and to the day of commemoration with which they are closely connected, and which also are given in the first person plural (§ 7 *ἐφανερώσαμεν ὑμῖν* κ.τ.λ.). Still I should be disposed to believe, that the martyrologist had incorporated into the latter portion of his narrative a contemporary letter of the martyr's companions containing an account of the journey from Philippi and the death, though freely interpolating and altering it, where he was so disposed. But

one consideration is so serious as to be almost fatal to this hypothesis. It is extremely improbable that such a document should turn up in the fifth or sixth century, though wholly unknown to previous ages.

4.

The *Chronology of Trajan's reign* requires investigation as a preliminary step towards any discussion respecting the time of the martyrdom of Ignatius. The labours of Borghesi, Mommsen, and other recent critics, have contributed greatly to a more satisfactory arrangement of the dates of this period; and the *Fasti*, as given by previous writers such as Clinton, require considerable modification in consequence. The investigations of Borghesi are scattered up and down his works, to which frequent references will be given below. Mommsen's Fasti of this reign will be found in his article *Zur Lebensgeschichte des jüngeren Plinius* in *Hermes* III. p. 31 sq. From it I have mainly taken the names of the consuls, but not without verification. Under each year I have given the typical and important inscriptions, so that the reader may test for himself the epigraphical evidence on which the chronology rests[1].

[1] For this purpose I have made especial use of the more recent standard collections of inscriptions, where the genuineness and accurate transcription of the documents can be depended upon, more especially the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* of the Berlin Academy, compiled by Mommsen and his fellow-labourers. The full and well arranged indices of this admirable work have been of the greatest use. At the same time the reader needs to be warned that the years A.D. affixed to the several inscriptions, whether in the text or in the indices, cannot (at least so far as regards Trajan's reign) be accepted without verification. The years in the text and indices frequently do not agree; and even in the parts for which Mommsen himself is personally responsible it is sometimes impossible to harmonize the dates given with either his earlier or his later theory respecting the tribunician years. Thus in *C. I. L.* III. p. 866 (comp. pp. 1110, 1124) Juné 30 of Trib. Pot. xi is assigned to A.D. 108, whereas it belongs to 107 on either reckoning; and in *C. I. L.* III. p. 102 sq Mommsen reckons according to Borghesi's computation of the tribunician years, not according to either of his own. In the volumes for which Mommsen is not personally responsible, there is still less constancy of reckoning in the dates A.D. affixed to the inscriptions. Klein's *Fasti Consulares* (1881) had not yet appeared when these sheets were passed through the press for my first edition. Otherwise I should have been saved some trouble. I have made use of this work, where necessary, for this second edition.

	CONSULS.	TRIB. POT.	EVENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.
A.D. 96 A.U.C. 849	*C. Antistius Vetus* *T. Manlius Valens* (1)		Domitian slain Sept. 18. Accession of Nerva.
A.D. 97 A.U.C. 850	*Imp. Nerva Augustus* III *L. Verginius Rufus* III	1	Trajan adopted about October. The 1st year of his *Trib. Pot.* begins then (2).
A.D. 98 A.U.C. 851	*Imp. Nerva Augustus* IV *Imp. Nerva Trajanus Caesar* (afterwards *Augustus*) II	2	Nerva dies towards the end of January (3). Accession of Trajan at Cologne. He is already *Imperator* and *Germanicus* (Plin. *Paneg.* 9). The title *Pater Patriae* assumed this year. *C. I. L.* II. 4933 AVG . GERM . PONTIF . MAX . IMP . TRIB . POTEST . II . COS . II . P . P . ; comp. II. 4725, 4934, III. 3924.
A.D. 99 A.U.C. 852	*A. Cornelius Palma* *Q. Sosius Senecio*	3	Trajan enters Rome. *C. I. L.* VI. 563 AVG . GERM . P . M . TR . P . III . COS . II . P . P . ; comp. III. p. 863 (Aug. 14), IX. 728. Orelli 449 AVG . GERM . PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT . COS . II . P . P . DES . III . ; comp. Cohen *Méd. Imp.* II. p. 53.
A.D. 100 A.U.C. 853	*Imp. Nerva Trajanus Augustus* III *Sex. Julius Frontinus* III	4	Pliny's Panegyric in September. *C. I. L.* VI. 451 AVG . GERM . PONTIFICI . MAXIMO . TRIB . POT . IIII . COS . III . DESI[G . IIII] (Dec. 29); comp. II. 4900, III. 1699, VIII. 10186, 10210, X. 6819, 6820, *Ephem. Epigr.* II. p. 334. See also Cohen II. pp. 53, 82 sq.
A.D. 101 A.U.C. 854	*Imp. Nerva Trajanus Augustus* IV *Q. Articuleius Paetus*	5	The First Dacian War breaks out (4). Trajan leaves Rome in March. *Imperator* ii. *C. I. L.* VI. 1239 AVG . GERMANIC . PONTIF . MAX . TRIB . POTEST . V . COS . IIII . P . P . (several times). *C. I. L.* VI. 2184 [TR . POTES]TATE . V . IMP . II . COS . IIII . P . P .

	CONSULS.	TRIB. POT.	EVENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.
A.D. 102 A.U.C. 855	*L. Julius Ursus Servianus* II *L. Licinius Sura* II (5)	6	Continuance of the First Dacian War. *Imperator* iii, iv. *C. I. L.* x. 6931 AVG . GERMANICVS . PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT . VI . IMP . II . COS . IIII . PATER . PATRIAE ; comp. x. 6926, 6927, 6928, Cohen II. p. 57, no. 352, 353, AVG . GERM . P . M . TR . P . VI, with R . IMP . IIII . COS . IIII . DES . V . P . P . S . C .
A.D. 103 A.U.C. 856	*Imp. Nerva Trajanus Augustus* V *M'. Laberius Maximus* II	7	The title *Dacicus* (perhaps at the close of the previous year). Return and Triumph of Trajan. *C. I. L.* III. p. 864 [D]ACICVS . PONTIFEX . MAXIMV[S . TRIB]VNIC . POTESTAT . VII . IMP . IIII . P . P . COS . V (dated Jan. 19). *C. I. L.* II. 4796 AVG . GER . DAC . PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT . VII . IMP . IIII . COS . V . P . P . ; comp. II. 4797, VI. 955, 1239*g*, VIII. 5325, X. 7472 ; Cohen II. p. 85, no. 540 sq. The inscription, *C. I. L.* V. 7151, which belongs to this year, has IMP . XII, but XII must be an error for IIII.
A.D. 104 A.U.C. 857	*Sex. Attius Suburanus* II *M. Asinius Marcellus* (6)	8	*C. I. L.* VI. 956 AVG . GERM . DACICO . PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT . VIII . IMP . IIII . COS . V . P . P . OPTVMO . PRINCIPI .
A.D. 105 A.U.C. 858	*Ti. Julius Candidus Marius Celsus* II *C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus* II	9	The Second Dacian War breaks out. Trajan leaves Rome in June (7). *C. I. L.* III. p. 865 sq AVGVSTVS . GERMANICVS . DACICVS . PONTIFEX . MAXIMVS . TRIBVNIC . POTESTAT . VIIII . IMP . IIII . COS . V . P . P . (May 13) ; comp. *C. I. L.* V. 854, VI. 957, VII. 1194, X. 6890.

	CONSULS.	TRIB. POT.	EVENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.
A.D. 106 A.U.C. 859	*L. Ceionius Commodus Aurelius Annius Verus* ..... *Cerialis*	10	The Second Dacian War continues. Conquest of Arabia Petraea by Palmas about this time (8).
A.D. 107 A.U.C. 860	*L. Licinius Sura* III *Q. Sosius Senecio* II (9)	11	End of the Second Dacian War (if not at the close of the preceding year). Trajan is now *Imperator* VI. *C. I. L.* IX. 36 AVG . GERM . DAC . [P]ONT.MAX.TRIB. POT. XI. IM[P]. VI. COS . V . P . P., at Brundisium. *C. I. L.* III. p. 867 AVG. GERMANIC. DACICVS . PONTIF. MAXIMVS. TRIBVNIC . POTESTAT . XI . IMP . VI . COS . V . P . P. (June 30); comp. VIII. 7967, 8315.
A.D. 108 A.U.C. 861	*Ap. Annius Trebonius Gallus* *M. Atilius Metilius Bradua*	12	Orelli 787 AVG. GERM. DACICO. PONTIFICI . MAX . TRIBVNIC . POTEST. XII . IMP . VI . COS . V . P . P . DE VICTIS . DACIS; comp. *C. I. L.* III. 1627, 6273.
A.D. 109 A.U.C. 862	*A. Cornelius Palma* II [*Q. Baebius*] *Tullus*	13	*C. I. L.* VI. 1260 A[VG] . GERM . DACIC . [PO]NT . MAX . TR . POT . XIII . IMP . VI . COS . V . P . P . AQVAM . TRAIANAM . PECVNIA . SVA . IN . VRBEM . PERDVXIT . *C. I. L.* IX. 6005 AVG . GERM . DACI[C].PONT . MAX . TR . POT. XIII . IMP . VI . COS . V . P . P . VIAM . ET. PONTES . BENEVENTO . BRVNDISIVM . PECVNIA . SVA; comp. *C. I. L.* VI. 452, VIII. 8464, IX. 6003, X. 6853.
A.D. 110 A.U.C. 863	*Ser. Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus* *M. Peducaeus Priscinus*	14	*C. I. L.* III. p. 868 AVG . GERM . DACICVS . PONTIF . MAX . TRIBVNIC . POTESTAT . XIIII . IMP . VI . COS . V . P . P. (Feb. 17); comp. IX. 37, X. 6835, 6839, 6846.

	CONSULS.	TRIB. POT.	EVENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.
A.D. 111 A.U.C. 864	*C. Calpurnius Piso* *M. Vettius Bolanus*	15	Pliny assumes the government of Bithynia (10). *C. I. L.* IX. 5947 AVG . GERMAN . DACICVS . PONTIF . [M]AXIMVS . TRIB . P[OTE]STATE . XV . IMP . VI . COS . V . P . [P . S]VBSTRVCTIONEM . CONT[RA . L]ABEM . MONTIS . FECIT .
A.D. 112 A.U.C. 865	*Imp. Nerva Trajanus Augustus* VI *T. Sextius Africanus*	16	Persecution of the Christians in Bithynia. Statue erected in the Forum of Trajan and inscribed (*C. I. L.* VI. 959) AVGVSTO . GERMANICO . DACICO . PONTIF . MAX . TRIBVNICIA . POTEST . XVI . IMP . VI . COS . VI . P . P . OPTIME . DE . REPVBLICA . MERITO . DOMI . FORISQVE; comp. *C. I. L.* VI. 542. *C. I. L.* VIII. 10117 OPTIMVS . [AV]G . GERM . DACIC . PONT . [MA]X . TRIB . POT . XVI . IMP . VI . COS . VI . P . P ., at Hippo in Africa.
A.D. 113 A.U.C. 866	*L. Publilius Celsus* II *C. Clodius Crispinus*	17	The Column of Trajan dedicated and inscribed (*C. I. L.* VI. 960) AVG . GERM . DACICO . PONTIF . MAXIMO . TRIB . POT . XVII . IMP . VI . COS . VI . P . P . In the autumn Trajan starts for his Parthian expedition (11), passes through Athens and Asia Minor, and winters at Antioch.
A.D. 114 A.U.C. 867	*Q. Ninnius Hasta* *P. Manilius Vopiscus*	18	Armenia and Mesopotamia subjugated. Trajan marches to Adiabene. Operations of Lusius. The senate confers the title of *Optimus* (12) upon Trajan. He is afterwards designated *Parthicus* (13). This year also he is *Imperator* vii, viii, ix. He winters again at Antioch.

	CONSULS.	TRIB. POT.	EVENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.
			C. I. L. III. p. 869 OPTIMVS . AVG . GERM . DACIC . PONTIF . MAX . TRIBVNIC . POTESTAT . XVIII . IMP . VII . COS . VI . P . P . (Sept. 1), a military diploma at Carnuntum in Pannonia. *C. I. L.* IX. 1558 OPTIMO . AVG . GERMANICO . DACICO . PONTIF . MAX . TRIB . POTEST . XVIII . IMP . VII . COS . VI . P . P . FORTISSIMO . PRINCIPI . SENATVS . P . Q . R ., on the arch at Beneventum. *C. I. L.* II. 2097 OPTIMO . AVG . GERM . DACICO . PARTHICO . PONTIF . MAX . TRIB . POT . XVIII . IMP . VII . COS . VI . PATRI . PATRIAE, in Baetica. Borghesi *Œuvres* V. 22 OPTIMVS . AVG . GERMANICVS . DACICVS . PONTIFEX . MAXIM . TRIB . POT . XVIII . IMP . VIIII . P . P . FACIENDAM . CVRAVIT, at Ferentinum. Eckhel VI. p. 449 ΑΡΙCΤ . ΚΑΙ . CЄΒ . ΓЄΡ . ΔΑΚ . with R. ΙΟΥΛΙЄΩΝ . ΤΩΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΛΑΟΔΙΚЄΩΝ . ΒΖΡ (the 162nd year of Laodicea began in the autumn A.D. 114).
A.D. 115 A.U.C. 868	*L. Vipstanius Messalla* *M. Vergilianus Pedo*	19	The great earthquake at Antioch, in which Pedo is killed (14). In the spring Trajan starts for a fresh campaign. The Tigris crossed and Adiabene reduced. Trajan's stay at Babylon. He enters Ctesiphon. The title *Parthicus* confirmed. The senate votes honours liberally. *Imperator* x, xi, and perhaps xii. *C. I. L.* VI. 543 OPTIMI . [AVG . GERM . DA]CICI . (Id. Jan.). *C. I. L.* IX. 5894 OPTIMO . AVG . GERMANIC . DACICO . PONT . MAX . TR . POT . XVIIII . IMP . IX . COS . VI . P . P . PROVIDENTISSIMO . PRINCIPI . SENATVS . P . Q . R ., on the arch at Ancona; comp. X. 6887.

	CONSULS.	TRIB. POT.	EVENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.
			Ephem. Epigr. III. p. 38 sq (1876) OPTIMO . AVG . GER . PARTHICO . DACICO. PONTIF. MAXIM. TRIBVN. POTEST . XVIIII . IMP . XI . COS . VI . P . P. (a correction of *C. I. L.* II. 1028), in Baetica. Fabretti *Inscr. Aed. Pat.* p. 398, no. 289, OPTIMVS . AVG. GER. DACICVS . TRIBVNIC . POTEST . XIX . IMP . XI . COS . VI . P . P. FACIVNDVM . CVRAVIT . Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 4948 L, ιθ̄ . ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟC . ΚΑΙCΑΡΟC . ΝΕΡΟΥΑ . ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ . ΑΡΙCΤΟΥ . CΕΒΑCΤΟΥ . ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ . ΔΑΚΙΚΟΥ . ΠΑΧΩΝ . Ā (Pachon 30 = May 24).
A.D. 116 A.U.C. 869	*L. Lamia Aelianus* ..... *Vetus*	20	Trajan's expedition to the Persian Gulf. He returns to Babylon. Revolt of the subjugated nations. Operations of Lusius and other lieutenants against the revolt. A king given to the Parthians. Uprising of the Jews in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus. *Imperator* xiii. *C. I. L.* X. 1634 OPTIMO. AVG. GERM. DACIC . PARTHIC . PONT . MAX . TRIB. POTEST. XX. IMP. XII. COS. VI. PATRI. PATR., from Puteoli. There is a similar Tunisian inscription, Borghesi *Bull. Inst. Corr. Archeol.* 1859, p. 120; comp. *C. I. L.* VIII. 621. *C. I. L.* III. p. 870 OPTIM . AVG . GERM . DACIC . PARTHIC. PONTIF. MAX . TRIB . POTESTAT . XX . IMP . XIII . PROCOS. COS. VI. P. P. (Sept. 8), at Wiesbaden. Cohen II. p. 54 OPTIMO. AVG. GERM. with R. DAC . PARTHICO . P . M. . TR . P . XX . COS . VI . P . P.

	CONSULS.	TRIB. POT.	EVENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.
A.D. 117 A.U.C. 870	*Q. Aquilius Niger* *M. Rebilus Apronianus*	21	Lusius crushes the rebellion of the Jews. Illness of Trajan. He leaves the army under Hadrian and returns homeward. His death at Selinus in Cilicia, August 11. *C. I. L.* IX. 3915 OPTIMO . AVG . GERMANICO . DACICO . PARTHICO . PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT . XXI . IM[P. XII] . COS . VI . PATRI . PATRIAE, but it should be IMP . XIII. The following inscription (which I give in full) belongs to a statue voted in his life-time, but completed after his death; *C. I. L.* II. 2054 IMP . CAESARI . DIVI . NERVAE . F . DIVO . TRAIANO . OPTVMO . AVG . GERM . DACICO . PARTHICO . PONTIF . MAX . TRIB . POTEST . XXI . IMP . XIII . COS . VI . PATER . PATRIAE . OPTVMO . MAXVMOQVE . PRINCIPI . CONSERVATORI . GENERIS . HVMANI . RES . PVBLICA . ARATISPITANORVM . DECREVIT . DIVO . DEDICAVIT, in Baetica.

(1) For the consuls of this year see *C. I. L.* VI. 17707. Dion (lxvii. 14) gives Gaius as the prænomen of Valens, but see Borghesi *Œuvres* VI. p. 159.

(2) The tribunician years of Trajan are the backbone of the chronology of his reign, and it is therefore important to determine how they were reckoned.

The *tribunicia potestas* was conferred on Trajan about the end of October A.D. 97[1], three months before the death of Nerva, which

[1] This follows from a comparison of Aur. Victor. *Epit.* xii. 9 'Hic [Nerva] Trajanum in liberi locum inque partem imperii cooptavit; cum quo tribus vixit mensibus,' with Plin. *Paneg.* 8 'simul filius, simul Caesar, mox imperator et consors tribuniciae potestatis, et omnia pariter et statim factus es, quae proxime parens verus [i.e. Vespasianus] tantum in alterum filium [Titum] contulit' (comp. § 9 'jam Caesar, jam imperator, jam Germanicus, absens et ignarus'). Thus Trajan was adopted as son and made Cæsar about the same time, perhaps even on the same day. Then after a short interval he was associated in the empire

took place towards the end of January A.D. 98. Accordingly older numismatists and chronographers (e.g. Eckhel and Clinton) commonly reckon the 2nd tribunician year from Oct. 98 to Oct. 99, the 3rd from Oct. 99 to Oct. 100, and so forth. This mode of computation however fails to explain certain inscriptions and coins where the number of the tribunician year is one in advance of the reckoning as required by this hypothesis; and fresh discoveries are constantly adding to these examples. Later writers therefore have busied themselves to find some other solution which would explain these phenomena.

1. Borghesi first applied himself to the problem (*Œuvres* v. 19 sq; see also his letter to Henzen *Bull. Inst. di Corrisp. Archeol.* 1859, p. 119 sq). His hypothesis is that Trajan renewed his tribunician power at his accession (Jan. 27 or 28), so that his second tribunician year was from the end of January A.D. 98 to the end of January 99, the broken piece of a year from the end of October 97 to the end of January 98 counting as the first year.

2. Borghesi's hypothesis covered most of the examples which the older view failed to explain, but not all (e.g. *C. I. L.* III. p. 864, given above under A.D. 103). To account for those which still remained, Mommsen (*Hermes* III. p. 128 sq) substituted Jan. 1 for Jan. 27 or 28. In other words he supposed that Trajan renewed his tribunician power with the beginning of the new year next after he had assumed it, so that the 2nd tribunician year coincided exactly with A.D. 98, the third with A.D. 99, and so forth. One or two examples however resisted this hypothesis also; but Mommsen was persuaded that the inscriptions in these cases were either spurious or misread or miscut.

3. Another hypothesis was started by Stobbe in an article *Die Tribunenjahre der Römischen Kaiser* p. 1 sq in *Philologus* XXXII, 1873. He maintained that some extraordinary event, especially the association

and the tribunician power. But the interval was so brief that Aurelius Victor can speak of the adoption and the association in the empire together as taking place three months before Nerva's death. This account is quite consistent with Dion's narrative lxviii. 3, 4, ὁ Νερούας... ἀνέβη τε εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ ἔφη γεγωνήσας...Τραϊανὸν ποιοῦμαι· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ Καίσαρά τε αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε κ.τ.λ...οὕτω μὲν ὁ Τραϊανὸς Καῖσαρ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο. The expression μετὰ ταῦτα would be satisfied even if Nerva proceeded straight from the Capitol to the Senate, while the μετὰ τοῦτο requires an appreciable, though not necessarily a long, interval. It appears from Pliny's language that the 'tribunicia potestas' was conferred at the same time ('pariter et statim') with the association in the 'imperium.' There is no ground whatever for deferring the *tribunicia potestas* to the next January, as Stobbe does (*Philologus* XXXII. p. 34 sq, 1873).

of a colleague in this office, would lead the emperor to a fresh assumption of the *tribunicia potestas*. Thus he supposed that Nerva would begin a new tribunician year, when Trajan was associated with him in the office. He believed however that this association in the tribunician power took place not, as is generally assumed and as the authorities seem naturally to imply, contemporaneously, or nearly so, with the adoption, i.e. in October or November 97, but in the early days of January 98. This assumption was made to account for the fact that the 4th consulate of Nerva (i.e. January A.D. 98, for this emperor died towards the end of the month) is found connected not only with Trib. Pot. ii, but also with Trib. Pot. iii, in inscriptions. On this hypothesis therefore the 1st tribunician year of Trajan actually began on some early day in January A.D. 98; but by a fictitious reckoning this 1st year was counted as the 2nd year, the previous three months since his adoption as Cæsar being thus retrospectively regarded as his first year. This hypothesis is far too artificial to commend itself, nor does it explain any phenomena in the inscriptions of Trajan's reign which Mommsen's solution had left unexplained. But Stobbe has the merit of endeavouring to treat the question of the tribunician years of the emperors connectedly as a whole.

4. Lastly, Mommsen in a later work (*Römisches Staatsrecht* II. p. 756, 1ste Aufl. 1875; II. p. 775 sq, 2te Aufl. 1877 [II. p. 799 sq, 3te Aufl. 1887]) has replaced his former hypothesis by another. He now supposes that Trajan's second tribunician year began not on Jan. 1, A.D. 98, but on Dec. 10, A.D. 97. This latter day, Dec. 10, was the ancient day for the election of the tribunes, and Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* vi. 89) says explicitly that it remained so in his time (ὥσπερ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γίνεται). Now Dion Cassius (liii. 17) tells us that the years of the emperors' reigns were counted by the tribunician power 'on the assumption that they received it year by year together with those who for the time being held the office of tribune' (δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἐξαρίθμησις τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς κατ' ἔτος αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχούντων λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει). It appears therefore that, as a rule, the tribunician years of the emperors commenced with Dec. 10. Dion himself seems not to be aware of any other mode of reckoning. This however was not the case with the earlier emperors, who reckoned their tribunician years from the day of their accession (*dies imperii*). Such apparently was the computation adopted by all the emperors of the first century. At what time and for what reason then was a change made? The association of Trajan with Nerva in the sovereignty appears to have been the starting point for the new reckoning. It

was a matter of paramount convenience that the two colleagues in the tribunician power should compute their tribunician years from the same point of time. The difficulty had never occurred before. When Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the tribunician power, and again when Titus was associated with Vespasian in the same, this was done on the anniversary of the *dies imperii*. But when Nerva adopted Trajan, the political emergency was so pressing that the recurrence of this anniversary, which was then some ten or eleven months distant, could not be waited for. The tribunician power was therefore conferred upon him at once. But in order that the years of Nerva and Trajan might synchronize, both the colleagues re-assumed the tribunician power on the next Dec. 10, this being the ordinary day for the election of the tribunes; and the practice, thus initiated, became general with succeeding emperors. This hypothesis is confirmed by an inscription in *Ephem. Epigr.* II. p. 339 IMP·NERVAE·CAESARI·AVG·PONTIF·MAX·TRIB·POT·III·COS·III. The third consulate of Nerva fixes this inscription to A.D. 97, since he was consul for the fourth time in A.D. 98. But his second tribunician year only began in the middle of September 97. Therefore between this time and the end of the year he must have re-assumed the tribunician power; and such a re-assumption would appropriately be made on Dec. 10. Thus the inscription belongs to some date between Dec. 10 and Dec. 31, A.D. 97.

It may be a question which of the rival claimants for the vacant place should be preferred—whether Borghesi's theory, or the early or later hypothesis of Mommsen; but there can be no doubt that the older method of reckoning the tribunician years, from the actual anniversary of the first assumption, must be finally abandoned. The following facts show its inadequacy.

1. The base of a statue set up to Trajan at Aratispi in Baetica gives the emperor's honours (*C. I. L.* II. 2054; see above, p. 398) TRIB·POTEST·XXI·IMP·XIII·COS·VI. Coins also bear the inscription ΔHMAPX·EΞ·KA; see Eckhel VI. p. 456. Now, as Trajan was invested with the tribunician power in October 97 and died in August 117, he held this rank somewhat less than twenty years, and a 21st year of his tribunician power is only explicable on some hypothesis as regards the mode of reckoning, which anticipates the actual anniversary[1].

[1] Two recorded inscriptions however exceed the 21st year, and these are not explicable on any reckoning. (1) Mommsen *I. R. N.* 5619 (*C. I. L.* IX. 3915) OPTIMO . AVG . GERMANICO . DACICO . PARTHICO . PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT . XXIII.

2. The military diplomas sometimes give the month and day, as well as the consuls of the year; and by this means we are able to compare the tribunician years with the consular years. The comparison is decisive. Thus the inscription, *C. I. L.* III. p. 868, Henzen 5443, gives TRIBVNIC·POTESTAT·XIIII·IMP·VI·COS·V, and is dated 13 Kal. Mart. of the consulate of Salvidienus Orfitus and Peducaeus Priscinus, i.e. A.D. 110. Thus again in *C. I. L.* III. p. 865, Henzen 6857, we have TRIBVNIC·POTESTAT·VIIII·IMP·IV·COS·V, the date being 3 Id. Mai of the consulate of C. Julius Bassus and Cn. Afranius Dexter; but these appear elsewhere (*C. I. L.* VI. 2075) as the consules suffecti of A.D. 105. Henzen himself wrongly ascribes this inscription to A.D. 106 (p. 375). Again in a military diploma, *C. I. L.* III. p. 863, dated 19 Kal. Sept., Trajan is styled TRIBVNIC. POTESTAT. III. COS. II. The consuls of the year indeed are not named here, but COS. II fixes it to A.D. 99, since the emperor was consul for the third time in A.D. 100. Again in another, *C. I. L.* III. p. 870, dated 6 Id. Sept., he is described as TRIB·POTESTAT·XX; and this must refer to A.D. 116, since Trajan was no longer living in September 117.

This point therefore must be regarded as settled. But hitherto no facts have been mentioned, which are not equally consistent with Borghesi's theory and with either of those put forward by Mommsen. This is not the case however with others. Thus in the inscription *C. I. L.* III. p. 864 (see above, p. 393), a military diploma dated 14 Kal. Febr. (= Jan. 19) of the consulate of M'. Laberius Maximus II, Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola II, Trajan is designated TRIBVNIC·POTESTAT·VII·IMP·IIII·COS·V. This evidently belongs to the year 103, the emperor having retired at once from the consulate to make room for Atilius (see Mommsen *Hermes* III. p. 128). The only alternative is to transpose the consuls for the years A.D. 103 and A.D. 104, as older critics did; but Mommsen has shown that this transposition is inadmissible. Borghesi's theory therefore fails to explain this example. But this

COS . VI . PATRI . PATRIAE . SENATVS . POPVLVSQ . ROM . found at Avezzano. Orelli (I. p. 191) treats it as spurious. Probably it has been wrongly transcribed. Mommsen says 'scribe TRIB . POT . XXI . IMP . XII'. But we now know that TRIB . POT . XXI requires IMP . XIII, and this better explains the error, some letters having been dropped in transcription TRIB . POT . X [XI . IMP .] XIII . COS . VI, if not left out by the stone-cutter himself. As an official inscription was not likely to omit the imperatorial titles, this explanation seems very probable. (2) Renier *I. A.* 1842 (*C. I. L.* VIII. 2356) AVG . GERM . DAC . PART . PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT . XXIII . IMP . XVIII . COS . VI . P . P . at Thamugas. This again, if correctly transcribed, can only be explained by carelessness of the stone-cutter or of the transcriber. It ought perhaps to be TRIB . POT . XVIII . IMP . VIII.

inscription does not enable us to decide between the earlier and later of Mommsen's hypotheses, since it would be satisfied by either. At this point however a legend on a coin (Cohen *Méd. Imp.* II. p. 57, no. 354) comes to our aid: IMP·CAES·NERVA·TRAIAN·AVG·GERM·P·M·TR·P·VII, with the R. IMP·IIII·COS·IIII·DES·V·P·P·S·C. Here the date is fixed as the last part of A.D. 102 by COS·IIII·DES·V. Therefore the 7th year must have begun earlier than Jan. 1, A.D. 103. When he was maintaining his earlier hypothesis, Mommsen had questioned the deciphering or the genuineness of this coin (*Hermes* l.c.); but he was afterwards satisfied by M. Waddington that it was neither spurious nor misread (*Staatsrecht* II. p. 777, note 1). There are other coins also (Cohen II. p. 57, no. 355; p. 85, no. 539), though less certainly authenticated, with similar legends. This fact is in favour of Mommsen's later theory as against his earlier, and combined with the arguments which have been mentioned already (p. 400 sq) invests it with a high degree of probability. Some difficulties indeed still remain, but these are perhaps less serious than on any other hypothesis[1].

[1] It would not be surprising if in the earlier years of Trajan's reign we found some wavering in the inscriptions between the old reckoning and the new. But I am unable to understand many of the statements of Mommsen *Staatsrecht* II. p. 776, note 2. The diploma (*C. I. L.* III. p. 862) of Feb. 20, A.D. 98, may perhaps be regarded as an example of the retention of the old reckoning, as it gives TRIB. POTEST. COS. II, where the absence of any number suggests the first year of the tribunician power, though according to the new reckoning it was the second. But, inasmuch as it is the exception, not the rule, when the number of the tribunician year is given on the coins of Trajan (though it appears commonly in diplomas), the instance is not conclusive. Mommsen goes on to say that we possess no documents of the years 99—102 which are decisive as between the old and the new systems. He then instances the diploma (*C. I. L.* III. p. 863) of Aug. 14, which has Trib. Pot. iii, and says that on both systems this belongs to 100, not 99 [as he himself gives it in *C. I. L.* l. c.]. But it is fixed to A.D. 99 by the addition COS. II, for Trajan was COS. III in A.D. 100; and according to the old system Aug. 14, A.D. 99, would belong to the 2nd tribunician year. Again he adduces another diploma, Orelli 782 (= *C. I. L.* VI. 451, given above, p. 392), bearing date Dec. 29, with Trib. Pot. iv, and says that this again would belong to 100 on either reckoning. It is indeed fixed to A.D. 100 by the specification COS. III. DESI[G. IIII]; but Dec. 29, A.D. 100, would fall in the *fifth* tribunician year according to the new reckoning, as the year began on Dec. 10. If therefore Mommsen's later theory be correct, either there is some stone-cutter's error here, or in this instance the old system has survived. [Mommsen has corrected himself on both these points in his last edition, 1887, II. p. 800, note 1.]

At the same time Mommsen omits to mention some inscriptions which, if correctly transcribed, are opposed to his theory. Thus *C. I. L.* II. 2352 of Julipa in Baetica is given TRIB. POT. IIII. COS. IIII. Here we must read COS. III, if it is to harmonize with either of Mommsen's theories; though, as it stands, it is con-

We may therefore accept it provisionally. So far as regards the Ignatian question, the differences between the three solutions are unimportant.

In the tables given above the inscriptions dated by the tribunician years are assigned to the years A.D. with which they roughly coincide. If Mommsen's later theory be correct, these may possibly belong in some cases to the last twenty-one days of the preceding year. If Borghesi's view be adopted then they may fall within the first twenty-seven days of the following year. This is the limit of possible divergence.

(3) See the note on *Mart. Ant.* 1 Ἄρτι διαδεξαμένου κ.τ.λ.

(4) The *First Dacian War* must have broken out after September A.D. 100, when Pliny's panegyric was delivered, since the panegyrist makes no mention of it. Until quite recently, this was the nearest approximation to an exact date, which the evidence supplied. But some lately discovered fragments (A.D. 1867—1871) of the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* afford more precise information. Here we find these officials sacrificing Q · ARTICVLEIO · [PAETO] · SE[X · ATT]IO · SVBVRANO · COS · VIII · K · APR · IN · CAPITOLI[O · PRO · SALVTE · ET · REDIT]V · ET · VICTORIA · IMP · CAESARIS · NERVAE · TRAIANI · AVG · GERM ·, and lower down the object of the sacrifice is defined 'itu et reditu et victoria imperatoris etc.' (*C. I. L.* VI. 2074; comp. Henzen *Act. Fratr. Arv.* pp. 117, 124 sq). This is the year 101, Trajan having retired from the consulate to make room for Suburanus. The sacrifice therefore takes place on March 25, A.D. 101; and it is evidently synchronous, or nearly so, with the emperor's departure from Rome, as the whole context shows.

This First Dacian War seems to have been brought to a close towards the end of the year 102. The title *Dacicus* at all events appears then, if the evidence can be trusted. The following coins and medals given by Cohen illustrate the course of events.

(a) p. 57, no. 354. IMP · CAES · NERVA · TRAIAN · AVG · GERM · P · M · TR · P · VII

R. IMP · IIII · COS · IIII · DES · V · P · P · S · C ·

sistent with Borghesi's. The case is similar also with *I. R. N.* 2487 (*C. I. L.* X. 1633) AVG . GERM . DACICO . PONT . MAX . TRIB . POT . XV . IMP . VI . COS . VI . P . P . OPTIMO . PRINCIPI, which is reconcilable with Borghesi's view but not with either of Mommsen's. Here however COS . V would set all straight, and it appears from Mommsen's own collation that this reading is given in one transcription. Both these examples would be explicable on the old system of reckoning by complete years from the day of the first assumption of the tribunician power, but this view must be regarded as definitively abandoned.

(b) p. 57, no. 355. IMP·CAES·NERVA·TRAIAN·AVG·GERM·DACICVS·P·· ·· VII?

R. IMP·IIII·COS·IIII·DES·V·P·P·S·C·

(c) p. 85, no. 539. IMP·CAES·NERVA·TRAIAN·AVG·GERM·DACICVS·P·M·

R. TR·P·VII·IMP·IIII·COS·IIII·DES·V·P·P·

All these belong to A.D. 102, as COS·IIII·DES·V· shows.

Of these (a), on which the title *Dacicus* is wanting, is certainly genuine, and belongs to Dec. 10—Dec. 31 of the year (see above, p. 401). The others are not so well attested; but, if genuine and correctly read, (b) (c) must also fall within this same period. The devices on the reverses of both represent the subjugation of Dacia. It would appear therefore that the final submission of Dacia and the title Dacicus belong to the very last days of A.D. 101. Mommsen at one time (*Hermes* III. p. 131) threw discredit on all three alike; but now that he accepts the first as genuine (see above p. 403), the ground for objecting to the others (the combination of TR·P·VII with COS·IIII) has been cut away. Two other types of coins, likewise bearing the name DACICVS in conjunction with COS·IIII, i.e. not later than A.D. 102, are also given by Cohen, p. 15, nos. 78, 79.

(5) For the consuls of this year see the note on *Mart. Ant.* 7.

(6) On the names of the consuls for this year, and on their transposition with those of the preceding year, see the note on *Mart. Rom.* 1.

(7) The outbreak of the *Second Dacian War* is determined by the same means as the first, the recently discovered fragments (A.D. 1867—1870) of the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*; *C. I. L.* VI. 2075 (comp. Henzen *Act. Fratr. Arv.* p. 124). Here we find these officials assembled AD·VOTA·SVSCIPI[ENDA·PRO·IT]V·ET·REDITV·[IMP·C]AESA[RI]S etc, some day during the Nones of June (i.e. between June 2—5) in the year 105. This therefore is the time of the emperor's departure from Rome for the Second Dacian War.

The close of this war is not so easy to determine. Unfortunately no inscriptions have yet been discovered belonging to the 10th tribunician year (A.D. 106); so that the information is deficient just where it is wanted. The sequence of the imperial titles is imperfect in consequence. On May 13, A.D. 105, immediately before he starts for the Second Dacian War, Trajan is still *Imperator* iv. On June 30, A.D. 107, he is *Imperator* vi. These two additional attributions of the

title are doubtless due to the second subjugation of Dacia by Trajan himself, and to the reduction of Arabia Petræa by Palmas. On this point there can hardly be two opinions. But it is doubtful which of these two events preceded the other. No trustworthy inscriptions bearing the designation *Imperator* v have been discovered; for, though the words inscribed on the bridge at Alcantara (*C. I. L.* II. 759) are certainly TRIB·POTES·VIII·IMP·V·COS·V (the tribunician year being written VIII, and not VIIII, as it has been read; see Renier's note on Borghesi *Œuvres* IV. p. 122), this must be a stone-cutter's error, since Trajan was still *Imperator* iv in the following year, and probably therefore IMP·IV should be substituted for IMP·V. Here therefore we receive no assistance as regards the matter in question. Mommsen (*C. I. L.* III. 550), combining the sequence of Hadrian's honours as recorded in an Athenian inscription with the account of the same in *Vit. Hadr.* 3, arrives at the result that the Second Dacian War extended into A.D. 107; and his inference, though far from conclusive, is plausible. Dion at all events remarks that Trajan's operations in this second war were characterized by caution rather than by speed, and that he only conquered the Dacians after a long time and with difficulty (σὺν χρόνῳ καὶ μόλις, lxviii. 14). On the other hand Julian (*Caes.* p. 327) makes Trajan say that he reduced this people 'within about five years' (ἐπράχθη δέ μοι τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς εἴσω που πέντε); and five years reckoned from the outbreak of the First Dacian War would bring us to about midsummer A.D. 106. To meet this difficulty, Mommsen suggests that the interval of peace between the two wars is not reckoned in the five years; but this solution seems impossible. It does not appear necessary however to take Julian's off-hand statement *au pied de la lettre.* On the other side Dierauer (p. 106, note) decides positively that the war must have been concluded before the end of 106, because Sura, one of Trajan's generals in this war, was consul in 107.

(8) Dion Cassius (lxviii. 14), after describing the Second Dacian War, adds, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Πάλμας τῆς Συρίας ἄρχων τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐχειρώσατο κ.τ.λ. This is not very precise. The epigraphic evidence again, as will have appeared from the last note, admits of our placing the subjugation of Arabia Petræa at any time between about midsummer A.D. 105 and midsummer A.D. 107. The testimony of the *Chronicon Paschale* p. 472 (ed. Bonn.) here comes to our aid. Under the consulship of Candidus and Quadratus (i.e. A.D. 105) it states that the people of Petra and Bostra

reckoned their years from this date. This probably means, as Clinton says, that the year of the Seleucidæ which began in the October falling within this consulship was counted as the 1st year of the Petræan era. The fact would imply that Arabia Petræa was conquered and made a Roman province some time between Oct. 105 and Oct. 106. Whether early or late in this period, it would probably be before the close of the Second Dacian War. If so, *Imperator* v belongs to the conquest of Arabia, and *Imperator* vi to that of Dacia.

(9) For the consuls of the year 107 see the note on *Mart. Ant.* 7.

(10) For the date of Pliny's proprætorship in Bithynia, and the persecution of the Christians connected therewith, see the note on *Mart. Rom.* 11.

(11) It may now be regarded as an established fact that Trajan as emperor only made one expedition to the East, and that this took place in the last years of his reign. This is the opinion of almost all, if not all, critics who have approached the subject from an independent point of view (without reference to the Acts of Martyrdom of Ignatius); e.g. Eckhel *D. N.* VI. p. 450 sq, Francke *Geschichte Trajans* pp. 16 sq, 253 sq, Dierauer *Geschichte Trajans* p. 152 sq, Mommsen *C. I. L.* III. p. 103 sq. And even among those who accept these Acts as genuine in the main, many have been led to infer that there is an error in the date there given, the 9th year of Trajan. It is Pearson's great merit that, with the very imperfect and confused materials before him, he yet discerned the main fact correctly, that an earlier expedition of Trajan to the East was impossible. His view required that the 19th year should be substituted for the 9th, and in this he is followed by Clinton and others. The only point of difference among these writers has reference to the exact year in which Trajan started for the East. Thus Eckhel and others placed his departure in the autumn A.D. 114, being misled by their mode of reckoning the tribunician years. With the new light thrown upon this point, we may now regard it as certain that he left Rome in the autumn of 113.

The reasons for concluding that this was the first and only expedition of Trajan as emperor seem quite conclusive. (i) Dion Cassius represents his departure for the East as taking place after the erection of the column (A.D. 113), and says nothing of any earlier expedition. (ii) There is not the slightest indication in the genuine coins and in-

scriptions of any such Eastern expedition, or indeed of any important military operations of any kind, in the interval between the close of the Second Dacian War and the autumn A.D. 113. Thus for instance there is no accession to the emperor's titles. He is *Imperator* vi in June A.D. 107, and he remains so as late as A.D. 113 when the column is erected. The next accumulation, *Imperator* vii, first appears A.D. 114. (iii) In accordance therewith, so far as we are able to trace the movements of the emperor during the interval, we find him in Rome or Italy. The correspondence of Pliny with the emperor (A.D. 111—113), which falls in this interval, indicates this. The medals and inscriptions too, which belong to this period, represent him as actively engaged in public works at home, e.g. the forum bearing his name at Rome, the Aqua Trajana, the great roads and harbours of Italy, etc.

On the other hand Tillemont (*Empereurs* II. p. 196 sq, p. 562 sq) sends Trajan to the East several years earlier and makes him enter Antioch in January A.D. 107, thus antedating the conquest of Armenia and Mesopotamia, which really took place A.D. 114, by seven years. With the mixture of genuine and spurious documents accessible to Tillemont this position is intelligible. But such views are not so easy of explanation in later writers. Quite recently (A.D. 1869) Nirschl (*Das Todesjahr des Hl. Ignatius*) has made an elaborate attempt to prove that Trajan made three several expeditions to the East, A.D. 107, A.D. 110, and A.D. 116. And even De Rossi (*Inscr. Christ. Urb.* I. p. 6 sq) is disposed provisionally (for he speaks with caution) to assume one earlier Parthian expedition with Tillemont in order to save the credit of the Ignatian Acts of Martyrdom. The arguments by which it is attempted to sustain the theory of an early expedition or expeditions to the East are as follows.

(i) Our information respecting Trajan's reign is very deficient. Dion Cassius, our chief authority, or rather his abbreviator Xiphilinus, does not give events in sequence, but groups them. Hence all the campaigns in the East are put together. This however is not an accurate statement of the case. The historian (lxviii. 17), after describing the construction of the forum and the erection of the column, proceeds μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Ἀρμενίους καὶ Πάρθους. Hence it was not before the close of A.D. 113 according to this representation. Thus there is a direct notice of time. Nor is there any ground for supposing that the abbreviator tampered with the sequence of the original. The order of Xiphilinus is the order of Zonaras also. Thus it must be regarded as Dion's own. Moreover the sequence of

events, as given by Dion, is confirmed in all respects by the genuine coins and inscriptions. It should be added also that Julian (*Caes.* p. 328) only speaks of one Parthian expedition, which he assigns to Trajan's old age. The words which he puts into Trajan's mouth are these: *πρὸς Παρθυαίους δέ, πρὶν μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ᾤμην δεῖν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀδικοῦσι δὲ ἐπεξῆλθον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας κωλυθείς, καίτοι διδόντων μοι τῶν νόμων τὸ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι.*

(ii) The Ignatian Acts of Martyrdom are themselves put in evidence. This arguing in a circle would be quite legitimate, if these Acts approved themselves as genuine in all other respects. But, as we have already seen (p. 383 sq), they are discredited by various considerations, apart from this difficulty about the date.

(iii) The evidence of other Christian writers is alleged. More especially stress is laid on the testimony of John Malalas (p. 270 sq, ed. Bonn.), who states that Trajan made an expedition against the Parthians in the 12th year of his reign (*ἐπεστράτευσε τῷ ιβ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ*) leaving Rome in October, reaching Syria in December, and entering Antioch on Jan. 7. Of the blunders of Malalas I shall have much to say hereafter. At present it will be sufficient to remark that the events recorded as taking place on this occasion are obviously the same as those narrated by Dion, though mixed up with much fabulous matter by Malalas; and that Dion, as interpreted by the monuments, places this campaign in A.D. 114. Moreover Malalas convicts himself. For afterwards, when mentioning the earthquake which happened during a subsequent winter spent by Trajan at Antioch, he places it two years after his arrival in the East (*μετὰ β' ἔτη τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ θειοτάτου βασιλέως Τραιανοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν*), and yet dates it Dec. 13, A.D. 115. Of the other Christian authorities cited it may be said generally that they either prove nothing or are based on the story of Trajan's interview with Ignatius at Antioch. To the former class belongs Eusebius, who in his *Chronicon* (p. 162, Schoene) places the martyrdom of Ignatius in A.D. 107, there or thereabouts. But, as he knows nothing about the appearance of Ignatius before Trajan at Antioch or elsewhere, his testimony has no bearing on Trajan's movements. As regards the latter class of writers, the case presented itself to them thus. The Antiochene tradition or Antiochene Acts of Martyrdom relate that Ignatius was brought before Trajan at Antioch. Now Eusebius says that he was martyred about A.D. 107. Therefore Trajan must have been in Antioch at that time, preparing for his Parthian campaign. In fact these writers were in the same position as Tillemont or Nirschl with regard to the evidence; and, like

these modern writers, they drew this as a critical inference from statements which they accepted without sifting. One authority however is not so easily explained. The compiler of the *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 471 sq, ed. Bonn.) places the martyrdom of Ignatius in the consulate of Candidus and Quadratus (i.e. A.D. 105). Then under the following year (A.D. 106) he writes, πολέμου χαλεποῦ ἐπιβάντος τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ ὑπὸ Περσῶν καὶ Γόθων καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν, Τραιανὸς ἀπερχόμενος εἰς τὸν τούτων πόλεμον κ.τ.λ. The Goths here are doubtless the Dacians[1]. This is the correct date for the Second Dacian War, which commenced in the previous year and was not yet ended (see above, p. 405 sq). Against these Trajan conducted the expedition in person. But he could not march at once against both Dacians and Persians, and the writer cannot have meant this. Perhaps this 'Persian' War here mentioned represents the operations of Palmas in Arabia, which were really synchronous with the Second Dacian War. Or it may be an echo of some previous Christian writer, who sent Trajan to the East at this time in order to satisfy the exigencies of the Ignatian story. Under any circumstances it is valueless as against the plain inference drawn from more authentic sources of information.

(iv) Lastly; certain medals and inscriptions are cited. They profess to belong to a much earlier date than A.D. 114, and yet they bear the legend TIGRIS, or INDIA, or PARTHICVS, or REX·PARTHIS·DATVS, or other words which point to an eastern campaign of Trajan. It is sufficient to say that they are discredited by the channels through which they come to us, that their genuineness has never been established, that in some instances they convict themselves, and that generally they are confuted by the eloquent silence of a large and ever-increasing mass of epigraphic and numismatic evidence, which betrays no knowledge of such stirring events[2].

(12) The designation *Optimus* is an important landmark in the chronology of this reign. The two following notices have reference to it.

(i) Pliny *Paneg.* 2 writes, 'Jam quid tam civile, tam senatorium, quam illud additum a nobis Optimi cognomen? quod peculiare hujus

[1] Julian (*Caes.* p. 327) calls the Dacians 'Getæ' throughout; τό τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν τρόπαιον, τῆς τῶν Γετῶν ὕβρεως, τὸ Γετῶν ἔθνος ἐξείλον.

[2] Eckhel VI. p. 451 sq 'Bellam enimvero Trajani historiam quam quis ex catalogis seu lapidum seu numorum, quos nobis Gruterus, Muratorius, Mediobarbus obtrusere, volet contexere. Non habent fabulae monstra magis obscoena, chimaeras, cerberos, centauros, quam inauspicatus is partus erit, *ut nec pes nec caput uni reddatur formae.*'

[Trajani] et proprium arrogantia priorum principum fecit'; and again c. 88 'Justisne de causis S.P.Q.R. Optimi tibi cognomen adjecit? Paratum id quidem et in medio positum, novum tamen. Scias neminem ante meruisse...Adoptavit te optimus princeps in suum, senatus in Optimi nomen.' As Pliny's panegyric was delivered in September A.D. 100, this must refer to the very beginning of Trajan's reign.

(ii) Dion Cassius (lxviii. 23), as abridged by Xiphilinus, says of Trajan *τά τε ἄλλα ἐψηφίζετο αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἡ βουλή, καὶ ὄπτιμον, εἶτ' οὖν ἄριστον, ἐπωνόμασεν*, and a little lower down, *καὶ ὠνομάσθη μέν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν εἶλε καὶ τὰς Βάτνας, Παρθικός· πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ὀπτίμου προσηγορίᾳ ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις συμπάσαις...ἐσεμνύνετο.* As these events are related after Trajan's first campaign in the East, they seem to belong to a date not earlier than A.D. 114.

Thus there is a difference of some fourteen years in the two accounts; and yet the language of both writers is so alike, that they seem to be referring to the same incident. It is only when we examine the monuments, that the solution of the difficulty appears. On the coins and medals of the early years, at least as early as the 5th consulate (A.D. 103 sq), we find frequently the legend OPTIMO·PRINCIPI, and so occasionally in inscriptions. To this use of the word Pliny must be alluding. But in the later years, in coins and inscriptions alike, OPTIMVS appears no longer as an epithet, but as an inseparable part of the name; and, as such, it precedes even Augustus, so that the order is IMP·NERV·TRAIAN·OPTIM·AVG·GERM·DAC·[PARTHIC·]. This phenomenon first makes its appearance in the 18th tribunician year, i.e. A.D. 114, the point of time to which Dion is referring[1].

[1] Several types of coins are given by Fabretti *Col. Traj.* p. 292 (see Francke *Geschichte Trajans* p. 16) with ΑΡΙϹΤΟϹ before ϹΕΒΑϹΤΟϹ, dated ΔΗΜΑΡΧ. ЄΖ. ΙΖ. As they are not cited by Eckhel and others, I presume that they are not regarded as genuine. No accredited inscription hitherto discovered exhibits this title before the 18th tribunician year. Still its appearance in the 17th would not be altogether irreconcilable with Dion's account. Though Dion mentions the bestowal of the title at the end of his account of the eastern campaign of A.D. 114, and the natural inference is that it was not bestowed till some time during that campaign, still it is quite conceivable that he intended to group together all the honours bestowed on Trajan by the senate after his departure from Rome, and so this might belong to the last months of A D. 113.

[Since the above was written the inscription *C. I. L.* VIII. 10117 (see above, p. 395) has been published, in which this title appears in the 16th tribunician year. Wilmanns, the editor of this volume, writes, 'Offendit Optimi nomen ea ratione positum, quam tam nummi quam tituli ab anno demum 114 proponunt. Fortasse titulus conceptus a. 112 post intervallum incisus est eoque tempore

(13) The date of the assumption of the title 'Parthicus' presents some difficulties. Dion Cassius (lxviii. 23) in the abridgment of Xiphilinus, as quoted just above, says that he was designated (ὠνομάσθη) Parthicus after taking Nisibis and Batnæ. He does not say by whom this designation was given. Zonaras (xi. 21) however represents it as conferred by the senate, ἡ βουλὴ...Παρθικὸν αὐτῷ ἐπίκλησιν ἔθετο; but this may be merely his own inference from the words of Dion. According to the arrangement of the events which I have adopted (p. 413 sq), this would be towards the end of A.D. 114. At a later point Dion (Xiphilinus), describing a subsequent campaign (lxviii. 23), says that when the emperor entered Ctesiphon as victor, he was saluted (ἐπωνομάσθη) imperator, and 'confirmed the epithet of Parthicus' (τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἐβεβαιώσατο). This would take place in the following year, A.D. 115.

The expression ἐβεβαιώσατο implies that there was some uncertainty about the use of the term. Perhaps we may infer that though it was employed unofficially, yet the emperor did not adopt it himself, or allow it to be adopted in official quarters, when it was first bestowed upon him. The monuments confirm this supposition. In the year 114, in a military diploma of Trajan dated Sept. 1st, with IMP·VII, it is wanting[1]. So also in the inscription on the arch at Beneventum, erected by the senate, likewise with IMP·VII, it is absent. Even later in this same year, when the emperor's titles have risen to IMP·IX, it does not appear in an inscription set up at Ferentinum in Trajan's own name. Yet before the date of this last-mentioned inscription, and while Trajan is still only IMP·VII, it appears on a monument in Baetica. Thus, unless we have here some stone-cutter's error, this first bestowal of the title, whether by the senate or by the army, must have occurred in sufficient time to allow the news to travel to Spain before the close of the year 114. In the following year we find the same fluctuation. In an inscription set up by the senate on the arch at Ancona[2], in another (recorded by Fabretti) which was inscribed by the emperor's own orders, and in a third (an Egyptian inscription bearing date May 24) which likewise has an official character[3], it is wanting; while

interpolatus. It is perhaps simpler to suppose a stone-cutter's error in the XVI. See the next note for an example.]

[1] These inscriptions are given above, p. 396 sq. In *C. I. L.* III. p. 869, dated Sept. 1, the one side of the tablet has XVIII, and the other XVII, for the tribunician years. The titles of Trajan, OPT. AVG, and IMP. VII, show that the former is correct, and the latter the stone-cutter's blunder.

[2] See above, p. 396.

[3] Boeckh, *C. I. G.* 4948, given above, p. 397. The Egyptian year began on Aug. 29, and the second year of Trajan in Egyptian reckoning would be from

again in another Bætican inscription[1] it appears. The provincial and unofficial character of this last is evident from the circumstance that PARTHICO is placed before DACICO, whereas its proper place is later. In the following year (A.D. 116) all the monuments have the title. One of these, a military diploma, bears the date Sept. 8. The capture of Ctesiphon therefore, and the official acceptance of the title by Trajan himself, must have preceded this. But the exact date of this incident is not determined for us by the inscriptions hitherto discovered. So far as their evidence goes, it may have occurred in the early part of this year 116, or in the later part of the preceding year 115.

(14) The year of the great earthquake at Antioch is fixed as A.D. 115 by the notice in Dion (lxviii. 24) that Pedo the consul perished in it. And Dion's account is so far confirmed by Malalas, that the latter gives the date as A.D. 115. Moreover the calamity happened according to both these authors while Trajan was *wintering* at Antioch. But the alternative still remains that the winter in question was $11\frac{4}{5}$ or $11\frac{5}{6}$, i.e. that the earthquake took place at the beginning or the end of 115. If Malalas is worthy of credit, it happened on Dec. 13 of this year. But several modern critics (e.g. Eckhel VI. p. 453 sq, Clinton *Fast. Rom.* sub ann. 115, Borghesi *Œuvres* v. p. 19) on various grounds reject his statement, and place it at the beginning of the year, in January or February.

The degree of credibility which attaches to statements of Malalas in general will be discussed hereafter. It will then be seen that in this particular notice the day of the month is not consistent with the day of the week. But still the possibility remains, that Malalas has given correctly the month and day of the month; and this view is taken by many critics of consideration, e.g. by Von Gutschmid (in

Aug. 29 A.D. 98 to Aug. 28 A.D. 99, the broken year preceding the Egyptian new year's day counting as the first year; see Raoul Rochette *Journal des Savans* 1824, p. 240 sq, Mommsen *Staatsrecht* II. p. 778. According to this reckoning, May 24 of the 19th year would belong to A.D. 116, as given by Letronne, Franz, and others. But I agree with Dierauer (p. 167, note) that the official character of this inscription suggests the reckoning by tribunician years. Thus it must be referred to A.D. 115. Otherwise it would be the only verified inscription of A.D. 116, in which the title Parthicus is wanting.

[1] *Ephem. Epigr.* III. p. 38 sq, quoted above, p. 397. This inscription had previously been deciphered incorrectly (e.g. in *C. I. L.* II. 1028). Its correct decipherment has antiquated much that has been written on the title Parthicus; e.g. by Borghesi *Bull. Corr. Inst. Archeol.* 1859, p. 119 sq, by Noel des Vergers *C. R. Acad. Inscr. et Belles Lettres* 1866, p. 85, and by Dierauer, p. 166 sq.

Dierauer *Geschichte Trajans* p. 157 sq), by Dierauer, and others. This view seems to me to present serious difficulties.

The coins and inscriptions show clearly that Trajan set out for his eastern campaigns in the autumn A.D. 113, not A.D. 114, as maintained by Eckhel and Clinton; for their error about the reckoning of the tribunician years led them to post-date it by a year. In August 117 he died. Within this interval therefore we have to arrange all the incidents of these campaigns. For these incidents Dion is our only trustworthy authority; and as there is no reasonable ground for supposing that he gives these events out of their chronological order, we may follow his sequence.

'After these things,' says Dion, 'he made an expedition against the Armenians and Parthians' (lxviii. 17). The completion of the Forum and the erection of the Column have been mentioned just before. On his way eastward Trajan stays at Athens, where he receives an embassy from Osrhoes, asking the crown of Armenia for Parthamasiris. From Greece he passes to Asia and Lycia; from thence to Seleucia (c. 17). While he is in Antioch, he receives overtures from Augarus of Osrhoene. This is obviously therefore the winter A.D. $11\frac{3}{4}$. The subsequent events are as follows.

(*α*) The expedition begins. Entering the enemy's territory, Trajan is met by satraps and kings who are the bearers of presents. The whole country of Armenia submits without a battle (ἀμαχί), and the emperor enters Satala and Elegia, its strongholds. The humiliating interview at which Parthamasiris was deposed is described at length. It takes place at Elegia (c. 18, 19, 20). Trajan then goes to Edessa, and there sees Augarus and receives overtures from other kings (c. 21). Other negociations with petty princes are mentioned while he is in Mesopotamia. From Mesopotamia he marches against Adiabene. Lusius gains possession of Singara and other places without a battle (ἀμαχί). Adenystræ, a strong fortress, opens its gates to the Romans, the garrison having been massacred (c. 22). The emperor receives the title of *Optimus* from the senate. After taking Nisibis and Batnæ, he is also designated *Parthicus* (c. 23).

(*β*) While he is residing at Antioch, an earthquake lays the city in ruins. The consul Pedo is killed. Trajan himself escapes through a window. The shocks last for several days, during which he lives in the open air in the hippodrome (cc. 24, 25).

(*γ*) At the approach of spring (ὑπὸ τὸ ἔαρ) he sets out on his march into the enemy's country. Vessels built at Nisibis are carried on carts to the Tigris. A bridge across the river is constructed

with much difficulty (ἐπιπονώτατα) in the face of the opposing barbarians; and the Roman army crosses. The whole of Adiabene is reduced, including the scenes of Alexander's exploits, Arbela and Gaugamela. After this the Romans advance as far as Babylon itself, not meeting with much opposition from the natives, because Parthia had been wasted by civil wars and was torn asunder by factions. Trajan surveys the wonders of Babylon. He then designs digging a canal between the Euphrates and the Tigris, that his boats may pass through for the construction of a bridge; but this design he abandons on account of the engineering difficulties, and the boats are carried overland. He then enters Ctesiphon, on taking which he is saluted *Imperator* and 'confirms' the title *Parthicus*. The senate votes him honours liberally. After taking Ctesiphon, he sets out towards the Red Sea (i.e. the Persian Gulf). He acquires without trouble the island Messene in the Tigris; but owing to the difficulty of navigating the river, he is in great peril. However he reaches the Ocean, which he explores, and sees a vessel sailing for India. He writes an account of his exploits to the senate. His despatches to them, announcing victories, follow in such quick succession that they cannot understand the tidings or even pronounce the names. They however vote him honours freely, and prepare to erect a triumphal arch. Meanwhile, during his journey to the Ocean and back, all the places which he had taken revolt. The bad news reaches Trajan while at Babylon. Accordingly he sends Lusius and Maximus to quell the revolts. Maximus is slain in battle; Lusius 'among many other successes' recovers Nisibis and besieges and sets fire to Edessa. Seleucia is taken by the lieutenant-generals Erycius Clarus and Julius Alexander. Trajan, now fearing fresh difficulties from the Parthians, gives them a king of their own. After this he marches into Arabia, and attacks the city of the Atreni, which had revolted from him. Here however he encounters enormous difficulties and is unsuccessful. He leaves the place. Not long after his health begins to fail. Meanwhile there is an uprising of Jews in Cyrene, accompanied by wholesale massacres. The same thing happens also in Egypt and in Cyprus. Lusius is sent by Trajan and puts down the insurrection. Trajan prepares for another expedition; but his sickness increasing, he sets out on his return to Italy, leaving Hadrian in Syria in command of the army. He dies at Selinus in Cilicia.

Now the winter at Antioch (β) separates the events enumerated in the paragraphs (α) and (γ) respectively; and supposing this to be the winter of $11\frac{5}{6}$, we should get two whole years for the operations (α),

while only one year and a half would be left for all the campaigns (γ). But this is quite disproportionate to their relative difficulty and extent. The operations (α) were confined to a range of territory which compared with the subsequent campaigns was limited, for Trajan does not seem to have advanced beyond the borders of the Greater Armenia, and it is not clear that he himself entered Adiabene at all. Not a single battle appears to have been fought; no delay in crossing great rivers is recorded; not one siege is mentioned; and altogether the operations resolve themselves into a straight-forward bloodless march. But the incidents (γ) are wholly different in character. They extend from Cyprus and Cyrene to the Persian Gulf. There are subjugations and revolts and subjugations again. There are boats to be built and dragged overland, and rivers to be bridged, and cities to be besieged. Trajan and his generals appear now here and now there—over vast tracts of country. Dierauer speaks of the 'astonishing rapidity', the 'breathless haste', of Trajan's movements (pp. 173, 181). But with this apportionment of the time, we have something more than breathless haste; and it may fairly be asked whether human energy could have crowded all these operations within the limits thus assigned to them.

The same result seems to follow from an investigation of the chronology of the emperor's titles. We have seen (pp. 396, 411) that *Optimus* occurs on more than one inscription belonging to the year 114, and one of these, a military diploma found at Carnuntum in Pannonia, bears the date Sept. 1. The designation *Parthicus* on the other hand is less frequent. Hitherto it has been found only on one monument belonging to this year, a non-official inscription in the province of Baetica (see above, p. 412 sq). It must therefore have been given in sufficient time to get known in Spain before the close of the year.

These facts are in harmony with the meagre notice of Dion, in which he represents both titles as conferred during the first part of the eastern campaign, and Optimus as preceding Parthicus. But the date of the latter title has an important bearing on our investigation. It was conferred, says Dion, after he had taken Nisibis and Batnæ, i.e. after he had overrun Mesopotamia and while he was close to the frontier of Adiabene, so that the operations (α) were already drawing to a close. Indeed it seems probable from Dion's account that he left Lusius to complete them, while he himself returned to Antioch. This being so, the operations (α) are all exhausted in the year 114, and nothing is left for 115.

So again with the successive titles of Imperator. In the years A. D. 114, 115, Trajan rises from Imperator vi to Imperator xi, if not to Imperator xii, so that the title is conferred five times, if not six; whereas in A.D. 116, 117, there are only two fresh accumulations at most. This ratio of five to two, or possibly of six to one, would be out of all proportion to the respective operations (α) and (γ). On the other hand, if all the events (α) were comprised in the year 114, the three fresh titles vii, viii, and ix, which belong to that year, would supply all that the history requires; and four accumulations of the titles would still remain for the numerous operations (γ) of the years A.D. 115, 116.

On these grounds I have assumed that the winter of the earthquake was $11\frac{4}{5}$, not $11\frac{5}{6}$; and the incidents are arranged accordingly in the chronological table. The distribution of the subsequent events however which fall to the years 115, 116, 117, is still left undetermined by the monuments, and here conjecture must step in. It seems probable however that the entrance into Ctesiphon, which was the crowning triumph of the expedition, took place at the close of 115, and that the winter $11\frac{5}{6}$ was spent in this city. This is a reasonable, though not certain inference from the language of Dion. He says that Trajan after leaving Ctesiphon set out to visit the Red Sea (i.e. the Persian Gulf) but that 'owing to the wintry season (or the stormy weather) and the rapidity of the Tigris and the reflux of the ocean he was in some peril.' The expression *ὑπὸ χειμῶνος* is not indeed conclusive in itself as to the season of the year[1]; but in conjunction with the description of the danger it points naturally to the winter or the very early spring. The documents are quite consistent with

[1] Dion Cass. lxviii. 28 *ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ χειμῶνος τῆς τε τοῦ Τίγριδος ὀξύτητος καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀναρροίας ἐκινδύνευσε.* Volkmar (*Rhein. Mus.* N. F. XII. p. 508), answering Francke, says 'Und worin liegt nun das Ueberwintern? Sollte der gelehrte Historiker wirklich gedacht haben in *ὑπὸ χειμῶνος*? Es heisst nicht etwa *ὑπὸ τὴν χειμῶνα*, sondern *durch einen Sturm* etc.' But (1) Dion would certainly never have made *χειμών* feminine. (2) He would not have used the accusative case, unless he had meant something different, e.g. 'under cover of winter', or 'at the approach of winter'. (3) The article is as frequently omitted as inserted, when winter is intended; e.g. Thucyd. vi. 34 *ἐξωσθῆναι ἂν τῇ ὥρᾳ εἰς χειμῶνα.* In fact *ὑπὸ* [*τοῦ*] *χειμῶνος* may have several meanings; (1) 'stormy weather', e.g. Thucyd. vi. 104 *τὰς ναῦς ὅσαι ἐπόνησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος*, Antiphon *Tetral.* i. 2. 1 (p. 116) *οἱ δυστυχοῦντες, ὁπόταν μὲν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος πονῶσιν, εὐδίας γενομένης παύονται*: (2) 'severe climate', as at high altitudes, e.g. Herod. viii. 138 *οὖρος κέεται, Βέρμιον οὔνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος*: (3) 'winter season', e.g. Thucyd. ii. 101 *ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐταλαιπώρει* (comp. c. 102 *τοῦδε τοῦ χειμῶνος*), Herod. iv. 62 *ὑπονοστέει γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων.*

this view. The *official* assumption of the title Parthicus was, as we have seen (p. 412), coincident with the entrance into Ctesiphon. This title is not wanting on any document belonging to the year 116.

Nor again do the inscriptions which bear the name of the consul Pedo offer any impediment to this solution, as some critics seem to think. If the earthquake occurred during this winter, he must have perished soon after he had assumed office, probably not later than February. The news might not have reached Rome before March. Of the documents bearing his name, some merely mention him as the eponym of the year (e.g. *C. I. L.* VI. 1984, 2404, 2411). These therefore have no bearing on the question. The only two which have a date both belong to the month of January (*C. I. L.* VI. 543, dated Id. Jan., and VI. 43, 44, dated V Kal. Febr.), while he was probably still alive, but at all events before his death was known at Rome.

5.

The *day* on which S. Ignatius was commemorated is a fit subject for investigation, for it has some indirect bearings which are not unimportant. It varied at different times and in different places.

1. October 17. This was the original day observed as the anniversary of the saint's martyrdom in Syria and Greece, as will be evident from the following facts.

(i) Chrysostom in his panegyric on S. Ignatius states that the festival of the martyr followed immediately on that of S. Pelagia; *Hom. in S. Ignat.* (*Op.* II. p. 562 sq). The grace of the Spirit, he says, sets before us its banquets of the martyrs in rapid succession (συνεχεῖς ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπαλλήλους τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων παρατιθέναι τραπέζας). Only the other day it was a young virgin Pelagia who entertained us; to-day the valiant Ignatius has succeeded to her festival (πρώην γοῦν ἡμᾶς κόρη κομιδῇ νέα καὶ ἀπειρόγαμος ἡ μακαρία μάρτυς Πελαγία...εἱστίασε· σήμερον πάλιν τὴν ἐκείνης ἑορτὴν ὁ μακάριος οὗτος καὶ γενναῖος μάρτυς Ἰγνάτιος διεδέξατο). The persons, he adds, are different, but the table is one.

This statement created a difficulty. The Pelagia here mentioned was doubtless the saint of Antioch, in whose honour Chrysostom delivered two orations which are extant. But, whereas the day of Ignatius in the Greek calendar is December 20, neither this nor any other Pelagia is commemorated in December or even in the preceding month in any known calendar. The days assigned to Pelagia of

Antioch in different calendars are June 9 or 10, and October 8. On this account it was inferred by discerning critics that the festival of Dec. 20 must have been due to some later change in the Greek calendar, and that in Chrysostom's time the day of commemoration was different. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 53), who took this view, supposed that the original commemoration was in June. The first point has since been established beyond question; but the original day of Ignatius is discovered to have been October 17, as will appear from the documents quoted in the sequel. This accords with a marginal note in a MS of Chrysostom's Homily on S. Pelagia, which gives *μηνὶ ὀκτωβρίῳ η'*, as the date of its delivery (*Op.* II. p. 584).

(ii) The Syriac MS *Brit. Mus. Add.* 12,150 is described in Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS* p. 631. It is probably the oldest dated MS in existence, having been written A.D. 411. At the close of the volume, which contains portions of the *Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions*, the *Books against the Manicheans* by Titus of Bostra, the *Theophania* and *Palestinian Martyrs* of Eusebius, etc., in Syriac versions, is a Syriac Martyrology, in which the names of the Western martyrs are arranged in the order of the Syrian months. This Martyrology has been published and translated by Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* VIII. pp. 45 sq, 423 sq. Under the month Former Teshri (October) we have, among other names;

> 8. At Antioch, Pelagia.
> 17. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, of the number of the ancient confessors.

Attention was called to this entry by Zahn (*Ign. et Pol. Ep.* pp. xiii, 343, 381), who thus in his later work corrected his earlier conjecture as to the time.

Here then we have found what we sought. The MS, as we have seen, dates from the early years of the 5th century; but the Martyrology itself, even in its Syriac dress, must be much older. It is full of errors arising from the confusion of Syriac letters having similar forms, and therefore probably is removed by several stages of transcription from the original Syriac document. But this Syriac document itself was a translation from the Greek (see Zahn *Ign. et Pol. Ep.* p. 381). We shall probably therefore be correct in assigning the work to a date not later than about the middle of the 4th century. At all events it will be older than S. Chrysostom's panegyric; and it seems to have emanated from Antioch or the neighbourhood.

(iii) In the Syriac translation of the *Antiochene Acts of Ignatius*,

published by Mœsinger (p. 12, l. 1; comp. p. 15 for the translation), the date of the martyr's death, which in the extant Greek and Latin copies of this same document is given December 20, appears as 'the seventeenth of the Later Teshri' (i.e. November). Comparing this statement with the previously mentioned Syrian Martyrology, and bearing in mind that no calendar places the commemoration of the saint on November 17, we can hardly doubt that it is a slip for the Former Teshri, so that here also the same date (Oct. 17) is given. The translator doubtless substituted the day of commemoration which was still kept by his own church for the day which he found in the Greek document before him (see below, p. 423). Thus the commemoration of Oct. 17 survived, in some Syrian Churches at least, long after the Antiochene Acts were composed.

(iv) I have also found this date of the festival preserved in a Jacobite Syriac calendar in the Vatican MS *Syr.* xxxvii, described in Assemani *Bibl. Apost. Vatic. Cod. MSS Catal.* Pars i. Tom. ii. p. 244, a volume of miscellaneous contents brought from Mesopotamia. On p. 250 sq is 'Kalendarium per anni circulum festorum Domini et sanctorum ordinatum a sancto Jacobo Edesseno.' It contains these notices;

> Oct. 15 'Isaiah of Aleppo; and the decease of Mar Asia [ܐܣܝܐ the Physician] who is also Pantaleon; and Ignatius of Melitene who is also the Runner[1]; and Mar Phineas of Hah.'
>
> Oct. 17 'The Prophets generally; and Hosea the Prophet; and Ignatius Nurono; and Theophilus of Alexandria.'
>
> Jan. 29 'Burial of the bones of Ignatius Nurono; and Severus the Capharsæan, Archimandrite of Kartamin; and the Martyrs of Galatia.'

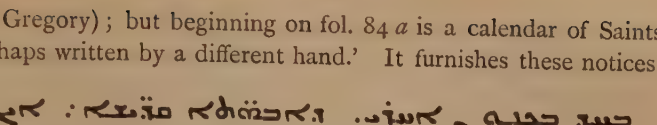
The celebration of the other Ignatius two days before was probably due to an attraction. We shall meet with other instances in the calendar of this tendency to bring into proximity saints bearing the same name. Of Jan. 29, as the day of the translation of our Ignatius from Rome to Antioch, I shall have to speak hereafter.

(v) A search through the Syriac calendars in the British Museum, which Dr Wright kindly undertook at my request, has brought to light one interesting entry.

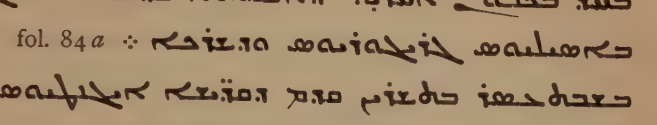
The MS *Add.* 17,134 is dated A.D. 675, and was probably written by the hand of the famous Jacob of Edessa himself (see Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS* p. 330 sq). It contains chiefly Hymns of Severus and others (among these a Hymn on Ignatius, and another on

[1] See Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* II. pp. 351, 365.

Basil and Gregory); but beginning on fol. 84 *a* is a calendar of Saints' Days 'perhaps written by a different hand.' It furnishes these notices;



fol. 84 *a* ⁘



fol. 85 *b* ⁘

'On the 1st of the Later Kanun [January]; Of the holy fathers Ignatius, Basilius, Gregorius, and the rest.'

'On the 17th of the Former Teshri [October]; Of the holy (ones), Ignatius, Gregorius, Basilius.'

S. Basil died on the first day of the year 379, and his commemoration was and is kept accordingly on Jan. 1, while Oct. 17, as we have seen, was the festival of Ignatius[1]. Here then they make common cause—each sharing his festival with the other. This phenomenon illustrates other notices respecting Ignatius. Of the 125 *Epithronian Orations*, delivered by Severus of Antioch and preserved in Syriac versions, six (9, 37, 65, 84, 102, 116) were spoken on the festival of S. Basil and S. Gregory[2] (Wright's *Catalogue* p. 534 sq, Cureton *C. I.* p. 215 sq, p. 247 sq). Respecting four of these we are told that they were delivered in the Church of Ignatius, that is, no doubt, in the ancient Tychæum, which had been converted into a Christian church, and whither the bones of Ignatius had been translated from the Cemetery. In one case it is distinctly said that the delivery of the oration on the Cappadocian fathers in this church was 'according to custom,' while in three reference is made to Ignatius, and the preacher dwells on the resemblance of Basil and Gregory to this early martyr of Antioch. This habitual association of their names by the great Monophysite patriarch of Antioch may have suggested a corresponding arrangement in the calendar of the great Monophysite father of Edessa. At all events the two cannot be independent. But, however this may be, these notices show that Oct. 17 continued to be the festival of S. Ignatius after the Monophysite schism, and had not yet been supplanted by Dec. 20.

[1] The day of Gregory Nazianzen is Jan. 25. On Jan. 30 the Greek Church (besides their several commemorations) commemorates in common Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom; but this common festival was not instituted till the 11th century.

[2] These six homilies were evidently delivered on Jan. 1, for they appear between homilies on the Nativity and the Epiphany.

(vi) Another trace of this day appears in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* Feb. 1 (I. p. 14, ed. nov.), where, after mention of the proximity to S. Pelagia's day in S. Chrysostom's time, the editors say 'Neque in Junio neque in Octobri ulla S. Ignatii in martyrologiis reperitur observata solennitas, si quaedam annotata MSS excipiantur Carthusianorum Bruxellensium, in quibus xvii Octobris traditur B. Ignatii martyris translatio.' As the day of the martyrdom was already fixed for them in their own calendar at a different time, these Carthusians would naturally assume that October 17 must be the day of the translation of the reliques. But whence they derived their information, I do not know.

2. DECEMBER 20. This is the common date of the martyrdom, which prevailed in the Greek and other Eastern Churches at a later age. The *Menæa* contain two festivals of our saint.

Dec. 20. The anniversary of the martyrdom (Μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου τοῦ Θεοφόρου).

The στίχοι are

Λέουσιν, Ἰγνάτιε, δεῖπνον προὐτέθης,
Κοίνωνε δείπνου μυστικοῦ, θάρσους λέον.
Εἰκάδι Ἰγνάτιος θάνε γαμφηλῇσι λεόντων.

Jan. 29. The return of the reliques (Ἡ Ἀνακομιδὴ τῶν Λειψάνων τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου τοῦ Θεοφόρου).

The στίχοι are

Χάρις λέουσιν, Ἰγνάτιε, παμβόροις
Σοῦ σώματος λιποῦσι καὶ πιστοῖς μέρος.
Τῇ δ' ἐνάτῃ ἐπάνουδος Ἰγνατίῳ εἰκάδι τύχθη.

This second festival is almost as prominent in the Menæa as the first.

The Armenian calendar agrees substantially with the later Greek as regards the day of the martyrdom, though it exhibits slight variations. In the Armenian Acts of Ignatius (§ 49) the date is given ix Kal. Jan., i.e. Dec. 24. It has been suggested above that this was an alteration made arbitrarily from xiii Kal. Jan. (Dec. 20)—the day given in the original Greek from which this portion of the Armenian Acts is taken—because Dec. 24 was the Armenian day of commemoration at the time when the translator or transcriber lived. Just in the same way we have seen (p. 420) that the Syrian translator in this very passage has substituted another day, to bring it into conformity with the usage of the Syrian Church. The day in the Armenian calendar was originally, we may suppose, identical with the day in the Greek; but the beginnings

of the Armenian months at that time did not exactly synchronize with the beginnings of the Greek months. In the same way Dec. 20 is Choiak 24 in the Egyptian, and Tahsas 24 in the Ethiopic calendar (see below p. 425 sq). In the Armenian Menologies, if I am correctly informed, the day is given Dec. 20, conformably to the Greek calendar. On the other hand in two Armenian calendars reprinted in Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* III. p. 648, p. 654) it is neither Dec. 24 nor Dec. 20, but Dec. 17. Whether this slight variation again can be explained by some fluctuation in the Armenian year or not, I am unable to say. It should be observed however that this last date agrees with some early forms of the Latin calendar (see below p. 430). In the two Armenian calendars last mentioned there is also a second day of commemoration for this saint; Jan. 29 in the one (p. 645), and Jan. 30 in the other (p. 649). This second commemoration corresponds to the festival of the translation in the Greek calendar.

The earliest document which gives December 20 for the martyrdom is the *Antiochene Acts of Ignatius* (§ 7 *τῇ πρὸ δεκατριῶν καλανδῶν Ἰαννουαρίων*). Notwithstanding the various reading of the Syriac version mentioned above (p. 420), the existing Greek and Latin texts unquestionably give the date which stood originally in this document; for this xiiith before the Kalends is mentioned in the body of the work (§ 6 *ἡ λεγομένη τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ τρισκαιδεκάτη*), where it belongs to the texture of the story, and where the number is left undisturbed by the Syriac translator himself.

3. JULY 1. This appears to have been the anniversary of the martyrdom, as commemorated in the Egyptian Churches.

The correct text of the *Roman Acts of Martyrdom* is unquestionably (§ 12) *καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μνήμη τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ γενναίου μάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου μηνὶ πανέμῳ νεομηνίᾳ*, 'in the month Panemus on the 1st day,' as it appears in P, the best of the three Greek MSS. The retention of this date is the more remarkable, because this document is inserted in a hagiology for December (see above, p. 364); its place having been adapted to the later usage of the Eastern Churches as regards the commemoration of Ignatius, but the corresponding change in the month and day, which was thus required, having been overlooked. So too the date is given in the Memphitic version, ⲡⲉϫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁϧⲟⲧ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲙⲟⲥ· ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲟⲩ ⳋ ⲙ̀ⲉⲡⲏⲡ, 'the first of the month which is called according to the Romans Panemus, but according to the Egyptians the seventh of Epiphi [Abib].' The Macedonian names of the months prevailed in Egypt; and in

Macedonian nomenclature July was Panemus. The Egyptian equivalent was Epiphi; but the native Egyptian months only coincided roughly, and Epiphi began on June 25, so that Panemus 1 = Epiphi 7; see Clinton *Fast. Hellen.* III. pp. 360, 363, Ideler *Handb. d. Chron.* I. p. 143 sq. So too the heading of these Acts in this Coptic Version describes the martyrdom as taking place ⲏⲥⲟⲩ ⲍ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲃⲟⲧ ⲉⲡⲏⲡ, 'on the seventh of the month Epiphi.' And again the corresponding notice in the *Armenian Acts of Martyrdom* (§ 52), taken from these Roman Acts, runs 'Memoriam Deo dilecti et fortis propugnatoris Ignatii in Hrotitz mensis die primo [secundum Graecos Decembr. 20] manifestavimus vobis etc.' (p. 547, Petermann). Hrotitz is the last of the Armenian months, but the Armenian year commenced with August, so that here again we have the date July 1. The words in brackets therefore (an addition, I suppose, of the editor Aucher) do not give the Greek equivalent in time, but communicate the information that the day was different in the Greek calendar. It has been observed already (p. 375) that this statement is quite inconsistent with an earlier notice in these same Armenian Acts (§ 49), 'Facta est res haec ante ix [secundum Graecos xiii] Kalendas Januarias' (p. 545), taken from the Antiochene Acts.

This then (July 1) was the original date for the martyrdom in this document; but in the other Greek MSS VL it is altered to conform to the later Greek usage *μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ εἰκάδι*, and L also adds the day of the translation of the reliques Jan. 29, *ἐνεχθέντων δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῶν τιμίων αὐτοῦ λειψάνων μηνὶ Ἰαννουαρίῳ εἰκάδι ἐννάτῃ.*

This same day, Epiphi [Abib] 7, was also, I do not doubt, the original festival of the martyrdom in the native Coptic Churches. Melchite Coptic calendars indeed, as we should expect, follow the later Greek usage, giving Dec. 20 for the martyrdom, and Jan. 29 for the translation. Two such are given in Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* IV. ii. pp. 50, 52, and p. 169, respectively. In the present Jacobite Coptic calendar also the martyrdom of Ignatius is commemorated on Choiak 24 (Dec. 20), and his name has disappeared from Abib 7 (July 1), which commemorates only Shenuti (see Malan's *Documents of the Coptic Church*, pp. 16, 34, of the calendar)[1]. The translation is

[1] This is also the case in *Brit. Mus. Add.* 5996, where Shenuti alone is commemorated on Epiphi 7. In *Brit. Mus. Oriental* 425, dated A.D. 1307, a MS of the Gospels with a calendar appended, Ignatius is commemorated on Choiak 24; while owing to a mutilation of the calendar Epiphi is wanting. Conversely in *Brit. Mus. Oriental* 1321, dated A.D. 1346, a lectionary with calendar, Shenuti alone without Ignatius is commemorated on Epiphi 7; but the month of Choiak is not included in this volume.

not mentioned at all. But in other Coptic calendars the original Egyptian day, Epiphi 7, is preserved. Probably documents may be extant in which this is the sole day of commemoration. But in those which I have noticed the later Greek usage is combined with the original Egyptian, so that there are two days of commemoration, July 1 and Dec. 20. This double commemoration appears, for instance, in a Jacobite Coptic calendar (in Arabic) given in Mai l. c., where we have under Abib 7 [July 1] 'Sancti Ignatii et Scenudii abbatis' (p. 31), and under Choiak 24 [Dec. 20] 'Sancti Ignatii' (p. 21). A second example appears in another Coptic calendar (in the Arabic language), likewise given in Mai, *ib.* pp. 103, 117, which under Abib 7 has 'Martyrium Ignatii papae Romae, qui Petrum excepit imperante Trajano,' and under Choiak 24 'Martyrium sancti Ignatii patriarchae Antiochiae, discipuli sancti Johannis evangelistae.' The designation 'Papa Romae' is a hasty inference from the statement that he succeeded S. Peter. This last quoted calendar is stated to be 'juxta recensionem factam a patre Michaele episcopo Atribae et Meligae, et ab aliis sanctis patribus' (p. 93). This Michael flourished about A.D. 1425. The alternate ascendency of Melchites and Jacobites for some generations in the Egyptian Churches will explain this intermingling of different usages.

So far as I have observed, the Ethiopic calendars all commemorate Ignatius on both days, Tahsas 24 and Hamlē 7, corresponding to Dec. 20 and July 1 respectively. So for instance the calendar given in Ludolf, p. 389 sq (see pp. 402, 421). But they most commonly add a third commemoration also, Hamlē 1 (June 25). This is the case with the Ethiopic Synaxarion described in Dillmann's *Catal. Cod. Aethiop. Bibl. Bodl.* p. 37 sq, where we have the following entries;

Tahsas 24 'Martyrium Ignatii, patriarchae Antiocheni' [p. 49].
Hamlē 1 'Commemoratio Martyrii Ignatii patriarchae' [p. 63].
Hamlē 7 'Martyrium Ignatii, patriarchae Romani post Petrum' [p. 64]:

and similarly in Zotenberg *Catal. des MSS Éthiop. de la Bibl. Nation.* pp. 169, 189, 190.

Several such Ethiopic Synaxaria are described in Wright's *Catal. of Ethiop. MSS in the Brit. Mus.* p. 152. At my request Dr Wright examined them with a view to the notices respecting the commemoration of Ignatius, and has furnished me with the following translation of the entries.

Tahsas 24 'And again on this day the holy and illustrious Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch, became a martyr.'

'He was the disciple of the blessed Apostle John the Evangelist, and ministered unto him in preaching, and went with him to many cities. Thereafter he appointed him patriarch over the city of Antioch; and he preached therein with life-giving preaching, and converted many unto the knowledge of the Lord, and baptized them with the Christian baptism, and enlightened them with knowledge, and showed their error unto those who worshipped idols.'

'And the heathen were enraged with him and accused him before king Trajan (Trabyanos), the wicked Cæsar; and they said unto him: *Ignatius abolisheth the worship of thy gods, and teacheth the people and bringeth them into the Christian faith of Christ.*'

'Then he sent and bade him come unto him. And the king said unto Ignatius: *Why hast thou done this? and why hast thou abolished the worship of my gods? and hast brought all men into the worship of Christ?* And Ignatius said unto him: *If it were possible for me, I would bring thee too, O king, into the worship of Christ, the King of all, that I might make thee a friend of His.* And the king said unto him: *Let this talk alone, and sacrifice unto my gods; and if not, I will torture thee with great torture.* And the holy Ignatius said unto him: *Do unto me, O king, all that thou pleasest; because, as for me, I will not sacrifice unto thy filthy gods, and I am not afraid of thy torture, neither of thy fire nor of thy lions; and thou art not able to divide me from the love of Christ, the living King.*'

'And when the king heard this, he became very angry, and ordered him to be tortured with great torture. And they tortured him with much torture, and placed coals of fire in his hands, and seized him with pincers (*or* fleshhooks) a long time, whilst the fire was in his hands; and after this they burned his sides with brimstone (θεῖον) and oil, kindled with fire. And after this they lacerated all his body with knives of iron.'

'And when those who tortured him were weary of torturing him, they cast him into prison, until they could do with him according to all that they wished; and he remained in prison many days. And thereafter they remembered him and brought him forth, and set him before the king.'

'And the king said unto him: *O Ignatius, if thou couldest see the gods, their beauty would please thee.* And the holy one said unto him: *If thou wouldest believe in Christ, He would make thee raise the dead and heal the sick.* And the king said unto him: *There is no worship which is better than the worship of the sun.* And the holy one said unto him: *How is it better to worship the sun, which hath been created, and to forsake the Creator, whose kingdom doth not fail?* And the king said unto him: *Thou speakest not well, but by thy transgression thou drawest all the people of Syria unto the worship of Christ.* And the holy one was angered, and said unto him: *O king, because I have drawn the people from worshipping idols and have brought them unto the worship of Christ, the Creator of heaven and earth, who was before the world,*

thou art angry with me and orderest me to sacrifice unto thy gods and thy filthy idols! But as for me, I will not obey thy order, and I will not sacrifice unto devils, but I will sacrifice unto my God, who is in truth, Father and Son and the Holy Spirit.'

'Then the king was angered, and commanded that they should let loose upon him two hungry lions, so that they should not leave even a morsel of his flesh. And when the holy Ignatius saw the lions coming nigh unto him, he cried out with a loud voice, and said to the people: *Hearken unto my voice, O men of the city of Rome who are assembled here, and know that it is not because of pride and vainglory that I patiently endure this torture, but my patience is because of my Lord Jesus Christ, my God. And lo, my soul desireth that these lions should crush me like wheat, because my soul desireth now to go to my Lord Jesus Christ.*'

'And when the king heard what he said, he marvelled and was astonished and said: *How great is the patience of the Christians under these tortures! Who is there of the heathens who could patiently endure these tortures for the gods?*'

'Then those lions came near to the holy one; and when they saw him, they stood still in terror. And afterwards one of them stretched out his paw upon his neck and seized him. Then he delivered up his soul into the hand of Christ his God with joy, and He fulfilled for him his prayer, and it was not possible for those lions to touch a morsel of his body, but it is preserved in the city of Rome until the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.'

'And after this they buried the body of the holy Ignatius in the cemetery which is outside the city, with hymns and psalms. And he accomplished his martyrdom well for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; and they wrote his contest that it might be profitable for him who reads it and for him who remembers his name. And they made for him a festival in every place, and he intercedes for them in all their afflictions, because he hated the life of this world. May his holy blessing be with *etc.*'

'Hail to Ignatius, the chosen of God
Who preached the truth unto those who had gone astray!
The heathen, whilst they made sport of him,
Burned his side with boiling oil and sulphur,
And also placed in his hands coals of fire[1].'

Hamlē 1 'And again on this day was the martyrdom of Ignatius the patriarch, may his blessing be with *etc.*[2]'

Hamlē 7 'And again on this day the holy father Ignatius, patriarch

[1] MSS consulted, *Brit. Mus. Oriental* 660, 667, 656, 658; see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 152 sq.

[2] Orient. 659 has *Agnaṭyos;* Orient. 657, *Gnaṭyos;* Orient. 661, *Anagṭyos;* and Orient. 670, *Agṛṭyos.*

of the city of Rome, became a martyr, who was after Peter, in the days of king Trajan (Trabyanos).'

'For when this king heard concerning this father that he taught all the nations and brought them into the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ (to whom be glory) and rejected the worship of idols, he bade him come, and said to him, *Sacrifice unto the gods;* but he hearkened not unto him, neither did he obey him. And he made him many promises, and was indignant with him; but he heeded not his promises, and feared not his indignation. And after there had been much talk between them, and he would not agree with him about his apostatising, then he brought him to the lions. And the holy Ignatius commanded his people, and strengthened them in the right faith. And one of the lions drew nigh unto him and seized his neck; and he delivered up his soul into the hand of the Lord. And thereafter that lion came not near him at all. And they carried away his body with much honour, and placed it in a fair spot, which the Lord had prepared for it.'

'Hail to Ignatius, who inherited (*or* occupied) the throne of Peter,
The grace of which is exalted above all thrones.
While he was polluting the sacrifice of abominable idols,
As the consummation of his martyrdom a lion killed him,
But did not thereafter come near to his body to touch it[1].'

This triple commemoration may be easily explained. The date Hamlē 1 is a repetition of Hamlē 7, according to another mode of reckoning. Strictly speaking Panemus (July) 1 corresponded to Hamlē 7; but roughly Panemus was regarded as equivalent to July. Hence by a careless transference the Egyptian day of commemoration Panemus 1 became Hamlē 1; and this day, having been borrowed directly or indirectly from some Græco-Egyptian calendar, was set down without noticing that Panemus 1 was already represented by Hamlē 7.

It should be noticed that both the accounts of the martyrdom (under Tahsas 24, and under Hamlē 7) are derived almost entirely from the Roman Acts. This is an additional indication of the Egyptian origin of those Acts (see above p. 381).

4. February 1. The ultimate usage of the Latin Churches is represented in the Martyrology of Ado († A.D. 875);

Feb. 1 'Eodem die apud Antiochiam, beati Ignatii episcopi et martyris.'
Dec. 17 'Translatio S. Ignatii episcopi et martyris qui tertius post beatum Petrum apostolum Antiochenam rexit ecclesiam.'

See also his *Liber de Festiv.* p. 191 (Migne), where an account of the

[1] *Orient.* 670, f. 78 *a*, col. 2; collated with *Orient.* 661, f. 106 *b*, col. 3, and *Orient.* 657, f. 147 *b*, col. 2.

saint is given, and the same days are mentioned. The account concludes, 'Reliquiae ejus Antiochiam relatae jacent extra portam Daphniticam in coemiterio ecclesiae, xvi Kalendas Januarias delatae.' The days are the same in Usuard; and so Notker gives Feb. 1 for the martyrdom, but the two last months in the year are wanting in his calendar.

Thus comparing it with the final Greek calendar we find the final Latin calendar substituting Feb. 1 for Dec. 20 as the day of the martyrdom, and Dec. 17 for Jan. 29 as the day of the translation.

But this result was only attained after much fluctuation. In the oldest Latin calendars there is no mention of this saint at all (see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 27 sq). This is the case for instance in the Hieronymian Martyrology. In the original Beda (*Op.* v. 1134, Migne), Dec. 17 is given as the day, not of the translation, but of the martyrdom[1];

> xvi Kal. Jan. 'Natale S. Ignatii episcopi et martyris qui tertius Antiochiae post Petrum apostolum episcopus duodecimo Trajani anno ad bestias vinctus Romae [l. Romam] missus est. Reliquiae tamen corporis ejus Antiochiae jacent (extra portam Daphniticam in coemeterio ecclesiae)';

while no other day is commemorated in connexion with this saint. The same is also the case with Rhabanus Maurus (*Op.* iv. 1186, Migne), who repeats almost the same words; and with Wandalbert (Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* cxxi. p. 622), whose verses on Dec. 17 are,

> 'Ignatius sanctus deno sextoque triumphat,
> Antiochenae urbis pastor martyrque, ferarum
> Quem dentes panem vivum fecere; sequuntur
> Quem fuso ob Christum Rufus Zosimusque cruore';

where the companionship of Rufus and Zosimus with Ignatius is taken from Polycarp *Phil.* 9. These facts seem to show that, when Dec. 17 first appeared in the Latin calendar, it was intended for the martyrdom. How this day came to be selected, we can only conjecture[2]. But I think it may be explained as a confusion of Oct. 17 and Dec. 20, the two days of the martyrdom in the earlier and later Greek calendar. On the other hand Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 28) suggests that it is due to attraction, the commemoration of another martyr bearing the same name having already, as he supposes, been fixed on Dec. 25 (see

[1] In the poetical Martyrology however, attributed to Bede (*Op.* v. 606, Migne), Dec. 20 is given; 'Ter decimas Daciani Ignatius aeque Kalendis.'

[2] See however the same phenomenon in some Armenian calendars noticed above, p. 423.

Martyr. Hieron. Dec. 25, Hieron. *Op.* xi. p. 545). Meanwhile in other calendars in the West Feb. 1 had been fixed for the martyrdom of Ignatius of Antioch. This day must have been selected arbitrarily without any reference to tradition; but it would be suggested, as Zahn supposes (l. c.), by proximity to the festival of the African martyr bearing the same name Ignatius or Egnatius (see Cyprian *Epist.* xxxix. 3, p. 583 Hartel), who was already commemorated on Feb. 3 (see the Bollandist *Act. Sanct.* Februarius 1. p. 325 sq, ed. nov.)[1]. Again, Feb. 1 appears as the commemoration of Polycarp's martyrdom in some early Latin calendars (e.g. *Martyr. Hieron.*), and the memory of Ignatius of Antioch was inseparably connected with that of Polycarp. Thus the earlier Latin calendars exhibit two days as claimants for the martyrdom of Ignatius of Antioch, Dec. 17 and Feb. 1; and the ultimate form of the Roman calendar is, I am disposed to think, an attempt to reconcile these rival claims. Feb. 1 was allowed to retain the martyrdom, while Dec. 17 was compensated with the translation. This last adjustment would be the more easy, because those martyrologies which give Dec. 17 as the day of Ignatius include in the appended account of the saint the notice of the deposition of his bones at Antioch as related by S. Jerome. In this way 'Translatio' would be inserted on Dec. 17, and 'Natale' (where it occurred) would be removed.

From this account it will have appeared that the commemoration of Ignatius of Antioch only obtained a place among the festivals of the Latin Church at a comparatively late date, and even then with many fluctuations. But in these islands several centuries more elapse before he is recognised; and indeed he seems never to have obtained a firm footing in our northern calendars, whether Celtic or English. This appears, I think, from the calendars published in Hampson's *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, and in Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*. Even in those which belong to as late a date as the 14th century his name is frequently wanting, and S. Brigid still retains sole possession of Feb. 1.

The lesson from the Gospels, appropriated to the commemoration of S. Ignatius, was Mark ix. 32—40. This appropriation was owing

[1] Cyprian (l. c.) tells us that this Egnatius was already commemorated in his time; 'Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, quotiens martyrum passiones, et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus.' His day of commemoration however in the early Carthaginian calendar of the 5th century appears to be June 14, not Feb. 3. But he was transferred to Feb. 3, before Ignatius of Antioch was assigned to Feb. 1; see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 28 sq.

to the legend, founded on a misinterpretation of the name θεοφόρος, that Ignatius was the child whom our Lord took up in His arms and blessed. The legend appears in the Menæa and in the Metaphrast's Life, and through these channels it obtained currency as the recognised tradition of the Church. This lesson is assigned to his day, Dec. 20, in the Jerusalem Syriac Lectionary (p. 478, ed. Miniscalchi Erizzo), of which the date is A.D. 1030. So too in another Melchite Syriac Lectionary, dated A.D. 1216, of which an account is given by Assemani *Bibl. Vat. Cod. MSS Catal.* II. p. 103 sq; see p. 121. In a Syriac Praxapostolos, likewise Melchite, described by Assemani (l. c. p. 137 sq), of which the date is A.D. 1041, and which was written in the neighbourhood of Antioch, I find a lesson from Heb. iv. 14 sq Ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν κ.τ.λ. assigned to Dec. 20 'Coronatio episcopi Ignatii.' Again, in the Augsburg (Munich) MS of the interpolated Ignatian Epistles [g_1] a marginal note points to a lesson taken from Ignatius himself, *Rom.* 4 ἐγὼ γράφω κ.τ.λ., as ordered to be read ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου.

It will have appeared from the above account that the translation of the remains plays an important part in the commemoration of the saint. A few words therefore will be necessary respecting the history of the reliques, in order to clear up some points relating to the Calendar. Three distinct translations, real or imaginary, must be kept in mind.

1. The translation from Rome to Antioch. Of this incident Eusebius betrays no knowledge at all. At the close of the fourth century however, if not earlier, it was believed that the saint was buried at Antioch. Jerome in his *Catalogue* (§ 16), written A.D. 392, says explicitly 'The remains of his body lie at Antioch outside the Daphnitic Gate in the Cemetery.' As this is the only statement respecting Ignatius which he superadds to the particulars given by Eusebius (see above p. 377 sq), it may be presumed that he derived it from local sources; and perhaps he may himself have seen the real or reputed tomb of the martyr. This belief supposes a translation. Accordingly S. Chrysostom, when he pronounces his panegyric on Ignatius, delivered while he was still a presbyter at Antioch (A.D. 386—397), dwells at some length on the return of the reliques from the metropolis. Just as an athlete, he says, is carried home in triumph after his victory with cheers, and not allowed to set foot on the ground, so also the cities in succession, receiving Ignatius from Rome and bearing him on their shoulders, escorted him as far as Antioch, praising

the crowned victor. At the moment, he continues, he brought advantage and prosperity to all those cities through which he passed; but from that time forward to the present day he enriches the city of Antioch (*Op.* II. p. 600). In all this however there is nothing which suggests that Chrysostom was building upon any definite tradition. His language looks like a mere imaginative effort by which a skilful orator would dress up the bare fact of the restoration of the body to Antioch. Whether the bones of the saint were actually so restored or not, it is impossible to say. Such a belief, where there is no evidence of its existence before the close of the fourth century, is not entitled to serious credit. The mere name found on a tombstone would be sufficient to start the belief, where the disposition was ready. However from this time forward the translation from Rome to Antioch became a settled belief. It was commemorated, as we have seen, on Jan. 29 in the Greek and Syrian Churches probably as early as the fifth century; and in the Latin Churches also at a later date it appropriated a day to itself, Dec. 17.

2. The translation from the Cemetery outside the Daphnitic Gate to the Tychæum within the city. This second translation is so far historical, that some bones believed (whether truly or not) to be those of Ignatius were so translated. This took place, as we have seen (387 sq), some time during the first half of the fifth century under Theodosius the younger.

3. The translation from Antioch to Rome. This must be considered as a pure fiction, of which the growth is easily traced. The Acts of Martyrdom, which I have called the Roman, were written, as we have seen, not before the fifth century. By this time it was the stedfast belief in Antioch and the neighbourhood, that the reliques of the saint reposed in his own city. But the Roman Acts were composed probably in Egypt, and certainly without any knowledge of Antiochene belief. The writer therefore, being unfettered by any tradition, supposed that, as the saint had died at Rome, so he was buried there. This was the natural supposition. Accordingly he dressed up his statement in an attractive form. Before the 9th century however these Roman Acts, clumsily combined with the Antiochene Acts, had been translated into Latin (see above pp. 371, 382) and circulated in the West. A story so acceptable to Roman feelings could not be overlooked; and it soon became a settled belief in Rome that the body of the martyr lay in the city where, as these Acts express it, 'Peter was crucified and Paul was beheaded and Onesimus was perfected.' But by this time the Antiochene story

of the translation to Antioch was also an established belief far beyond the region of Antioch and its neighbourhood. To reconcile the two therefore, it was necessary to suppose a retranslation at some later date. As to any such retranslation history and legend alike are silent; but the body, being at Rome, must have got to Rome somehow. Accordingly Baronio in his notes on the *Martyrologium Romanum* modestly suggests that they were removed from Antioch to Rome under Justinian, when the former city was devastated by Chosroes and the Persians, A.D. 540. This however is impossible, as the Bollandist editors (p. 35) point out, since half a century later Evagrius speaks of the saint's body as still at Antioch. In another passage however, in his *Annales*, Baronio states the case so as to evade this difficulty. Under the year A.D. 637, having occasion to speak of the Saracenic capture of Antioch in the time of Heraclius, he writes, 'Plane his temporibus, quibus sive a Persis antea, sive ab Arabibus postea iisdem Mahometanis et Sarracenis captae sunt nobilissimae civitates Orientis, Alexandria, Hierosolyma et Antiochia...accidit ut...complura sanctorum, tum martyrum, tum confessorum, corpora translata fuerint in occidentem... Romam autem translatas tunc fuisse venerandas reliquias Ignatii martyris Antiochia, constans fama vetusque traditio, potius quam scripta, significant', where the previous description leaves his *tunc* several centuries to move about in. But it is clear from his account that he had not found this tradition (if tradition it could be called) in any writer even of moderate antiquity. Of the numerous churches in Rome and elsewhere in Western Europe, which profess to have different bones of this martyr, an account is given in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* Feb. I. p. 36 sq. The most persistent, and perhaps the most ancient, claim is that put forward by the Basilica of San Clemente at Rome, which is asserted to possess the main reliques —the body—of the martyr. There is a certain propriety in the story which assigns a common resting-place to the remains of the two great Apostolical Fathers. Only a few years ago (A.D. 1868), when owing to the excavations in this ancient basilica the reliquary supposed to contain the bones of the two martyred saints had been for a time displaced, it was restored to its old position with much pomp. On this occasion the reliques of Ignatius were carried in solemn procession into the Flavian Amphitheatre, where he himself had suffered, and back again to the church. Of this latest 'translation' an account is given in Mullooly's *Saint Clement and his Basilica* p. 305 sq.

It has appeared from the above investigation that the original

day of commemoration was October 17, and that this day afterwards gave place to December 20. How and when did the change take place? The account of Evagrius, quoted above (p. 386 sq), suggests the answer to this question. We are told by this historian that from the time when the reliques were translated to the Tychæum by Theodosius to his own day a public festival was observed with general rejoicing and that his contemporary the patriarch Gregory had added to the splendours of this festival. It is the natural inference from his language that the day so observed was the anniversary, not of the martyrdom, but of the translation to the Tychæum. If so, it was probably December 20, as Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 53, *Ign. et Pol. Ep.* p. 358) suggests. The previous translation from Rome to Antioch was already commemorated on Jan. 29, in addition to the commemoration of the martyrdom on Oct. 17; and as three distinct festivals for this one saint were felt to be excessive, Oct. 17 would fall into disuse, and the commemoration of Dec. 20 would come to be regarded as the anniversary of the martyrdom.

The only anniversary therefore, which has any claims to consideration as the true day of the martyrdom, is Oct. 17. Nor is this date improbable in itself. Ignatius wrote his Epistle to the Romans on August 24 (*Rom.* 10); and he was about to embark at Troas at the time. This interval of between seven and eight weeks would be long enough, and not too long, for the journey from Troas to Rome and for the necessary delays which might occur on the way or after his arrival. On the other hand the later day of commemoration, Dec. 20, for which the Antiochene Acts are our earliest authority, leaves an interval of nearly four months—a delay not easily reconcilable with other notices in these same Acts; for this document represents the journey as hurried and the sentence as executed immediately on the saint's arrival in Rome. But even the observance of Oct. 17 cannot be traced back earlier than the later decades of the fourth century; and there are reasons for thinking that the commemoration had not then been established very many years. It is not indeed impossible that the initiators of this festival may have had authentic information as to the day of the martyr's death; but after the lapse of more than two centuries this cannot be regarded as probable.

6.

The *year* of the martyrdom is not altogether independent of the day; but it has a still more direct bearing on the main question of the Ignatian controversy, and deserves special consideration.

So long as the personal interview with Trajan at Antioch was accepted without question as an accredited truth, it formed a definite starting point, from which investigations respecting the date of the martyrdom issued. Taking this assumed fact as his basis, Pearson in his posthumous disquisition (*de Anno quo S. Ignatius a Trajano etc.*, first printed from his papers by Smith in *S. Ignatii Epistolae Genuinae* etc. p. 58 sq) endeavoured to show that Ignatius was condemned in the earlier part of A.D. 116 and suffered at Rome at the close of the same year. He proved conclusively, as against Ussher, who had dated the martyrdom A.D. 107, that Trajan's departure for the East took place several years afterwards, and that this early date therefore was untenable. Of other statements in the Antiochene Acts, which conflict with this result, e.g. the names of the consuls, which belong to A.D. 107, and the reference to the subjugation of the Dacians, which took place in this or the preceding year, he says nothing. Doubtless he regarded these Acts as interpolated[1]; but his dissertation seems to have been left unfinished, and hence his silence[2].

Pearson's dissertation held its ground as quite the most important contribution to the subject till recent years. But it turned wholly on

[1] This opinion is definitely attributed to Pearson by Smith, p. 42.

[2] In his earlier work (*Vind. Ign.* p. 346) Pearson writes, 'supponendum imprimis Ignatium...tandem ab imperatore Trajano, in expeditione Parthica ad bestias condemnatum, et ab Antiochia tractum, si quid scripserit in itinere satis molesto partim Smyrnae, partim Troade, et quidem decimo imperii Trajani, vulgaris aerae Christianae septimo post centesimum anno, anno Christi vero, ut ego quidem existimo, 113, epistolas scripsisse.' Jacobson (*Patr. Apost.* II. p. 569, note) explains this as meaning that Pearson believed Ignatius to have been taken from Antioch to Rome A.D. 107, but to have written his epistles A.D. 113. But he cannot have entertained a theory so irrational as this. Pearson's words are loose, and we may suspect some misprint; but they must mean that Ignatius was carried to Rome and wrote his epistles A.D. 107, according to the general opinion, but A.D. 113, as he himself believed. He seems to have been already meditating the theory which he puts forward in his posthumous dissertation, but it did not affect his immediate argument, and he could therefore pass the subject over. So again in *Vind. Ign.* p. 435 he provisionally accepts the common date, A.D. 107. Smith states in his preface that Pearson at one time agreed with Ussher in placing the martyrdom in this year.

the interview at Antioch, as related in the Antiochene Acts of Martyrdom. The credit of these Acts however has been irretrievably damaged by recent criticism; and with their authority the only grounds for regarding the interview at Antioch as historical have disappeared. It was unknown to Eusebius, and apparently also to Chrysostom[1]; and it appears for the first time in these very Acts, which cannot well be assigned to a date earlier than the fifth or sixth century. It was a fiction too, in which a hagiologist would be sorely tempted to indulge. The dramatic gain of confronting the saintly sufferer with his imperial persecutor was too great to be resisted. The martyr lived at Antioch, and Trajan visited Antioch. What more natural than that the two should have stood face to face? Moreover there was an ambiguity in the language in which the fact of the martyrdom was handed down, favourable to this assumption. It was related to have taken place ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ, and this might mean equally well 'in the presence of Trajan' or 'in the time of Trajan.' Thus all the elements of the fiction were ready to hand.

Recent criticism has thus given its death-blow to the interview at Antioch, which was at one time regarded as the central fact of the Ignatian history. One attempt however has been made in an unexpected quarter to reverse the verdict. Volkmar endeavours to revive this corpse of an exploded fiction; no longer however from a conservative point of view, from which it was defended by older critics, but with the destructive aim of closing for ever by an *a priori* negative the question of the genuineness of the Ignatian letters. Owing to the important consequences which thus flow from it, rather than to any inherent probability which it can claim, his theory requires a full investigation once for all.

John Malalas (*Chronogr.* xi. p. 275, ed. Bonn.) states that the earthquake at Antioch in Trajan's reign took place 'on the 13th of the month Apellæus, which is also December, on the first day of the week, after cock-crow, in the 164th year according to the reckoning of the said Antiochenes, two years after the arrival of the most divine king Trajan in the East.' The year 164 of the Antiochene era is A.D. 115.

After some intervening matter the same writer (p. 276) adds; 'Now the said king Trajan was residing in the said city (Antioch) when the

[1] *Op.* II. p. 600 τῆς τοῦ τυράννου γλώσσης (see above p. 379 sq). The whole passage looks like a rhetorical venture. Chrysostom betrays no knowledge of the tyrant's name, and he does not say whether the interview took place at Rome or at Antioch.

visitation (ἡ θεομηνία) took place. And in his presence (*or* under him) at that time the holy Ignatius, bishop of the city of Antioch, suffered martyrdom (*or* bore his testimony); for he was exasperated against him, because he reviled him' (ἐμαρτύρησε δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τότε ὁ ἅγιος Ἰγνάτιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας· ἠγανάκτησε γὰρ κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐλοιδόρει αὐτόν).

Combining these statements with the fact that in the normal Greek calendar Ignatius is commemorated on the 20th of December, Volkmar frames his theory (*Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen* I. p. 49 sq, p. 121 sq; comp. *Zur Chronologie des Trajanischen Partherkriegs* in the *Rheinisches Museum* N. F. XII. p. 481 sq, 1857). He is convinced that Ignatius was not sent to Rome at all, but was condemned and executed at Antioch. The populace, he supposes, lashed into fury by the earthquake, demanded the life of Ignatius as a propitiatory offering to the gods. Trajan yielded to their fanaticism; and within a week of the calamity their victim suffered martyrdom in the amphitheatre. From this it follows that the letters must be spurious, for they pretend to have been written during the journey to Rome.

This theory, notwithstanding the slender basis on which it rests, is maintained with great assurance by Volkmar; but it has not generally been received with favour. The anonymous author of *Supernatural Religion* however has given it his unqualified support, regarding it as 'demonstrated' (I. p. 268), but not alleging any new arguments[1]; and it may be worth while to enquire what is thought to constitute demonstration in this case.

1. In the first place then it must be remarked that John Malalas did not write earlier than the latter half of the sixth century. His probable date as an author is the age of Justin II (see Mommsen in *Hermes* VI. p. 381) who reigned A.D. 565—578; though some critics have placed him much later (see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* VII. p. 447, ed. Harles). His date therefore constitutes no claim to a hearing. But his statement is directly opposed to the concurrent testimony of all the preceding centuries, which without a dissentient voice declare that Ignatius suffered at Rome. This is the case with all the writers and interpolators of the Ignatian letters; of whom the earliest is placed, even by those critics who deny their genuineness, about the middle or in the latter half of the second century. It is the case apparently even

[1] On the other hand Renan (*Les Évangiles* p. xxxiv) says of the extravagances of the Tübingen school, 'Dans la question d'Ignace, n'a-t-on pas prétendu corriger les traditions du IIe siècle avec Jean Malala?'

with the heathen satirist Lucian, who writing soon after A.D. 165 caricatures the progress of Ignatius through Asia Minor in his death of Peregrinus[1]. It is the case with the authors of the two Acts of Martyrdom, which, written independently of each other and agreeing in little else, are united in sending the martyr to Rome to die. It is the case necessarily with all those fathers who quote the Ignatian letters in any form as genuine, among whom are Irenæus and Origen and Eusebius and Athanasius and Basil, besides numbers of later writers. It is the case especially with Chrysostom, who on the day of the martyr's festival pronounces at Antioch an elaborate panegyric on his illustrious predecessor, and with Severus, who preaching likewise at Antioch in the very church where the martyr's remains rested, or were supposed to rest, turns aside from his main subject to eulogize him, assuming throughout the traditional belief respecting the place of his martyrdom (Cureton *Corp. Ign.* p. 247 sq). All these writers lived before, and many of them several centuries before, the time when Malalas wrote. One of the earliest, Origen, writing about a century after the event, directly affirms that Ignatius was martyred at Rome (*Op.* III. p. 938 *τὸν ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηρίοις μαχησάμενον*).

But Malalas, it is said, resided at Antioch, and therefore was favourably situated for obtaining correct information. So did Chrysostom—a successor of Ignatius in the see of Antioch—some two centuries before Malalas. So did Severus—likewise a successor in the same see—nearly a century before Malalas. So did Evagrius, who, if the earliest date be adopted, was his contemporary, and who coincides with all preceding writers in placing the martyrdom of Ignatius at Rome. So almost certainly did Joannes Rhetor, whom Evagrius quotes among his authorities, and who must have written some years at least before Malalas. If therefore the testimony of Malalas deserves to be preferred to this cloud of witnesses, it can only be because he approves himself elsewhere as exceptionally sober and accurate and trustworthy in his statements.

2. As a matter of fact however, he is the very reverse of all this. Several tests of credibility may be applied to his narrative, and he fails to satisfy any one of them. The questions which the problem suggests are these. Is he generally trustworthy where he touches upon Christian history? Does his account of Trajan's doings harmonize with the notices of credible secular historians? Lastly; Are his statements at this particular point consistent with themselves?

(i) His notices of early Christian history are, almost without ex-

[1] See above, pp. 206, 213, 356.

ception, demonstrably false or palpably fabulous. The following are all the notices bearing on the history of the Church during the reigns of Nero and Trajan, with the exception of the supposed 'recall' of S. John from Patmos by Nerva (p. 268); and they will serve therefore as a standard by which we may gauge his general credibility in such matters.

(*a*) 'During the reign of the same [Nerva] Manes appeared, etc.' (p. 268). This heresiarch really flourished about A.D. 260—270, so that he is ante-dated by at least a century and a half[1].

(*b*) 'And in like manner during his reign gladiators and their exhibitions were prohibited; and the exhibition of hunts (*κυνηγίων*, *venationum*) was devised in their stead.' The gladiatorial shows were not abolished till the time of Honorius (Theod. *H. E.* v. 26), three centuries after the reign of Nerva, owing to the courage of the monk Telemachus. There is indeed in the statute-book an order of Constantine (*Cod. Just.* xi. 44) dated A.D. 325, 'omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus'[2]; but it evidently was not acted upon. Of Nerva's successor Trajan we are told, that at the celebration of his triumph after the close of the Dacian wars *μονομάχοι μύριοι ἠγωνίσαντο* (Dion Cass. lxviii. 15). The origin of the misstatement in Malalas may be partially explained from Dion Cass. lxviii. 2.

(*c*) 'Until the second year of his [Trajan's] reign the holy John, the Apostle and Divine, was appearing and teaching in Ephesus, being bishop and patriarch; and having disappeared (*ἀφανῆ ἑαυτὸν ποιήσας*) he was no more seen of any one, and no man knoweth to this day what came of him, as Africanus and Irenæus, men of the greatest wisdom, have recorded' (p. 269). Africanus and Irenæus assuredly never wrote anything of the kind. As regards Africanus, we have not the means of confronting this statement with the fact. Irenæus merely says that John survived to the time of Trajan (ii. 22. 5, iii. 3. 3); of his mysterious disappearance not a word.

(*d*) Having mentioned the persecution under Trajan (p. 269), he afterwards states that Trajan, while he was at Antioch laying his plans for the war, received a letter from Tiberianus, governor of Palestine, relating to the Christians, in consequence of which he put an end to the persecution. The letter is given in full (p. 273). The story is generally acknowledged to be a fiction, and the letter a forgery[3].

[1] Some of these fabulous statements he shares in common with the *Paschal Chronicle* (p. 469 sq, ed. Bonn.). It is unnecessary for my present purpose to investigate their source.

[2] See Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 25.

[3] The genuineness of this letter has recently found an advocate in Wieseler

(*e*) The next statement relating to Christian history is the notice of the martyrdom of Ignatius (p. 276) with which we are concerned.

(*f*) In the very next sentence Malalas introduces an account of further persecutions. He relates how Trajan had five Christian women burnt alive; the emperor then mingled their ashes with the metal from which the vessels used for the baths were cast; the bathers were seized with swooning fits in consequence; the vessels were again melted up, and out of the same metal were erected five pillars in honour of the five martyrs by the emperor's orders. These pillars, adds Malalas, stand in the bath to this day. As if this were not enough, he goes on to relate how Trajan made a furnace, and ordered any Christians, who desired, to throw themselves into it—an injunction which was obeyed by many. 'At that time,' he concludes, 'the holy Drosine and many other virgins were martyred' (pp. 276, 277).

From the company in which it is found, some estimate may be formed of the antecedent trustworthiness of Malalas' statement relating to Ignatius.

(ii) Again; the statement is mixed up with the narrative of Trajan's campaigns in the East, and it is therefore pertinent to enquire what degree of credit is due to this narrative.

(*Christenverfolgungen der Cäsaren* p. 126 sq, 1878); but his advocacy cannot be considered successful. The arguments against it are as follows. (1) Eusebius is ignorant of any such systematic persecution as this letter supposes; though it was not likely to have escaped him as a native of Palestine. We must infer too that Hegesippus said nothing about it. Otherwise Eusebius would have known of it. (2) The exaggerated expressions condemn themselves; 'I am exhausted with punishing and slaying the Galileans,' 'they do not cease informing against themselves that they may be put to death,' 'I got tired of warning these persons and threatening them that they should not give information to me.' The letter is evidently founded on Pliny's representations to this same emperor and exaggerates them. (3) The titles by which Trajan is addressed are at least suspicious, and savour of a later age, *νικητῇ*, *θειοτάτῳ*, though they might stand. (4) Tiberianus himself is designated 'governor of Palestina Prima' (*ἡγεμὼν τοῦ πρώτου Παλαιστινῶν ἔθνους*); whereas this division of Palestine into different provinces is not known to have taken place till much later. Marquardt (*Röm. Alterth.* IV. p. 261, ed. 2) escapes the difficulty by supposing that this designation was no part of the original document, but was due to Malalas himself. Wieseler (p. 129) endeavours to show that Palestine may have been so divided at an earlier date than is generally believed. If the document had come to us on earlier and more trustworthy authority, we should have felt bound to give full consideration to such possibilities, though they could hardly have been regarded as satisfactory solutions; but, where the sole voucher for its genuineness is a blunderer and fabulist like Malalas, they are powerless to remove the objections. This being so, the document stands self-condemned by its extravagance of language.

Malalas first gives an account of the previous events by which Trajan was provoked to undertake his eastern campaign, wholly irreconcilable with the trustworthy narrative of Dion. He then states that Trajan left Rome in the October of the 12th year of his reign (p. 270). The 12th year would be A.D. 108, if the tribunician years are counted, or A.D. 109, if the starting point be his actual accession to the throne. Neither year can be reconciled with the coins and inscriptions, or with the account of Dion. From all these authentic sources we learn that he did not set out on his eastern expedition till the autumn, A.D. 113. He makes Trajan arrive at Seleucia, while the Persians are holding Antioch. At Trajan's instigation the Antiochenes rise up by night against their Persian masters, and slay them. The few survivors set fire to a part of the city. Trajan orders the carcases of the murdered Persians to be burnt outside the walls at a distance, and drums to be beaten throughout the city to drive away the unrighteous spirits of the slaughtered Persians. After this he entered Antioch, we are told, 'through the Golden Gate, as it is called, that is the Daphnitic, wearing a crown of olive boughs on his head, on the 7th day of the month Audenæus, that is January, being the 5th day of the week, at four o'clock in the day: and he ordered the drums to be beaten for 30 days every night, giving directions also that this should be done every year at the same time in remembrance of the destruction of the Persians.' 'These things,' so he concludes, 'have been recorded by Domninus the chronographer' (p. 272 sq).

These 'Persian Vespers,' as they have been happily called, have no point of coincidence with contemporary history, and are plainly fabulous. Von Gutschmid (Dierauer *Geschichte Trajans* p. 157, note) conjectures that they may refer to some incident in the later campaign of Valerian against the Persians [A.D. 258—260], but this is mere conjecture. One inference, I think, may be fairly drawn from the story as told by Malalas. It is a legend founded on a snatch of a popular ditty, 'Away, away, Gargari, Fortune' (ἄγε, ἄγε, Γάργαρι, Φορτοῦνε), which he introduces into his account. All this nonsense, it will be observed, is accompanied by the utmost precision of dates.

The remaining notice respecting these eastern campaigns is not reconcilable in its details with Dion's account; but its main incident, the creation of Parthemaspates (so he writes the name) as king of the Parthians, is historical. It should be added that Malalas represents Trajan as sacrificing a beautiful virgin, Calliope by name, 'for the redemption and purification of the city' (ὑπὲρ λύτρου καὶ ἀποκαθαρισμοῦ

τῆς πόλεως), and then erecting a statue of her in bronze gilt, apparently represented as impersonating the Fortune of Antioch (p. 275).

(iii) The third criterion was self-consistency. Even this simple test is not satisfied by Malalas.

For instance, this very date of the earthquake, with which we are mainly concerned, is consistent neither with itself nor with a previous date given by this author. He represents it as taking place 'on the thirteenth of December, the first day of the week, after cock-crow[1], in the year 164 according to the Antiochene reckoning [i.e. A.D. 115], two years after the arrival of Trajan in the East' (p. 275). But the 13th of December was not a Sunday in this year. The only years during Trajan's reign, in which Dec. 13 fell on a Sunday, were A.D. 100 and 106. Moreover, this was not two, but five or six years at the least, after Trajan's arrival, according to his own previous reckoning; for he makes him arrive there at the close of his 12th year, i.e. A.D. 108 or 109, as we have already seen (pp. 409, 441). It should be added that in a previous date which he has given (see above, pp. 409, 413) there is the same inconsistency between the day of the month and the day of the week, Thursday Jan. 7. January 7th was not a Thursday in A.D. 109 or 110, either of which years he might mean. The only years in which this day fell on a Thursday during Trajan's reign were A.D. 101 and 107[2].

[1] Volkmar (*Rhein. Mus.* N. F. XII. p. 490) falls into the error of translating α' μετὰ ἀλεκτρυόνα 'hora prima matutina,' whereas the practice of Malalas elsewhere (to say nothing else) shows clearly that α' means 'the first day of the week.'

[2] Von Gutschmid (in Dierauer *Geschichte Trajans* p. 157 endeavours to get over the difficulty in this way. Malalas gives two dates; (1) Trajan's first entry into Antioch, Thursday Jan. 7, he having left Rome in the previous October in the 12th year of his reign; (2) The earthquake at Antioch, Sunday December 13, A.D. 115, two years after the arrival of Trajan in the East. To meet these facts Von Gutschmid makes the following hypotheses; (i) As regards the first date, we must read 17 for 12, ΑΓΙΙ [ΑΠΙΙ?] for ΑΙΙ. Thus we get the 17th year of Trajan for the date of his departure from Rome. (ii) As regards the 'two years,' the chronographers in their computations generally reckon by current years, so that the arrival in the East would be in A.D. 114 at the close of the year, and the entrance into Antioch on January 7, A.D. 115. (iii) This being so, a transposition sets everything right. The Thursday and the Sunday must change places. Jan. 7, A.D. 115, was a Sunday, and Dec. 13, A.D. 115, was a Thursday. The two dates indeed are not close to each other in Malalas, but probably they were much nearer in the authority from whom he obtained them.

We need not stop to enquire whether any weight is still due to statements which can only be rectified by a combination of hypotheses like this; since Von Gutschmid's solution depends on the date A.D. 114 for the emperor's

3. But again; while the general fidelity of Malalas is thus discredited, it cannot be said that his particular statement here carries with it any appearance of probability. I have already pointed out (p. 413 sq) what serious historical difficulties attend the assertion that the earthquake took place at the end of the year 115. The representation moreover, which the story gives of Trajan's character, is altogether untrue to the life. Nor indeed, if the emperor had so desired, would he have found time at such a crisis to try and to execute Ignatius in the manner suggested. If Volkmar's theory were correct, only seven days elapsed from the outbreak of the catastrophe to the execution of Ignatius in the amphitheatre. But what was the state of things at Antioch at this time? The earthquake, Dion tells us (lxviii. 24 sq), continued for many days (ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ὁ σεισμὸς ἐπεῖχεν); Mount Casius was seen to reel and split, and appeared as if it would fall and bury the city; there was a subsidence of other mountains; the emperor himself had escaped through a window, and was camping out of doors in the hippodrome; a great part of Antioch was overthrown; crowds were buried in the ruins; no nation escaped unhurt, says Dion, for owing to the presence of the emperor people had flocked thither from all parts of the Roman dominions. He states moreover that, as the shocks were repeated for many days and nights (ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ

departure from Rome, and this is now shown to be erroneous. The inscriptions given above (p. 394 sq), combined with the account of Dion, prove conclusively that the emperor left Rome in the autumn A.D. 113, and wintered at Antioch A.D. 11$\frac{3}{4}$. Dierauer sees the difficulty (p. 158, note), and speaks of it as the 'only misgiving (nur ein Bedenken)' which arises as regards this solution. But, as this date is the very pivot of the whole, the explanation falls to pieces when it is removed. In C. de la Berge's *Essai sur le Règne de Trajan* pp. 160, 174 sq (Paris 1877) the inconsistency is still greater. He places Trajan's arrival in the East A.D. 113, and yet accepts Von Gutschmid's solution as 'decisive.' To this end, he tacitly takes Malalas' date for the entry into Antioch as referring to Trajan's *second* winter there, whereas Malalas distinctly gives it of his first. Whether Von Gutschmid's emendation of 17 for 12 is correct or not, I need not stop to enquire.

Wieseler offers another explanation (p. viii sq) of the date Sunday Dec. 13, A.D. 115. Malalas says μηνὶ Ἀπελλαίῳ τῷ καὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ ιγ'. In an old Tyrian calendar (for which see Ideler *Hand. d. Chron.* I. p. 435 sq) he finds that Apellæus 13 corresponds to December 30, and December 30 was a Sunday in A.D. 115. He supposes therefore that the reckoning was according to this older calendar, and that Malalas erroneously treated Apellæus as exactly conterminous with December, following the calendar of his own day. This solution does not commend itself; but, if it were true, the date of the earthquake would be useless for Volkmar's purpose, as it would fall ten days *later* in the year than the supposed day of the martyrdom.

νύκτας), the sufferings of those buried alive were intense, some being mangled to death, others perishing from famine, before they could be extricated. Yet we are asked to believe that in the midst of this confusion a *venatio* was held in the amphitheatre, in which a victim formerly condemned by the emperor was thrown to the wild beasts.

4. But again; the last prop, on which Volkmar's theory rested, has been knocked from under it by the discovery that the anniversary of Ignatius' martyrdom, as kept in the early Antiochene and Syrian Church, was not December 20, but October 17. The only day therefore which has any claim to be regarded as authentic (see above, p. 434) is wholly unconnected with the earthquake. Malalas himself in fact says nothing about the day of the martyrdom, nor does he hint that the earthquake had anything to do with it, but on the contrary ascribes the death of Ignatius to the abuse which he poured upon the emperor. The combination is Volkmar's own; and it is thus shown to be a baseless fabric.

5. Lastly; if any other argument were needed to complete the evidence by which the falsity of the theory is shown, it is found in the fact that the error of Malalas can be easily explained by the ambiguities of the Greek language. The words μαρτυρεῖν, μαρτυρία, which were afterwards used especially of martyrdom, had in the earlier ages a wider sense, including other modes of witnessing to the faith. Again, the expression ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ is also ambiguous, as has been already noticed (p. 436), and might signify equally well 'during the reign of Trajan,' or 'in the presence of Trajan[1].' It seems probable therefore, that Malalas stumbled over one or other of these expressions, which he found in some earlier writer, and misinterpreted his authority accordingly[2].

Under cover of the latter ambiguity more especially the blunder of Malalas would easily shelter itself. The common mode of expressing a date is ἐπὶ τούτου [τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος], ἐπὶ τούτων [τῶν ὑπάτων]; and the following passages relating to the persecutions of Trajan's reign, which I have gathered from different historians and chronographers, will be found, if I mistake not, eminently suggestive, as pointing to the cause of the error in Malalas.

[1] The same ambiguity appears in Origen, quoted by Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 1, τί δεῖ περὶ Παύλου λέγειν...ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος μεμαρτυρηκότος;

[2] The former ambiguity is suggested by Lipsius (*S. T.* p. 7), the latter by Zahn (*J. v. A.* p. 67), to account for the error of Malalas.

Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 32 *οὕτω μαρτυρεῖ ἐτῶν ὧν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπατικοῦ Ἀττικοῦ* (speaking of Symeon the son of Clopas); where, as applied to Trajan, *ἐπὶ* can only mean 'during the reign of,' though as regards Atticus it might signify 'in the presence of,' as in fact it does in a subsequent passage of Hegesippus, *κατηγορήθη...ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἡμεραῖς αἰκιζόμενος ἐμαρτύρησεν.*

Chron. Pasch. p. 471 *Ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς...πυρὶ κατεκαύθη καὶ οὕτως ἐμαρτύρησεν*: and lower down, after mentioning Symeon son of Clopas, this chronographer adds, *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχέων ἐπίσκοπος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐμαρτύρησεν.*

Theod. Presbyt. (Photius *Bibl.* 1) *Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ τὸν διὰ μαρτυρίου ἤθλησεν ἀγῶνα.*

Georg. Hamartol. *Chron.* 135 (p. 339, ed. Muralt) *Ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ* [*τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ*] *Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλεόπα ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Ἰγνάτιος ὁ θεοφόρος ἐμαρτύρησεν.*

Georg. Syncell. *Chron.* p. 656 (ed. Bonn.) *Ἰγνάτιος ὁ θεοφόρος β΄ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ τῷ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ κατεστέφθη μαρτυρίῳ. Ἀλεξανδρείας δ΄ ἐπίσκοπος Κέρδων ἔτη ι΄. οὗτος ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν διωγμῷ.*

Niceph. *Chron. Comp.* p. 747 (ed. Bonn.) *Ἐπὶ τούτου* [*τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ*] *Ἰγνάτιος ὁ θεοφόρος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐμαρτύρησε θηρίοις βορὰ παραδοθείς.*

Suidas s. v. Dionysius Areopagita. *Μαρτυρίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τελειοῦται ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτε καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας διήθλησεν ἀγῶνα.*

Now let us suppose that John Malalas, or some previous writer whom he copied, had before him in a chronography of Trajan's reign a sentence running *Ἐπὶ τούτου* [*τότε*] *ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἰγνάτιος ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος.* Being fresh from the fact that Trajan spent a winter at Antioch, and knowing nothing else about the death of Ignatius, he would easily, we might almost say inevitably, draw the conclusion that the martyrdom occurred at Antioch, and that *ἐπὶ τούτου* signified 'in the presence of this emperor.' If we suppose *τότε* also to have had a place in our hypothetical chronographer, it may have referred, when *in situ*, to some previously mentioned incident in the persecution, e.g. the martyrdom of Symeon son of Clopas, as in fact it does refer in Zonaras xi. 22 *τούτου* [*Τραϊανοῦ*] *κρατοῦντος Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλοπᾶ...ἐμαρτύρησεν κ.τ.λ....τότε καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος κ.τ.λ.* But, when separated from its context by Malalas or his predecessor, it would assume quite a different reference.

This supposition that the error of Malalas is due to his having mis-

understood his authority is rendered still more probable from another consideration. John, surnamed Madabbar, was bishop of Nikiou (Pshati) in the later decades of the 7th century (Renaudot *Hist. Patr. Alexandr. Jacob.* pp. 176, 177, 182) and wrote a Chronicle which he carried down to the Arab conquest of Egypt. This work is extant in an Ethiopic translation made from the Arabic (Zotenberg *Catal. des MSS Éthiop. de la Bibl. Nation.* p. 223 sq, Wright *Catal. Ethiop. MSS Brit. Mus.* p. 300 sq). In great portions it runs parallel with John Malalas, so that the two accounts were evidently derived from the same source[1].

[1] The following extract from this Chronicle is taken from the British Museum MS, *Orient.* 818, f. 61 *a*. The Paris MS does not exhibit any variations which affect the sense. The translation I owe to the kindness of Dr Wright.

Chapter 73 [read 72]. 'After the death of the good king Arwâs [Nerva], Ĕndrĕyânôs reigned. He was a lover of idolatry, and the third of those who persecuted the Christians. Many were martyred everywhere, and he condemned them in numbers. Moreover, the saint of God, Ignatius [Agnâṭyôs] the patriarch of Antioch [Anṣôkîyâ], who had been ordained after Peter the chief of the Apostles, he sent to the city of Rome in chains, and delivered him to the lions.'

'Further, he took them (women) and questioned them, and said to them, *Whom do ye worship, and in whom do ye trust, that ye run and are in haste to die?* They answered and said, *We die for Christ's sake, who will give us everlasting life, and will raise us up from this corrupt body.* And he was filled with wrath, because he was a heathen and did not desire the revelation of the resurrection. So he ordered the bodies of the holy women to be cast into the fire; and the very earth upon which the bodies of the holy women fell he ordered to be gathered up and thrown into the (vessel of) brass of the lighter of the public bath, which he had built (and called) by his own name. And afterwards, when any one bathed in this bath, it emitted a smoke (*or* vapour); and then, when he smelled this smoke, he fell down, and they had to carry him out; and every one who saw it, marvelled thereat. Moreover the Christians mocked at the heathen and boasted in Christ and glorified Him with His saints. But when Ĕndrĕyânôs knew this, he changed the lighters of the bath and removed hence the brazen vessels in which were the ashes of the bodies of the holy women. And he put the ashes of the bodies into five stelæ of brass [Malalas p. 277 τὰ δὲ πρῶτα χαλκία ἀναχώσας (ἀναχωνεύσας?) ἐποίησε στήλας χαλκᾶς πέντε ταῖς αὐταῖς γυναιξί] and set them up in this bath; and he used to watch and try to disgrace the martyrs, saying, *They are not mine, nor their God's, and they died without knowledge.* And at that time there were martyred his daughter Aṭrâsîs [Δροσινὴ in Malalas], and Yônâ the daughter of the patrician Fîlâsanrûn. And yet many other virgins suffered martyrdom at the hand of this infidel by the burning of fire.'

'And while Ĕndrĕyânôs was at Antioch, the earth was sore afflicted and trembled because of the anger of God in the night, because he was impure, three times; and not merely Antioch but also the island of Rûṭĕs (Rhodes). In like manner moreover there was an earthquake after cockcrow.'

There seems to have been some mutilation in the MS from which the Ethiopic

This is the case with the narrative of the persecutions in Trajan's reign. Yet John Madabbar expressly places the martyrdom of Ignatius at Rome, and records it before, not after, the earthquake.

A similar explanation will apply to another document, which (at least in its present text) agrees with Malalas in representing Ignatius as martyred at Antioch. The British Museum MS *Add.* 14, 643 (described in Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS* p. 1040) contains a Syriac Chronicle, of which the first part is an epitome of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (translated by Roediger and published in Schoene II. p. 203 sq), and the second part, with which alone we are now concerned, is a separate series of notices in chronological order derived from other sources. This second part is published by Land *Anecd.* I. p. 2 sq, with a translation (p. 103 sq) and notes (p. 165 sq). The part relating to this period runs as follows in Land's translation (p. 116).

> Anno 420 [A.D. 109] obiit dominus Ioannes evangelista.
> [This is clearly a miswriting for 410 = A.D. 99; since elsewhere the notices are in chronological order.]
> Anno 415 [A.D. 104] persecutio in Christianos gravissima intenta est a Trajano rege improbo. Martyrium imprimis passus est Simeon filius Cleopae episcopus Hierosolymae.
> Anno 419 [A.D. 108] Trajanus Armeniam subjecit. Eodem anno Ignatius Antiochiae [i.e. in Antiochia] martyrium subiit, qui discipulus erat Ioannis evangelistae.

The MS which contains this chronicle belongs probably to the middle of the 8th century; it contains a list of caliphs reaching down to Hisham A.D. 724—742; and the last notice in the part with which we are concerned belongs to A.D. 636.

The statement here may have originated in the same way as in Malalas; or the change in a single letter in the Syriac would make the difference ב for ך, 'in Antioch' for 'of Antioch.' This latter is a very common blunder with Syriac transcribers. The Ignatian Epistles alone furnish several examples of it.

Thus, the interview of Ignatius with Trajan having no claim

translation was made, for the story of the martyrdom of the five virgins wants a beginning. It is clear from the sequence of the Chronicle that Trajan is meant by Ĕndrĕyânôs. In the index of chapters appended to the work, the passage is thus epitomized; 'Concerning the death of Ignatius the God-clad and the women who were martyred with him.'

to be regarded as historical, we have lost our one criterion of date from comparison with external chronology, and are obliged to fall back on the notices of Christian chronographers and martyrologists.

And here we cannot help being struck with the fact that both the Antiochene and the Roman Acts agree in the 9th year of Trajan. This agreement is the more remarkable, because they agree in scarcely anything else, and neither can possibly have been known to the writer of the other. Nor is the value of the fact diminished, but rather enhanced, when we find that the two martyrologists give different names of consuls, which in neither case belong to the 9th year; for thus it appears that this 9th year was the one fixed element in the common tradition, while everything else was left to the caprice or the ignorance of the writer. Moreover in the case of the Antiochene Acts this 9th year has an additional value, because it has survived the confusion in chronology introduced by the necessity of making the condemnation synchronous with Trajan's Parthian expedition—a necessity arising out of the writer's belief that Ignatius was condemned by Trajan himself. This 9th year also is the date in the *Chronicon Paschale* p. 471 (ed. Bonn.) where moreover the consuls for the 9th year (A.D. 105) are correctly given, Candidus and Quadratus. It appears also, though amidst much confusion, in a Syriac Chronicle, *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14,642 (described in Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 1041). The MS belongs to the early part of the 10th century, but the chronicle itself only reaches down to A.D. 797 (at which time it was probably compiled), though with later additions down to A.D. 811. Cureton (*Corp. Ign.* p. 221; comp. p. 252) gives the extract; 'And also Ignatius, when he had ruled 15 years, was cast to beasts at Rome, and Heron stood in his stead. In the 9th year John the Evangelist departed this world, having continued in the episcopate 70 years; and Ignatius and Polycarp were his disciples; and the life of John was prolonged to the 9th year of Trajan.' Here the chronicler has obviously blundered over some previous authority; and transferred the 9th year of Trajan from the martyrdom of Ignatius to the death of S. John.

Does this coincidence imply a wide-spread and very early tradition in favour of the 9th year? Or can all these authorities be traced to some one common and comparatively late source?

We naturally turn to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius as the work which exercised the widest influence in these matters, and we ask whether the solution can be found here.

This portion of the *Chronicon* is as follows;

Ol.	Ann. Abr.	Traj.	
220	2116	3	*g*. Trajanus de Dacis et Scythis triumphavit.
	g 2117	4 *h*	*h*. Trajanus Daciam in provinciam redegit.
	2118	5	*i*. Romanorum ecclesiae episcopatum excepit v Alexander annis x.
	i 2119	6	
221	2120	7 *k*	*k*. Romae aurea domus incendio consumpta est.
	2121	8 *l*	*l*. Terrae motus magnus factus Menesiae terrae iv urbes
	2122	9	concussit, Eliam, Mirinam, Piitanem, et Cisem, et
	2123	10	Graecorum Opuntiorum et Oritarum (urbes).

Trajano adversus Christianos persecutionem movente, Simon Cleopae (filius) Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae episcopus martyrium subiit, cui successit Iostus. Itidem [Ignatius] Antiochensium episcopus martyrium passus est, post quem iii Antiochensium episcopus constitutus est Eron.

Plinius Secundus, cuiusdam provinciae praeses, multos e Christianis mortis reos fecit etc.

The probable inference from this arrangement is that Eusebius had no definite information as to the exact year or years in which the occurrences recorded in the two paragraphs beginning 'Trajano' and 'Plinius' took place. He put together the three known events bearing on the persecution of the Christians under Trajan; (1) The martyrdom of Symeon; (2) The martyrdom of Ignatius; and (3) The sufferings in Bithynia. He supposed that they took place somewhere about this time; but, not being able to give an exact date, he left them undetermined, placing them at the end of the 221st Olympiad, which coincided also with the round number 10 of the years of Trajan. This account is in accordance with his treatment of these incidents in the *History*, where they are not only undated, but recorded in a different order: (1) Martyrdom of Symeon (iii. 32); (2) Persecution in Bithynia (iii. 33); (3) Martyrdom of Ignatius (iii. 36). When we come to discuss the date of Polycarp's martyrdom, we shall find that Eusebius treats it in the same way.

Being thus left loose, they were liable to be assigned to any of the neighbouring years by later scribes and redactors. Thus Jerome in his revision of the *Chronicon* separates them, attaching the martyrdoms of Symeon and Ignatius to the 10th year, and the persecutions in Bithynia to the 11th. Accordingly in his *Catalogue* c. 16 he writes of Ignatius, 'passus est anno decimo Trajani'; for, though the word is printed 'undecimo' in Vallarsi, this editor's note clearly shows that the best MSS read 'decimo,' and the Greek version also has δεκάτῳ. In like manner also they are divided in Zohrab's version of the Ar-

menian *Chronicon*, but here the martyrdoms of Symeon and Ignatius are assigned to the 9th year, while the Bithynian persecution is left at the end of the 10th.

These facts are perhaps sufficient to account for the coincidence of the authorities mentioned above in naming the 9th year.

The writer of the *Antiochene Acts* was largely indebted to the *Chronicon*. The historical setting of the martyrdom is borrowed mainly from it. The mention of Ignatius as the pupil of S. John and the fellow-pupil of Polycarp is probably derived thence (see the note on § 1 Ἰωάννου μαθητής). The reference to the victory over 'the Dacians and Scythians' (§ 2) is plainly taken therefrom. Even the exaggeration ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἐθνῶν (§ 2) may have been due to it, if we may suppose that the author's copy contained a notice corresponding to that which appears in Jerome's revision immediately after the mention of Trajan's making Dacia a province; 'Hiberos Sauromatas Osroenos Arabas Bosforanos Colchos in fidem accepit, Seleuciam Ctesifontem Babylonem occupavit[1],' where events which occurred many years later are gathered together out of their proper chronological place in order to enhance the effect. And altogether the idea of making the subjugation of the Christians the crowning idea of Trajan's ambition is suggested by the sequence of the notices in the *Chronicon*.

To the *Chronicon* the author of the *Roman Acts* also betrays his obligations. Though generally in his narrative he has drawn more largely from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius (see the notes §§ 1, 10, 11, 12), yet the manner in which the Bithynian persecution and the correspondence of Pliny with Trajan are introduced cannot be traced to this source, and must be due to the *Chronicon*. Our hagiologist's point of view requires that the letter from Pliny should come immediately *after* the execution of Ignatius (§ 11). A glance at the extract given above (p. 449) from the *Chronicon* shows at once whence he derived the inspiration that the emperor's rescript to Pliny might be used to account for the disposal of the martyr's reliques. On the other hand in the *Ecclesiastical History* the persecution in Bithynia, with the account of the correspondence, is given before the martyrdom of Ignatius: two chapters intervene: and there is nothing to suggest the connexion which our author establishes between the two events.

Thus the acquaintance of our two martyrologists with the *Chronicon* seems clear. And the same is plainly also the case with those chronographers who give the 9th year of Trajan for the date of the martyrdom. The obvious inference therefore would seem to be that all these

[1] The notice in Jerome is obviously taken from Eutropius viii. 3.

writers alike derived this date from the *Chronicon*, to which they were certainly indebted, directly or indirectly, for other facts. The only objection to this otherwise simple solution lies in the fact that Eusebius does not assign the martyrdom to the 9th year specially. Still the manner in which he arranges the events might very naturally lead to its special attachment to this year, as we have seen to be the case in Zohrab (see above p. 449). The 6th, 7th, and 8th years are each supplied with their special notice. The 9th year is the first vacant year, and the notice of the martyrdoms of Symeon and Ignatius, which were found hanging loose, would be attached to it so as to fill the void. It seems fairly probable therefore that we may ultimately trace to a particular interpretation, or recension, of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius all the notices which assign the martyrdom of Ignatius to the 9th year of Trajan.

But what grounds had Eusebius himself for placing the martyrdom where he does in the *Chronicon*? Wieseler (*Christenverfolgungen d. Cäsaren* p. 125 sq), who himself would date it in the 10th year [the 11th tribunician year] of Trajan, A.D. 107, alleges Eusebius as 'the most trustworthy witness' for this date. But Eusebius, as we have seen, is not so precise. He only places it thereabouts. Wieseler further supports this view on the ground that Pliny's letter implies previous persecutions of the Christians during Trajan's reign. This is not impossible; but Pliny's language itself only implies that the emperor had decreed proceedings against 'hetæriæ' generally[1], in which the Christians might or might not be involved. Moreover, so far as regards Eusebius, it is clear that he had not, and did not profess to have, any definite idea of the relative chronology of these persecutions under Trajan which he relates in proximity, since he gives the Bithynian martyrdoms in one place before, and in another after, the death of Ignatius (see above p. 449). Of the Bithynian persecution he knows nothing, except what he has learnt from the account of Pliny's letter and Trajan's rescript, as read by him in a Greek translation of Tertullian (*H. E.* iii. 33). He cannot even tell the name of the province, and he is obviously quite ignorant of the date (see the note on *Mart. Rom.* 11). In the same way Wieseler urges in favour of his view the fact that 'the martyrdom of Symeon the son of Clopas...according to Eusebius and Jerome happened a short time before,' and that 'according to

[1] Plin. *Ep.* x. 97 'secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram'; see Trajan's own language, ib. x. 43. When Pliny says 'cognitionibus de Christianis interfui numquam,' he may be referring to the persecution of Domitian.

Waddington (*Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques* p. 720) the consular Herodes Atticus, under whom he was martyred, was consular legate of Palestine in the years A.D. 105—107.' Here again the answer is the same; that Eusebius does not profess to give these martyrdoms in chronological sequence, for in the *History* he interposes the Bithynian persecution (which happened about A.D. 112) between the two. Moreover, when we come to examine Waddington's argument for the date of Herodes Atticus' government in Palestine, it amounts to nothing more than this; that Eusebius represents him as putting Symeon to death about the 9th or 10th year of Trajan, and that, as the years A.D. 105—107 are unoccupied by any other governor whose name has been preserved, we may suppose Atticus to have ruled there during this period. Wieseler's attempt therefore to establish a definite date for the martyrdom of Ignatius on the authority of Eusebius must be regarded as unsatisfactory.

On the other hand, Harnack in an important contribution to the subject (*Die Zeit des Ignatius* etc, Leipzig 1878) arrives at conclusions diametrically opposed to those of Wieseler[1]. He has investigated the Eusebian list of the Antiochene bishops as a whole; and, if we could accept his inferences, Eusebius would be deprived of all authority as a witness respecting their chronology. He remarks that the dates of accession assigned to the Antiochene bishops in the *Chronicon* have a suspicious relation to those assigned to the Roman bishops. In the earlier part of the list each Antiochene bishop is placed 4 years (i.e. one Olympiad) after some Roman bishop; in the latter part each Antiochene bishop is placed one year before some Roman bishop; and the point of transition from the one arrangement to the other is after the accession of the Antiochene bishop Philetus (Ol. 249). This is a rough abstract of Harnack's statement of the facts; and his inferences are as follows. The Chronicle of Julius Africanus is known to have been brought down to the third year of Elagabalus, Ol. 250 (see Clinton *Fast. Rom.* I. p. 233); and we have also information that Africanus used Olympiads in his arrangement of dates. Clearly therefore Eusebius borrowed the earlier dates of the Antiochene bishops as far as Ol. 250 from Africanus. By this discovery the authority of Eusebius is replaced by that of Africanus. So far there is a gain in the exchange, for an earlier authority has been substituted for a later.

[1] After the sheets for my first edition had passed through the press, two papers by C. Erbes appeared in the *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* v. p. 464 sq, p. 618 sq (1879). The speculations of Harnack and Erbes are discussed by R. A. Lipsius *ib.* VI. p. 233 (1880). On Lipsius' own view see below, p. 468, note.

But this gain is more than neutralised by the other facts thus elicited. From this symmetrical relation of the dates referring to the Roman and Antiochene sees it is clear that Africanus invented the latter on some artificial plan. Thus his authority is deprived of any weight. In the interval between composing his *Chronicon* and his *History* Eusebius discovered that he was leaning on a rotten reed in following Africanus. In the later work therefore he rejected the dates of accession, so far as regards the Antiochene bishops, and was content to give their sequence, merely noting in a rough way their synchronism with the bishops of the other great sees and with contemporary events. On the second part of the list Harnack does not say very much; but he ascribes the artificial arrangement here directly to Eusebius himself (p. 19, note 1).

In one respect Harnack seems to be unquestionably right. Eusebius evidently had no list of the Antiochene bishops, giving the lengths of their respective terms of office, as he had in the case of the Roman and Alexandrian sees. This fact had been already noticed by Zahn (*Ign. v. Ant.* p. 56 sq). But on the other hand it is equally evident that he possessed some previously existing tables containing the dates of accession of the Antiochene bishops, or at least information which enabled him to construct such tables, and was not utterly without chronological records, as he confesses himself to be in the case of the Jerusalem bishopric (*Chron.* II. p. 172 sq, Schoene), for which he contents himself with giving the sequence of bishops, and does not attempt to assign dates. With regard to the Antiochene see he stood in an intermediate position. Beyond this point Harnack's inferences are very questionable, but they at least deserve careful consideration.

Before entering into an examination of its details however we are struck with an antecedent objection to the theory as a whole. As regards its adoption and its abandonment alike, it is burdened with improbability. As regards its adoption; for is it likely that two persons independently should hit upon a similar artifice of placing the Antiochene bishops at regular intervals after or before certain Roman bishops, while nevertheless the second person was taken in by the device of the first? As regards its abandonment; for in his *History* Eusebius treats the later Antiochene bishops exactly as he has treated the earlier. Here too as in the former case, he is content to give rough synchronisms without assigning exact dates as in the *Chronicon*. But though he might be supposed to have detected the artificial character of Africanus' dates in the meanwhile, there is no room for the theory of subsequent detection as a motive for the abandonment of his own dates.

When we pass from such general considerations to an investigation

of details, our difficulties increase. The chronological relation of the Antiochene to the Roman bishops in the *Chronicon*, as stated by Harnack, stands thus:

Order.	Antioch.	A. Abr.	Intervals.	Rome.	A. Abr.	Order.
1	Euodius	2058	3 years after	Peter	2055	
2	Ignatius	2085	3 „ „	Linus	2082	1
3	Hero	2123	4 „ „	Alexander	2119	5
4	Cornelius	2144	4 „ „	Telesphorus	2140	7
5	Eros	2158	4 „ „	Pius	2154	9
6	Theophilus	2185	5 „ „	Soter	2180	11
7	Maximinus	2193	4 „ „	Eleutherus	2189	12
8	Serapion	2206	4 „ „	Victor	2202	13
9	Asclepiades	2228	1 year before	Callistus	2229	15
10	Philetus	2233	4 years after	Callistus	2229	15
11	Zebinus	2245	1 year before	Pontianus	2246	17
12	Babylas	2270	1 „ „	Xystus	2271	23
13	Fabius					
14	Demetrianus	2272				
15	Paulus	2278	1 year before	Dionysius	2279	24
16	Domnus	2283				
17	Timæus	2288	1 year before	Felix	2289	25
18	Cyrillus	2297	1 „ „	Eutychianus	2298	26
19	Tyrannus	2319	contemporary of Eusebius			

In this table the numbers of the last column give the order of succession of the Roman bishops named, S. Peter not being counted. The dates are given in the years of the era of Abraham, in accordance with the practice of Eusebius in the *Chronicon*.

In this list Harnack draws the line after Philetus, at which point he supposes the earlier arrangement to be exchanged for the later. It will therefore be necessary to consider the two parts of the list separately.

(1) The first list contains ten bishops; and the numbers representing their chronological relations to the corresponding Roman bishops are,

3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 4, 4, [1], 4.

Here there is a great predominance of the number 4, and it might be increased by supposing with Harnack that in other cases the date of accession had been accidentally displaced by a year. This supposition is not extravagant in itself, for displacements certainly occur frequently elsewhere in these tables. But we have no right to postulate it as the basis of a theory not otherwise probable, since a displacement is as likely to have occurred in a 4 as in a 3 or a 5.

Moreover, the date of Hero's accession must be withdrawn; for Eusebius, as pointed out above (p. 447), does not give any definite date for the death of Ignatius and accession of his successor, but mentions it at the end of the 221st Olympiad (the tenth year of Trajan) as having occurred thereabouts[1]. If then we deduct this date, and if in the case of Asclepiades we substitute the number of years after the preceding Roman bishop, as in the other cases, we get;

3, 3, [ ], 4, 4, 5, 4, 4, 12, 4.

Thus five out of ten give the number 4. This is no doubt a larger proportion than the doctrine of probabilities would suggest. But then in historical records, as in games of chance, events are constantly found recurring with a frequency far in advance of any such calculation.

(2) The second list contains nine names. In this list five examples occur, where the artificial rule supposed to prevail in this part is observed. But from these five two must be deducted. The dates of Timæus and Cyrillus do not occur in the Armenian Version, which is taken as the authority for the original *Chronicon* of Eusebius, and Harnack therefore supplies them from Jerome's recension. But Jerome's recension, as a whole, would not have borne out his theory. Its figures are as follows[2];

Zebinus	2245	5 years before	Pontianus	2250
Babylas / Fabius[3]	2268	1 year before	Cornelius	2269
Demetrianus	2269	1 year before	Lucius / Stephanus	2270
Paulus	2277	5 years before	Dionysius	2282
Domnus	2283			
Timæus	2288	6 years before	Felix	2294
Cyrillus	2297	1 year before	Eutychianus	2298
Tyrannus	2319			

[1] This is also the view of Harnack himself (pp. 9, 23, 38, 67), and yet he writes (p. 23), 'Without doubt in the source [the document used by Eusebius, presumably the Chronography of Africanus] the accession of Hero was assigned to the Olympiad corresponding to the Eusebian Ann. Abr. 2123. To this Eusebius bears witness in the fact that he has placed this event at all events after the Ann. Abr. 2123. But inasmuch as he has not ventured to record it under this particular year, it follows that he was not certain here.' But why 'without doubt'? Is Eusebius likely to have had information independently of Africanus at this point in the list which he did not possess for the later dates? If he had such information, this very circumstance gives a higher value to his testimony. If he had not, and if the uncertainty was expressed by Africanus, then this frankness inspires confidence in Africanus.

[2] I have here taken Schoene's text. There are slight variations in the MSS, but they do not assist Harnack's theory.

[3] These bishops are called Fabius and Demetrianus by Jerome in accordance

In using Jerome's figures Harnack has made an arbitrary selection. In dealing with the first pair of bishops, he takes the date of Timæus from Jerome, but retains that of Felix as it stands in the Armenian. With the next pair however, Cyrillus and Eutychianus, his treatment is different. Here he has taken Jerome's date for the Roman bishop, as well as for the Antiochene. This substitution of the Hieronymian date 2298 in place of the Armenian 2296 for Eutychianus is unintelligible on his own principles, and must have been an oversight; yet without it the example falls to the ground. But indeed Harnack's confidence that the missing Armenian dates for Timæus and Cyrillus would have agreed with Jerome's is not justified by the facts. The presumption is quite the other way. For six out of the eight preceding bishops, from Asclepiades to Domnus, Jerome's dates, whether we take the years of Abraham or the years of the Roman emperors, differ from those of the Armenian version[1]. After these reductions are made, there remain in nine accessions only three examples of this interval of one year, which is supposed to betray an artificial arrangement in the latter part of the list; and, considering the very rapid succession of the Roman bishops during the earlier years of this period, such a proportion can excite no misgiving. In Jerome's list also there are three examples, but they are all different; and the fact exemplifies the accidental character of such recurrences.

But again; there is no clear frontier line between the earlier and later lists, such as Harnack's theory requires. On the one hand

with Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 39, 46, etc. The Armenian Version on the other hand names them Fabianus and Demetrius. The former are their correct names; the latter are probably due to confusion with the bishops Fabianus of Rome and Demetrius of Alexandria, who are nearly contemporary and are sometimes mentioned in proximity with them.

[1] The difficulty which attends the date assigned to the last name in the list should be mentioned here. The accession of Tyrannus the successor of Cyrillus is placed by Jerome in the 18th year of Diocletian, which began Sept. A.D. 301; but Cyrillus appears on the scene in the account of the martyrdom of the *Quatuor Coronati*, who apparently suffered Nov. 9, A.D. 306 (see Harnack p. 53 sq). The narrative further states that he had been already three years a prisoner in the mines of Pannonia. Eusebius was probably some forty years old at this time; he was already actively engaged in literary work; he took an eager interest in the history of the martyrs; and he was in constant communication with Antioch. This being so, it is quite incredible that he can have been ignorant of the true date of the death of so important a person as Cyrillus. We must conclude therefore either that Jerome does not reproduce the date of Eusebius in this instance, or that Tyrannus was appointed to succeed to the see during the life-time of Cyrillus. But this last mode of solution, if admissible, may possibly apply in other cases where the same difficulty exists; e.g. in the case of Maximinus the successor of Theophilus.

Asclepiades, though belonging to the first list, is an example of the artificial arrangement which marks the second. On the other hand Demetrianus and Domnus, though included in the second, betray the characteristic feature which distinguishes the first, as Lipsius (*Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, April 6, 1878, p. 201 sq) has pointed out; for Demetrianus is placed Ann. Abr. 2272, four years after the accession of the Roman bishop Stephanus Ann. Abr. 2268 [other Antiochene and Roman bishops however having intervened], and Domnus Ann. Abr. 2283, four years after the accession of the Roman bishop Dionysius Ann. Abr. 2279.

But besides the fact that there is no such clearly drawn line of demarcation, separating the list into two parts at the very date when Africanus wrote, the phenomena at the supposed point of juncture are not such as to favour the theory that Eusebius was indebted to a fictitious table of this chronographer for the first part. The great work of Africanus was carried down to A.D. 220 or 221, at which date (or within a year or two) it was written. About the same time, during the reign of Elagabalus (A.D. 218—223), we read that he was instrumental in rebuilding Emmaus under the name of Nicopolis, and that he went as a delegate (evidently to the emperor) on this business (Euseb. *Chron.* II. p. 178, Hieron. *Vir. Ill.* 63, *Chron. Pasch.* p. 499). About the year 220 therefore his literary activity and his political influence alike were at their height. It is not too much to assume that he was 40 years of age at least at this time. If so, he must have been born not later than about A.D. 180. But from another circumstance we may infer that his birth was some years earlier than this. Origen was born about A.D. 185 (Clinton *Fast. Rom.* I. p. 183), and Africanus (Routh *Rel. Sacr.* II. p. 225) calls him his 'son.' Moreover, as a native of Palestine, Africanus was favourably situated for ascertaining the chronology of the Antiochene Church. He was a traveller too; for, besides the embassy just mentioned, we know that he went to Egypt before writing his Chronography, attracted thither by the learning of Heraclas (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 31). A diligent and acquisitive investigator, who took so much pains in the cause of learning, could hardly have been mistaken, or seriously mistaken, about the dates of those Antiochene bishops who flourished during his own youth or manhood. How does this consideration bear on the dates given in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius?

The accession of the last bishop before he wrote, PHILETUS, is placed A.D. 215, i.e. five years before his Chronography ended, and (as we must suppose) while he was already engaged on his work. If

therefore this date be his, we may safely assume that it is correct. Any other supposition would be irrational. Yet it exhibits the supposed schematism, for it is placed 4 years after the Roman bishop Callistus. In this case therefore the period is accidental. Though an exact Olympiad, it is not due to the fact that Africanus reckoned by Olympiads.

Tracing the succession backwards we come next to ASCLEPIADES, whose date is A.D. 210. Here the schematism attributed to Africanus is not observed. He is placed not four but twelve years after the preceding Roman bishop Zephyrinus. He stands however one year before the next Roman bishop Callistus, in accordance with the supposed schematism of the latter part. What account can we give of this fact, if Harnack's theory be true? Harnack himself believes that Eusebius here altered the date as given by Africanus (see p. 28). Eusebius, he supposes, had some 'sort of tradition' that Serapion, the predecessor of Asclepiades, lived beyond the 4th year of Zephyrinus; accordingly he moved the accession of Asclepiades forward and, abandoning the schematism of Africanus in this instance, made the date conform to his own schematism. This seems to me an improbable supposition. Eusebius elsewhere (*H. E.* vi. 11) gives an extract from a letter to the Antiochenes written by Alexander, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, in which he says that the Lord had lightened his bonds 'in the season of captivity' (κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς εἱρκτῆς) by the news that Asclepiades had been appointed their bishop. The confession of Alexander is placed by Eusebius himself in the *Chronicon* (II. p. 176) during the persecution in the 10th year of Severus, i.e. A.D. 203. We may waive the question whether Eusebius was right or wrong in so dating Alexander's imprisonment. For our immediate purpose it is enough that he did so. Thus the only tradition which Eusebius is known to have possessed, bearing on the matter, so far from leading him to substitute a later date, would have prevented him from doing so. The curious fact is that, if Africanus had dated the accession of Asclepiades, according to his supposed schematism, four years, instead of twelve, after Zephyrinus, the date (A.D. 203) would have entirely satisfied the contemporary allusion in Alexander's letter. As it is, critics (e.g. Valois on Euseb. *H. E.* l. c., Clinton *Fast. Rom.* I. pp. 209, 211), whether rightly or wrongly, condemn the date A.D. 210 as impossible, and themselves place the accession of Asclepiades seven or eight years earlier[1]. These con-

[1] Harnack himself argues that the date in the *Chronicon* must be nearly right, since Eusebius would not otherwise have altered the schematism of Africanus to substitute it. He suggests that the see remained vacant for a time, and he places the accession of Asclepiades about A.D. 209 (p. 46 sq). This however does not

siderations seem to show that Eusebius found this date already in his authority, and did not himself invent it. If this authority was Africanus, the date must almost necessarily be correct; for it is only ten years before his Chronography was published.

The predecessor of Asclepiades was SERAPION. The date of his accession, A.D. 190, accords with the supposed schematism, being four years after the accession of the Roman bishop Victor. Here again there is a high probability that Africanus would have had correct information; but, as we are now getting back into his youth or his boyhood, the certainty is less than in the previous cases. When however we come to test the statement by known facts, we find not only that it does not conflict with any historical notices, but that it must at all events be within a year or two of the correct date. The facts are as follows. Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 19) places Serapion among the writers who took part in the Montanist controversy in the reign of Commodus (slain Dec. 31, A.D. 192), saying that he became bishop of Antioch during the times of which he is speaking (*ἐπὶ τῶν δηλουμένων χρόνων*), and alleging for his statement a constant tradition (*κατέχει λόγος*). In a later passage (*H. E.* v. 22), after mentioning the accessions of Victor of Rome and Demetrius of Alexandria, both which he places in the 10th year of Commodus (A.D. 189), he adds that 'contemporary with them the afore-mentioned Serapion still continued to flourish at that time, being eighth bishop of the Church of the Antiochenes after the Apostles' (*καθ' οὓς καὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας ὄγδοος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ πρόσθεν ἤδη δεδηλωμένος ἔτι τότε Σαραπίων ἐπίσκοπος*

explain the notice in Alexander's letter. This difficulty, if I understand him rightly, he meets elsewhere (p. 14) by supposing that Eusebius was wrong in connecting the imprisonment of Alexander, during which he heard of Asclepiades' accession, with the great persecution in the 10th year of Severus (A.D. 203). The alternative would be to suppose that Alexander was detained several years in captivity (A.D. 203—210). One or other hypothesis seems necessary if we are to maintain the date of Asclepiades' accession as given in the *Chronicon*.

Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 12) mentions Serapion writing to a certain Domninus who had lapsed from Christianity to Judaism 'at the time of the persecution' (*παρὰ τὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρόν*). Harnack infers from this that Serapion must have survived the persecution of Severus (p. 46). The inference may be correct; but the necessity which he has felt of postulating some other event to satisfy the reference in Alexander's letter suggests misgivings as to the certainty of the allusion in the very similar case here.

Altogether we may take warning by the perplexities which these strictly genuine and contemporary records create—not to condemn hastily the dates of the *Chronicon* in other cases, even where the *prima facie* interpretation of authentic notices seems imperatively to demand it, e.g. the accession of Maximinus.

ἐγνωρίζετο). Again, Eutychius patriarch of Alexandria (see Harnack p. 45), a late and untrustworthy writer indeed, but here apparently relating a historical fact, states that Demetrius of Alexandria wrote to Gabius [Gaius] bishop of Jerusalem, Maximus [Maximinus] patriarch of Alexandria, and Victor patriarch of Rome, on the paschal computation (*Ann.* I. p. 363 sq, ed. Pococke). If these statements be true, Maximinus the predecessor of Serapion must have survived the accession of Victor (A.D. 189), and yet Serapion must have succeeded before the death of Commodus (A.D. 192). These notices combined point to about A.D. 190, as the date of Serapion's accession.

Serapion was preceded by MAXIMINUS, whose accession in the *Chronicon* is assigned to A.D. 177, four years after the Roman bishop Eleutherus. This is almost demonstrably wrong. Theophilus the predecessor of Maximinus in his extant work (*ad Autol.* iii. 27) cites a chronography of Chryseros which closed with the death of M. Aurelius, and himself carries down his reckoning to that event; so that he cannot have written his third book till the first year of Commodus (A.D. 180) at the earliest. The only escape from the contradiction would be the supposition that he vacated his see for some reason or other during his lifetime. On the other hand it is not probable that he lived very much later than this date, inasmuch as his name is not mentioned in connexion with the Montanist controversy which raged soon after. The reckoning of the *Chronicon* therefore would seem to antedate the accession of Maximinus by about five years.

With regard to the six earlier accessions we have no contemporary or trustworthy notices which enable us to test the accuracy of the dates. Of these six, the dates assigned to the first two do not satisfy the supposed schematism; the third is not assigned to any precise year; the fourth and fifth agree with the assumed rule, being placed four years after Telesphorus and Pius, the 7th and 9th Roman bishops, respectively; while the sixth again violates it. Thus of these six earlier dates only two afford examples of this schematism.

As the result of this examination, we are led to the conclusion that in this first part of the list as far as Philetus, the authority followed by Eusebius cannot have been Africanus, unless the chronology here is genuine in the main, though not necessarily accurate in its details. If it was a fictitious list, the authority followed must have been some later writer who was less favourably situated for obtaining correct information.

From these facts it will have appeared, unless I am mistaken, that Harnack's theory is not built on a secure foundation. For the

general predominance of the interval of four years, i.e. one Olympiad, there is indeed some show of evidence. But it does not necessarily point to any deliberate artificial arrangement on the part either of Eusebius himself or of a previous authority copied by him. The frequent recurrence of the number 4, if not accidental, might be explained in the following way. The primary authority—whether Africanus or some one else—arranged his chronography by Olympiads. He knew roughly that such and such an Antiochene bishop succeeded to the see of Antioch, when such and such a Roman bishop occupied the see of Rome, and he placed them in the next Olympiad accordingly. The exact year in the Olympiad to which the accessions of the Antiochene bishops are assigned in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius would then be due to this previous writer's form of tabulation, which was misunderstood by his transcribers or successors and is lost to us.

Beyond this point we are not at liberty to assume any artificial arrangement. All the accompanying facts forbid us to suspect either Eusebius himself or his previous authority of deliberate invention. There is no appearance of artifice in the Olympiads themselves, which, for the accessions from Euodius to Philetus inclusive are as follows;

Ol. 205. 3, Ol. 212. 2, Ol. 221. 4, Ol. 227. 1, Ol. 230. 3, Ol. 237. 2, Ol. 239. 2, Ol. 242. 3, Ol. 248. 1, Ol. 249. 2.

Nor again does any suspicion attach to the order of succession of the Roman bishops selected, which is as follows;

0, 1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 15.

It should be observed also that where Eusebius does not know a date, or at least does not believe that he knows it, he indicates his uncertainty. Thus in the case of the bishops of Jerusalem he masses them together at intervals, giving their names and the order of succession, but not attempting to fix the dates of accession; and as regards this very see of Antioch, in the case of Hero the successor of Ignatius he is satisfied with indicating a rough proximity, without naming a precise year. Moreover in his preface to the whole work he cautions his readers against attaching too much weight to individual dates, where much must necessarily be uncertain. The Scriptural saying, 'It is not yours to know the times and the seasons,' holds good (so he considers) for the chronology of all times, as well as for the Second Advent (*Chron.* 1. p. 3, ed. Schoene).

But, though this recurrence of the number 4 may perhaps be due to some cause such as I have suggested, the possibility remains that its frequency here was a mere chronological accident. From this point of

view the following example from the recent history of France may not prove uninstructive[1].

1643 Accession of Louis XIV.
1715 Accession of Louis XV.
1774 Accession of Louis XVI.
1793 Accession of Louis XVII (end of French Monarchy).
1804 Accession of Napoleon as Emperor.
1814 Accession of Louis XVIII.
1824 Accession of Charles X.

Here we have a schematism, of which the principle is the recurrence of the number 4 in the units. The majority of the dates already fulfil this condition. The rest may be brought into accordance by adding or subtracting one in each case. But what supposition is more natural than that the events should have been accidentally displaced by a year in some transcription of the tables? We have a right to expect only one occurrence of the same unit 4 in ten dates, and here we have four in seven (or if we commence with the accession of Louis XVI, the beginning of the revolutionary period, four in five), with a reasonable presumption that originally it occupied the remaining places also. Moreover, if the fictitious character of this chronology thus betrays itself by its artificial arrangement, what shall we say when we observe the inordinate length of time assigned to the earliest names? Not less than 131 years are given to two sovereigns alone. This, it may be safely said, is without a parallel in European annals. The greatest length of time occupied by any two successive reigns in the preceding history of the French Monarchy appears to be 86 years. The average duration of a reign, from Hugh Capet downwards till we arrive at this point, is 21 or 22 years. Even the chronology of the regal period in Roman history is not guilty of any such extravagance. Thus the condemnation of this table is complete. From this point onward a different principle prevails. The new French Monarchy begins with Louis Philippe, A.D. 1830. This king dies A.D. 1850, and his death is followed in the next year by the Coup d'État, which results in the establishment of the Second Empire. This Second Empire ends, and the new French Republic begins, A.D. 1870. Here, it will be observed, there is an interval of 20 years between each event.

This example will serve as a caution against too rapid inferences from the recurrence of numerical peculiarities in history. But indeed

[1] A striking example of chronological symmetry is given in Seeley's *Expansion of England*, p. 266 sq.

any ordinary chronological lists furnish abundance of such warnings[1]. There is no end to the tricks which authentic history plays with numbers. Few European states are safe from the suspicions which these freaks of chronology may stir in the minds of critics in the remote future[2].

In the above criticisms I have argued provisionally on the assumption that the Armenian dates give the chronology of Eusebius himself; but, as I have elsewhere shown[3], this assumption is burdened with difficulties, and another aspect of the question is presented in the following communication which I received from Dr Hort, when my first edition was going through the press.

'Harnack's theory takes for granted the truth of Lipsius's assumption that the Roman episcopal chronology of Eusebius's Chronicle is to be found in the Armenian version, not in the Hieronymian Chronicle. This has always seemed to me an improbable view: but it would acquire fresh strength if the Antiochene chronology, which is approximately the same in both versions, were shown to be founded on the Armenian dates of the Roman chronology. On all accounts therefore it is worth while to ascertain whether the relations between the Antiochene chronology and the Hieronymian dates of the Roman chronology exhibit any correspondences like those which have been pointed out by Harnack. The following table will furnish provisional means of comparison. It gives both the Armenian and the Hieronymian dates

[1] The recent chronology of the two archiepiscopal sees of England for instance may be taken as examples. The dates of accession to the see of Canterbury since the middle of the last century are 1758, 1768, 1783, 1805, 1828, 1848, 1862, 1868, where five out of eight have the same unit. The three preceding accessions bear the dates 1737, 1747, 1757. The see of York again exhibits in succession these dates; 1747, 1757, 1761, 1776 [1777], 1807 [1808], 1847, 1857, where the dates in brackets are as I find them in another list. Here not only have five at least out of seven the same unit 7, but in two cases the same years, 47, 57, are repeated in succession in two successive centuries.

[2] What can be more suspicious for instance, than these dates in the history of Prussia? Accession of the great Elector Frederick William A.D. 1640; Accession of the great King Frederick II A.D. 1740; Accession of Frederick William IV A.D. 1840. Is it too much to assume that this schematism was drawn up when the hopes of the national party centred in Frederick William IV as the sovereign of a united Germany? The date of his accession is, we may assume, correct, or at least roughly so; and the chronographer, writing at a crisis when he was expected to take his rank with the two most illustrious sovereigns of the past, adopted this date as his starting point and placed the accessions of the triad at intervals of a century, filling in the intermediate dates at his pleasure.

[3] See *S. Clement of Rome* I. p. 222 sq (ed. 2).

in years of Abraham for Antioch, and replaces the Armenian by the Hieronymian dates for Rome. Schoene's text is followed, the years given in MSS cited by him, where they are different, being added in brackets.

Antioch	Arm.	Hier.	Rome	Hier.
Euhodius	2058		Peter	2058
		2060 (59)		
Ignatius		2084—5	Linus	2084
	2085			
			Anencletus	2096
			Clemens	2108
			Euarestus	2115 (4)
Hero	2123	2123		
			Alexander	2125 (6)
			Xystus	2135
Cornelius	2144	2144	Telesphorus	2144
			Hyginus	2154 (5)
Eros	2158	2158	Pius	2158
			Anicetus	2173 (1)
Theophilus	2185	2185	Soter	2185
Maximinus	2193	2193	Eleutherus	2193
Serapion	2206	2206 (5)		
			Victor	2209
			Zephyrinus	2217 (6)
Asclepiades		2227 (5)		
	2228			
Philetus	2233			
		2234		
			Callistus	2236 (5)
			Urbanus	2241 (0)
Zebinus	2245	2245		
			Pontianus	2250 (48)
			Anteros }	
			Fabianus }	2255
Babylas	[2270]	?		
Fabius	2270	2268	Cornelius	2269 (8)
Demetrianus		2269		
			Lucius }	
			Stephanus }	2270
			[Xystus II.	2271]
	2272			
Paulus		2277 (8)		
	2278			
			Dionysius	2282 (1)
Domnus	2283	2283 (4)		
Timæus		2288		
			Felix	2294
Cyrillus		2297		
			Eutychianus }	
			Gaius }	2298
			Marcellinus	2313
Tyrannus		2319		
			Eusebius	2321

'It will be seen at once that the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh Antiochene dates exactly synchronize with Roman dates: the cor-

respondence is all the clearer because the Armenian and Hieronymian dates for Antioch are identical. The first, second, and third require examination.

'The Armenian list for Antioch starts in the same year as the list for Rome; the Hieronymian list two years later in Schoene's text, one year later in Pontac's text and the excellent Cod. Freherianus. The difference cannot however be original, for the appointment of the first bishop of Antioch must have been taken to accompany or follow immediately the departure of S. Peter from Antioch for Rome: the intervening Hieronymian article is on the preaching of S. Mark, 'interpres Petri,' in Egypt and Alexandria, and the three articles were evidently intended to form a single whole. The year intended to be common to all three was apparently not 2058, but 2059. Without this change the Roman date cannot be made to agree with the 25 years of office assigned to S. Peter in the Hieronymian Chronicle; while comparison with other lists shews that xxv is not itself a corruption of xxvi. In the Armenian MSS (see Aucher's edition, II. 268 sq) the three years 2057, 2058, 2059 form a separate compartment, the right-hand portion of which is entirely taken up with the articles on S. Mark and Euhodius; so that the displacement is easily accounted for by considerations of space. Moreover, if we put S. Peter's date entirely out of sight, 2059 remains evidently the most probable Eusebian date for Euhodius; since it accounts for both 2058 and 2060, and in the Antiochene (unlike the Roman) episcopates there is no reason to suppose that the discrepancies between the two forms of the Chronicle are due to anything but accidents of transcription.

'The beginnings of the second episcopates likewise approximately coincide. Linus is clearly referred to 2084, the last year of Nero, assumed as the date of S. Peter's martyrdom: the Hieronymian article on Ignatius is attached in a singular manner to the Olympiadic numeral answering to 2085 (see Schoene's note), but apparently should rather be regarded as part of an overflow from the too numerous articles of 2084: the Armenian position of Ignatius is at 2085, but evidently by a mistake of transcription, for the article interrupts a single long sentence about Vespasian, and the existence of a dislocation at 2084 is proved by the interposition of the reigns of Galba and Vitellius before the death of Nero. Eusebius doubtless placed both Ignatius and Linus at 2084.

'At the third Antiochene episcopate there is a real breach of synchronism, though only to the amount of two years: the Armenian and Hieronymian records agree in placing Hero at 2123, while Alexander

of Rome stands at 2125. Here Eusebius had a historical landmark independent of any artificial co-ordination with Roman chronology, for Hero became bishop of Antioch in consequence of the death of Ignatius. He mentions the succession in connexion with the martyrdom; and as the martyrdom was said to have taken place under Trajan, he includes the record of it in what he has to say about what passed as Trajan's persecution.

'Accordingly the first seven Antiochene episcopates stand related to Roman episcopates in the manner shown by the following list.

Euhodius	2059	Peter
Ignatius	2084	Linus
Hero	2123	
	2125	Alexander
Cornelius	2144	Telesphorus
Eros	2158	Pius
Theophilus	2185	Soter
Maximinus	2193	Eleutherus.

'Such a series of exact coincidences speaks for itself, and cannot be accidental. The one exception occurs in the one place where it could not but occur: an artificial distribution was required only through defect of knowledge; and if Eusebius supposed himself to have direct or indirect knowledge of the date of such an event as the martyrdom of Ignatius, the beginning of the next episcopate was already determined for him. This and the accession of Euhodius, as due to S. Peter's removal to Rome, were doubtless his two early fixed points. Between them he had to place the accession of Ignatius, and the persecution under Trajan might easily suggest the persecution under Nero, in which S. Peter suffered martyrdom; and Linus was recorded to have succeeded him. This juxtaposition of the two sees, sanctioned by S. Peter's traditionary connexion with both, would supply a helpful resource for the following Antiochene episcopates in the absence of any evidence. If Eusebius found the date of Serapion's accession recorded or in any way indicated as 2206, he might take his first two dates, reckoning backwards, from the two Roman episcopates immediately preceding 2206; and then, observing five more to remain while only two dates were needed, he might adopt every alternate Roman date. The process here supposed would account naturally and precisely for the actual facts; but of course the borrowing of the Antiochene from the Roman dates, with the single inevitable exception, is all that can be safely affirmed. In the rest of the list we find no such coincidences, where

historical attestation is wanting. The single absolute synchronism which occurs in this part—that of Fabius and Cornelius—was attested by the fact, unquestionably known to Eusebius, that their respective predecessors, Babylas and Fabianus, both perished in the short Decian persecution.

'At the accession of Clement of Rome, the fourth on the list if S. Peter is included, the Armenian date precedes that of Jerome by five years, and during the next nine episcopates, to Eleutherus inclusive, the interval is always either four or five years (Alexander making only an apparent exception), owing to the fact that the fundamental term-numerals are all but identical in the two lists throughout this period. This is the reason why the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Antiochene bishops appear to stand about an Olympiad in advance of corresponding Roman bishops, when Armenian are substituted for Hieronymian dates in the Roman chronology. Of course Julius Africanus vanishes with the Olympiads. But even if the Armenian chronology is retained, two of the Olympiadic intervals become incorrect as soon as the Armenian dates are tested critically instead of being simply copied as they now stand. The term-numerals show conclusively that the Armenian year for Alexander is not 2119 but 2120, and for Eleutherus not 2189 but 2188; so that the intervals would be of five and of three years, not of four years in both cases.'

I cannot doubt that this is the right solution in the main. The *Chronicon* and the *History* appear to have been completed within a year or two of each other; and Eusebius must have been employed upon them at the same time[1]. This being so, it would be strange if they presented two widely divergent chronologies of the early Roman bishops. This difficulty disappears if we suppose the Roman episcopal

[1] The *Chronicon* was carried down to the vicennalia of Constantine, A.D. 325 (II. p. 191, Schoene); the *History*, unless internal evidence is altogether delusive, was written before the death of Crispus (A.D. 326). Eusebius indeed appears to have issued two editions of the *Chronicon*, as he certainly did of other works, e.g. the *Martyrs of Palestine* and the *Two Books of Objection and Defence* read by Photius (*Bibl.* 13). Thus in the *Eclog. Prophet.* i. 1 (p. 1 Gaisford) Eusebius directly refers to the *Chronicon*; yet elsewhere in this same work, i. 8 (p. 26), he speaks of the 'present persecution.' Again in *Praep. Ev.* x. 9. 11 there is a reference to the *Chronicon*; yet indications are not wanting that the *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio* were written during the persecution and in the years immediately succeeding (Tillemont *H. E.* VII. p. 53 sq). But this hypothesis of an earlier edition will not explain the difficulty; for the Armenian represents one which was contemporary with the *History*, since it mentions the vicennalia (I. pp. 71, 131). On this subject see *S. Clement of Rome* I. p. 224 sq (ed. 2.)

dates of the Armenian version to be due either to accident or to some later revision or to both causes. But, even supposing that the Armenian version did give the original Eusebian dates for the Roman bishops, the possibility would still remain that for the dates of the Antiochene bishops Eusebius copied some previous writer who had arranged the Antiochene chronology according to another list of Roman bishops—a list afterwards substituted in the *Chronicon* by Jerome for that of Eusebius[1]. As regards details, the procedure which Hort suggests, but does not insist upon, to account for the synchronism of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Antiochene bishops with the 7th, 9th, 11th and 12th Roman bishops respectively, seems to me to attribute too elaborate an artifice to Eusebius. Eusebius or his authority must have known, as we know, that Theophilus was contemporary with Soter and Maximinus with Eleutherus. He may have believed or known also, what we do not know, that Cornelius was contemporary with Telesphorus and Eros with Pius. In placing their accessions over against the same year, he or his authority merely adopted an inexact, or rather too exact, way of expressing these rough synchronisms in a tabular arrangement where assignment to a definite year was convenient. His treatment of the Jerusalem bishops, where he had no chronological data, ought, I think, to liberate him from the suspicion even of the moderate artifice which Hort's suggestion ascribes to him in the case of the Antiochene bishops. We are bound to believe that for the latter he had some data, however rough and imperfect. With this exception, which however does not affect the main question, Hort's solution has everything to recommend it. It is free from the difficulties which beset Harnack's theory, and it explains the phenomena better.

One other objection is brought by Harnack (p. 70 sq) against the early part of the list in the *Chronicon*. The average duration of office assigned to these early Antiochene bishops is unusually long. If we suppose Theophilus to have died about A.D. 185 (the *Chronicon* places his death A.D. 177, but for reasons already stated it seems necessary to advance the date by some years), we have then a period of more than 75 years for four bishops alone, Hero, Cornelius, Eros, Theophilus, or an average of 18 or 19 years apiece. This is an unusually long time.

[1] This is in fact the view which has since been maintained by Lipsius (see above, p. 452 note), whose paper appeared after these sheets had passed through the press for my first edition, but before they were published. See *S. Clement of Rome* I. p. 224 (ed. 2) on the difficulties which attend this hypothesis.

He infers from this that the original chronicler had before him simply a list of the names of the successive Antiochene bishops; that he felt bound to represent the earliest of these persons so named as appointed directly by Apostles; and that he was obliged accordingly to stretch out the duration of their tenure of office on the Procrustes-bed of this necessity so as to cover the period, though in fact the earliest name belonged to a date much later than the Apostolic times. On this principle he rectifies the chronology thus. If we reckon the duration of office at an average of twelve years, this gives 48 years for the four, and we are thus carried back to about the time of the martyrdom of the Roman bishop Telesphorus for the death of Ignatius. Or again; if we place the death of Theophilus in the middle of the episcopate of Eleutherus, and reckon back the duration of four episcopates in the Roman list, we are brought to about A.D. 138, i.e. nearly the same date, for this same event. 'In the Alexandrian list,' he adds, 'a similar reckoning leads to a similar date.' As the result of this calculation, he considers that the death of Ignatius may be placed in the reign of Hadrian, or even of Antoninus Pius (p. 71).

But, even if we allow that the length of the period constitutes a real difficulty in the Eusebian chronology, the solution does not seem to be the most probable under the circumstances. It is more natural, as well as more in accordance with experience, to suppose that some links in the chain have been lost, than that the links are continuous but have been stretched out to lengthen the chain backwards. Thus our original chronicler may only have been able to recover a name of a bishop here and there, in connexion with some fact which enabled him to fix approximately their respective dates; and, as he was not acquainted with any other names in the early annals of the Antiochene episcopate, may have assumed that there were no others. This is a matter of common occurrence in the lists of official personages in their earlier stages, where the historical record is imperfect.

But in fact the period of 75 years, though longer than the average of four episcopates, has been again and again attained, and sometimes largely exceeded, in authentic records about which no doubt can be entertained[1]. We may compare for instance the annals of the other Eastern

[1] In the recent annals of the English episcopate for instance, notwithstanding the practice of frequent translations, we have far more surprising phenomena. Thus in the see of Canterbury four episcopates extend from A.D. 1768—1848, or 80 years, and from A.D. 1783—1862, or 79 years, though in all cases the archbishops were translated from other sees; in York from A.D. 1761—1857, or 96 years, and again from A.D. 1776—1862, or 86 years, though again all were trans-

patriarchates, Alexandria and Jerusalem, at the first moment when we reach the broad daylight of history and no cloud of obscurity hangs over the dates. This is probably as fair a parallel as the case admits. At Alexandria then we have Demetrius, Heraclas, Dionysius, Maximus, extending from A.D. 190—283, or 93 years; Alexander, Athanasius, Petrus II, Timotheus I, from A.D. 313—385, or 72 years; Timotheus I, Theophilus, Cyrillus, Dioscorus, from A.D. 377—452, or 75 years: and at Jerusalem Narcissus, Alexander, Mazabanes, Hymenæus, from A.D. 190—298, or 108 years; Hermon, Macarius, Maximus, Cyrillus, from A.D. 300—388, or 88 years; Cyrillus, Joannes I, Prayllus, Juvenalis, from A.D. 348—458, or 110 years; Joannes I, Prayllus, Juvenalis, Anastasius, from A.D. 388—478, or 90 years. In fact at Alexandria 13 successive bishops, from Demetrius to Cyrillus inclusive, cover from A.D. 190—444, i.e. 254 years, giving an average of between 19 and 20 years; and at Jerusalem 13 successive bishops, from Narcissus to Anastasius inclusive, cover from A.D. 190—478, i.e. 288 years, giving an average of more than 22 years[1].

From the preceding investigation it will have appeared generally that there is no sufficient ground for suspecting an artificial arrangement of the dates of accession; but that, if it exist at all, it is not of such a kind as to affect the substantial accuracy of the chronology, though it may have caused a displacement of a few years in any given case. Of the capricious invention of names, or the arbitrary assignment of them to particular epochs irrespective of tradition, there is no indication. The information may be incorrect; the tradition may be hazy; but this is a different matter. Our guarantee of substantial fidelity will be the rough accordance of these dates with extraneous and authentic notices. If this ordeal be applied to the list, its general credibility does not suffer. From Theophilus onwards we are able

lations; in London from A.D. 1675—1761, or 86 years, though all the four were translations; in Winchester from A.D. 1734—1827, or 93 years, and again from A.D. 1761—1869, or 108 years; in Durham from A.D. 1632—1730 (with the vacancy of one year), or 97 years, and again from A.D. 1660—1750, or 90 years; in Chichester from A.D. 1731—1824, or 93 years (70 years being occupied by two episcopates alone); in Bath and Wells, where longevity seems to prevail, from A.D. 1703—1802, or 99 years, and again from A.D. 1727—1824, or 97 years; and again from A.D. 1744—1845, or 101 years, though all were translations; in Lincoln from A.D. 1787—1869, or 82 years, though all were translations; in Worcester from A.D. 1781—1861, or 80 years, though all were translations. These examples might be multiplied.

[1] No account is here taken of intruders who were thrust into the sees during the lifetimes of the regular bishops, as e.g. in the case of Athanasius.

to test every name, though the test is sometimes rough; and in no case is the divergence from known or suspected fact very wide. In all cases, which we have means of verifying, the Antiochene episcopates were contemporary with the Roman episcopates with which they are co-ordinated.

But the value of Harnack's investigations is quite independent of the particular theory which he founds upon them. He has raised definitely the question what degree of credit is due to the chronology of the early Antiochene bishops. He has collected the data for a satisfactory answer to this question, so far as it can be answered. And above all: he has set the relation of this chronology to the Ignatian controversy in its proper light.

With this last point alone we are directly concerned. The question which critics henceforth must ask is this. If there be a conflict between the very early date assigned to Ignatius in the traditional chronology of the Antiochene episcopate, and the phenomena of the Ignatian epistles regarded as a genuine work of Ignatius, so that the two cannot be reconciled, which must give place to the other? To the question so stated there can, I think, be only one answer in the end. The evidence, internal and external, for the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles is twenty times stronger than the evidence for the early Antiochene chronology. Elsewhere I have given reasons for the belief that no such conflict exists. But, assuming for the moment that the epistles do betray a later date than the chronology of the Antiochene episcopate assigns to Ignatius, it is not the genuineness of the epistles but the veracity of the chronology which must be surrendered.

Meanwhile, if we consider this chronology in itself (irrespective of its bearing on the Ignatian controversy), it is reasonable to take up an intermediate position between Wieseler and Harnack. We cannot with Wieseler tie down the date of the martyrdom to the precise year A.D. 107, for indeed there is no reason to think that Eusebius himself intended this. But neither can we with Harnack allow it such latitude as A.D. 138, because the evidence, while it disproves the chronology as a strictly accurate statement, confirms it as a rough approximation. Even as a rough approximation however, its value will diminish as we go farther back. The dates of the first century, the accession of Euodius A.D. 42, and the accession of Ignatius A.D. 69, deserve no credit. Both alike, we may suppose, were due to speculative criticism, rather than to traditional report. If Hort's synchronism with the Roman bishops be not accepted, these two accessions

may be explained in another way. The first would aim at giving the date when the Antiochene Church first received a definite constitution, this date being inferred from the Acts of the Apostles[1]; the other would represent the close of the Apostolic age as marked by the destruction of Jerusalem[2], Ignatius being regarded as still a disciple of the Apostles and as appointed by them to the episcopate. The dates during the first half of the second century on the other hand may be accepted as rough, but only very rough, approximations. The first of these, the death of Ignatius, does not profess to be more than this. Not making any extravagant claims, it is the more entitled to credit. If it comes to us on the authority of Africanus, it is highly valuable, because Africanus lived in a neighbouring country, and must have been born within a single life-time of the alleged date. However this may be, we have the indisputable testimony of a contemporary of Africanus to the same effect. Origen (*Hom. in Luc.* c. i, *Op.* III. p. 938 A) speaks of 'Ignatius who was second bishop of Antioch after the blessed Peter, and during the persecution (ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ) fought with wild beasts in Rome.' From this statement the date of the martyrdom may be inferred approximately[3]. Origen, it should be observed, had himself resided at Antioch before this (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 21; about A.D. 226, see Clinton *Fast. Rom.* I. pp. 239, 241). If in addition to these facts we bear in mind that common tradition assigned the martyrdom to the reign of Trajan, we shall be doing no injustice to the evidence by setting the probable limits between A.D. 100—118, without attempting to fix the year more precisely[4].

[1] The famine prophesied by Agabus (Acts xi. 28) is placed in the Armenian the year before, and in Jerome the year after, the accession of Euodius. In the Acts this prophecy and its fulfilment are recorded in the same paragraph which describes the foundation of a church at Antioch. This approximate synchronism was probably sufficient to suggest the date for the accession of the first bishop of Antioch.

[2] The accession of Ignatius is placed one year before the destruction of Jerusalem in the Armenian, and two years before in Jerome. The final dispersion of the surviving Apostles, which immediately preceded the overthrow of the city, would be thought a fit moment for the consecration of the last bishop of Antioch who was a disciple of Apostles.

[3] The expression ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ leaves open the alternative of the reigns of Domitian and Trajan; for any subsequent persecution would be too late for the second bishop of Antioch after S. Peter. As no one has ever placed the martyrdom under Domitian, we may safely assume that Origen intended the persecution of Trajan.

There is no ground for the surmise of Harnack (p. 67) that Origen derived his information from Africanus.

[4] If Malalas were a more trustworthy writer, we might be disposed to listen to

7.

The two Acts of Martyrdom which I have designated the *Antiochene* and the *Roman* respectively are given in the following pages. The other three, having no independent value, are not reprinted here.

The authorities for the text of the ANTIOCHENE ACTS are:

(1) *The Greek MS* [G], which I have collated anew for this edition.

(2) *The Latin Version* [L], of which a revised text will be found in the Appendix.

(3) *The Syriac Version* [S], which also is re-edited in the Appendix.

(4) *The Bollandist Acts* [B], which comprise a Latin version of a considerable portion of the Antiochene Acts (see above, pp. 366, 371). They will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* for Feb. 1.

(5) *The Armenian Acts* [A], which also comprise a very large portion of these Acts (see above, pp. 367, 371 sq). Petermann's reprint of Aucher has been used for these.

(6) *The Acts of the Metaphrast* [M], which are compiled partly from these Acts (see above, pp. 367, 375 sq), and may be used occasionally for textual purposes.

As G is a late and poor MS, the different versions LSBA are highly important aids to the construction of a text. Of these L is valuable on account of its literalness. On the other hand SBA frequently offer better readings, and generally may be said to preserve older forms of the text. But the license which they have taken with the original lessens their value; and I have only recorded their readings where they appeared to represent variations in the Greek. No weight attaches to M; for, where his text coincides with our Acts, it is evidently founded on a comparatively late MS closely resembling G.

These Acts were first edited in the original Greek by Ruinart (*Act. Mart. Sinc.* p. 605 sq, Paris, 1689) from the Colbert MS G, the Latin

him when ὁ σοφὸς Θεόφιλος ὁ χρονογράφος is adduced by him (x. p. 252, ed. Bonn.) as stating that Anianus succeeded S. Mark as bishop of Alexandria. Theophilus of Antioch, who shows himself a chronographer in his extant work, is doubtless meant; but this is probably a blunder akin to the erroneous statement of Malalas about Africanus and Irenæus quoted above (p. 439). Otherwise Theophilus might have been looked to, as a primary source of information respecting the Antiochene bishoprics. As it is, Harnack (p. 43 sq) seems to me to treat the statement of Malalas with too much respect.

Version having been previously published by Ussher (A.D. 1644) together with the Ignatian Epistles which it accompanies. Subsequent editors contented themselves with reproducing the text of Ruinart. Jacobson recollated G, but did nothing more for the text. Zahn first made use of the versions for the correction of the errors in the Greek MS, and thus produced a much superior text to those of his predecessors. He did not however exhaust all the good readings which they would yield. A further use of them is made in this edition. The readings ἔωθεν, and ληνῷ (for λίνῳ), in § 6, with several others elsewhere, are now introduced into the text for the first time from these versions.

The authorities for the text of the ROMAN ACTS are these;

(1) *The Three Greek MSS* [V][L][P], described above, p. 364.

(2) *The Coptic Versions* [C], of which an account is also given above, p. 364 sq. These are the Memphitic [C_m] and the Thebaic or Sahidic [C_s]. In passages where the two agree, or where only one is extant, the symbol used is C simply.

(3) *The Bollandist Acts* [B], in which is incorporated a very large portion of these Roman Acts (see above, pp. 366 sq, 371).

(4) *The Armenian Acts* [A], which likewise contain a large portion of these Acts (see above, pp. 367, 371 sq).

(5) *The Acts of the Metaphrast* [M], in which use is made of the Roman Acts (see above, p. 375 sq); but the coincidences are very rarely close enough to have any value for textual purposes.

The Greek text of these Acts was first printed in full by Dressel from V. Extracts had been given before from L by Ussher (see above p. 364). Zahn improved upon Dressel's text here and there, chiefly by corrections from AB; but with the imperfect materials before him he was unable to do much, and the text has remained hitherto in a very bad state. Thus it has been disfigured by such corruptions as Κυθήνῃ (Κιθαιρῶνι, Zahn) for Κυνοσούρῃ (§ 1), τοῦ ἡλίου for Ἰλίου (§ 1), ἐμφρόνου for ἔμφρονος (§ 2), χαλκῷ for χαλκεῖ (§ 3), Μωϋσέως for μνήσεως (§ 6), while in one place (§ 3 εἰ καὶ ἐσταυρώθη κ.τ.λ.) several lines had dropped out owing to a homœoteleuton. The superior materials at my disposal have enabled me to give an entirely new and, as I hope, greatly superior text. Of the Greek MSS P, which is here made known for the first time, is quite the best, while the full collation of L is also important. The Coptic Versions preserve a text in some respects more ancient than any other authority, and from them I have extracted readings which, though evidently correct, do not appear elsewhere.

The chronological notices at the beginning and end of these Acts in my text assume entirely new forms, which are not without an interest for the Ignatian controversy.

Though these Roman Acts are quite valueless as history, they are interesting as a specimen of apologetics. For this reason I have thought it worth while to add full explanatory and illustrative notes, which hitherto they have lacked.

The variations of the versions (which in some cases are very considerable) are not given unless they have a bearing on the Greek text or possess some interest of their own.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ

Α.

I. Ἄρτι διαδεξαμένου τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν Τραϊανοῦ, Ἰγνάτιος ὁ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἰωάννου μαθητής, ἀνὴρ

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ Α] *μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου τοῦ θεοφόρου* G; *martirium sancti ignacii episcopi antiochie sirie* L*; *martyrium ignatii episcopi imperante traiano (in regno traiani) in roma urbe* S* (but with vv. ll.).

2 ἀποστόλου] G; add. *evangelistae* S; add. *et evangelistae* LA[B].

1. Ἄρτι διαδεξαμένου κ.τ.λ.] The death of Nerva, with the consequent accession of Trajan, took place on Jan. 25, A.D. 98 (*Chron. Pasch.* I. p. 469, ed. Bonn.), or probably two days later (Reimar on Dion Cass. lxviii. 3); see Clinton *Fast. Rom.* I. p. 84.

2. Ἰωάννου μαθητής] See again § 3 ἐγεγόνεισαν γὰρ πάλαι μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου with the note. This is the earliest direct statement that Ignatius had S. John as his master. Older writers say not a word of it, though we should expect some reference to it, either in the scattered notices of Irenæus or in the memoir of Eusebius or in the encomium of Chrysostom, if it had been true. Moreover the absolute silence of Ignatius himself respecting this Apostle, while he mentions S. Peter and S. Paul by name, is unfavourable to its truth. A highly probable explanation of the origin of the story is given by Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 46 sq. Eusebius in his *Chronicon* (II. p. 162 sq), speaking of S. John, says μεθ' ὃν Παπίας Ἱεραπολίτης καὶ Πολύκαρπος Σμύρνης ἐπίσκοπος ἀκουσταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγνωρίζοντο (Syncellus has here preserved the exact words of Eusebius, as the Armenian Version shows). This becomes in Jerome's edition 'post quem auditores ejus insignes fuerunt Papias Hieropolitanus episcopus et Polycarpus Zmyrnaeus et Ignatius Antiochenus.' We may however question whether, as Zahn assumes, Jerome himself supposed Ignatius to have been a disciple of S. John. In his notices of Ignatius and Polycarp, *Vir. Ill.* §§ 16, 17, he twice states the fact of Polycarp, 'auditor Joannis', 'Joannis apostoli discipulus', but abstains from stating the same of Ignatius, notwithstanding the temptation. It seems more probable therefore that he rapidly added 'et Ignatius Antiochenus', intending

ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀποστολικός, ἐκυβέρνα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀντιοχέων· ὃς τοὺς πάλαι χειμῶνας μόλις παραγαγὼν τῶν πολλῶν ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ διωγμῶν, καθάπερ κυβερνήτης ἀγαθός, τῷ οἴακι τῆς προσευχῆς καὶ τῆς νηστείας, τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς διδασκαλίας, τῷ τόνῳ τῷ πνευματικῷ, πρὸς τὴν ζάλην τῆς ἀντικειμένης ἀντεῖχεν δυνάμεως, δεδοικὼς μή τινα τῶν ὀλιγοψύχων ἢ ἀκεραιοτέρων ἀπο-

1 *ἐν*] L[A]BS* (but with a v. l.); *ἦν* G. *ἐκυβέρνα*] txt L[A][B]; præf. *καὶ* G[S]. 2 *Ἀντιοχέων*] txt L[S][A]B; add. *ἐπιμελῶς* G. *ὅς*] LA(?); om. G; *et* S; al. B. 5 *τῇ συνεχείᾳ*] L; præf. *καὶ* G[B]; præf. *qui et* [A]. S translates as if it had read *τῆς συνεχοῦς καὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ*; but perhaps the translator connected *τῆς νηστείας τῇ συνεχείᾳ* together; at all events his text seems to have omitted *καὶ* here. *τῷ τόνῳ*] G; *robore* L (so also it translates *τόνῳ ad Mar.* 4); *τῷ πόνῳ* AB; *τῶν πόνων* S. Præf. *et* AB; om. GLS. *τῷ πνευματικῷ*] LAB; *τῶν πνευματικῶν* S; *τῷ πν̄ι* (=*πνεύματι*) G. 6 *τῆς ἀντικειμένης ἀντεῖχεν δυνάμεως*] Zahn; *adversantis se opposuit potentiae* L*; *potentiae* (gen.) *inimici restitit* S (*potentiae inimici* being a loose paraphrase of *τῆς*

to understand merely 'insignis fuit' with it, though the form of the sentence suggests a close connexion with all the preceding words. He excuses his work as 'tumultuarium' in his preface and says that he 'notario velocissime dictavit'. A similar addition to the language of Eusebius is made, as Zahn points out, in the Syriac abstract (II. p. 214, Schoene), 'post quem, qui eum audiverant innotuerunt Papias Ierapolitanus et Polycarpos episcopus eorum qui Smyrnae sedem (suam) collocaverant, praeterea autem Ignatios episcopus Antiochenorum'; and this renders it probable that the name of Ignatius was added in some Greek copies of Eusebius, the addition being perhaps suggested by the connexion of the names in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36. From such an addition, loosely worded or carelessly interpreted, the story would take its rise. It is repeated in the *Chron. Pasch.* p. 416 *ὁ Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου γνήσιος μαθητὴς γεγονώς*, in the Hymn of S. Joseph 3 (*Anal. Sacr. Spic. Sol.* I. p. 389) *μαθητευθεὶς...τῷ ἱεροφάντορι καὶ θεολόγῳ κ.τ.λ.*, and in the *Menæa* Dec. 20. So also in two Syriac chronicles (Cureton *C. I.* pp. 221, 252; comp. Land *Anecd. Syr.* I. p. 116), belonging apparently to the seventh and eighth or ninth centuries respectively (see Wright's *Catal. of Syr. MSS in the Brit. Mus.* pp. 1040, 1041), and in the Syriac writer Solomon, author of the Bee (Cureton *C. I.* pp. 220, 251), who flourished about A.D. 1220 (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* III. p. 309). On the other hand Socrates (*H. E.* vi. 8) says of Ignatius merely *τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῖς συνδιέτριψεν*, and Gregory the Great regards him as a disciple, not of S. John, but of S. Peter, *Epist.* v. 39 *ad Anast.* 'magistrum ejus apostolorum principem,' 'ejusdem principis discipulum' (*Op.* VII. p. 320, Venet. 1770).

1. *ἀποστολικός*] Said of Polycarp in *Mart. Polyc.* 16, and of Barnabas

βάλῃ. τοιγαροῦν ηὐφραίνετο μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀσαλεύτῳ, λωφήσαντος πρὸς ὀλίγον τοῦ διωγμοῦ, ἤσχαλλεν δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὡς μήπω τῆς ὄντως εἰς Χριστὸν ἀγάπης ἐφαψάμενος μηδὲ τῆς τελείας τοῦ μαθητοῦ τάξεως. ἐνενόει γὰρ τὴν διὰ μαρτυρίου γινομένην ὁμολογίαν πλέον αὐτὸν προσοικειοῦσαν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

ἀντικειμένης δυνάμεως); *adversabatur* (om. τῆς ἀντικειμένης and δυνάμεως) A; *incumbentem ... sua virtute avertebat* (τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἀντεῖχεν δυνάμει) B; τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἀντεῖχεν G. The corruption of τῆς ἀντικειμένης into τὴν ἀντικειμένην has led to the rejection or alteration of δυνάμεως. 7 ἀκεραιοτέρων] There is no sufficient reason for thinking with Zahn that the versions had different readings, though they translate loosely; e.g. he supposes *magis simplices* of L to represent ἀφελεστέρων, but ἀκέραιος is always translated *simplex* in the Vulg. of the N. T.; Matt. x. 16, Rom. xvi. 19, Phil. ii. 15. 9 λωφήσαντος] λοφήσαντος G. 10 τῆς ὄντως] GS; *vere* (=ὄντως, om. τῆς) L; *in plenum* [B]; om. A. 12 γινομένην] G; *factam* B; *si contigerit et evenerit super ipsum* S; om. L[A]. 13 πλέον] So G, not πλεῖον as commonly given. προσοικειοῦσαν] The infin. *adducere* in L does not imply a v. l. προσοικειῶσαι (as Zahn), but the genius of the Latin language would suggest the change.

by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 20, p. 489). Tertullian distinguishes *apostolici* or *apostolici viri* from *apostoli*, using the term with the meaning 'disciples of apostles' (e.g. *de Praescr.* 32, *adv. Marc.* iv. 2), though Clement calls Barnabas ἀπόστολος and ἀποστολικός in different places. Our martyrologist probably means 'a true disciple of apostles in all respects.' Comp. *Trall.* inscr. ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτῆρι.

2. παραγαγών] '*having passed by, escaped*,' or perhaps '*having turned aside, diverted*.' For this latter meaning see Herod. i. 91 οὐκ οἷόν τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν μοίρας.

3. τῶν πολλῶν] The persecution of Domitian, unlike that of Nero, consisted of repeated attacks; see Clem. Rom. 1 τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους [γινομ]ένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς κ.τ.λ. with the note. There is no satisfactory evidence however that it extended beyond Rome; and the martyrologist's accuracy therefore is not above suspicion.

5. τόνῳ] '*tension*', '*inflexibility*'; comp. Ps-Ign. *ad Mar.* 4 παρακαλῶν προσθεῖναι τῷ τόνῳ, where there is the same v. l. πόνῳ as here. The word is put into the mouth of Ignatius himself in the *Menæa* Dec. 20 ἐβόας, ἀθλητά· Μηδεὶς ὀχλείτω, μηδείς μου θρύψει τὸν τόνον (p. 141, ed. Venet. 1863). It is used by Plutarch to describe the 'atrocem animum Catonis', *Vit. Pomp.* 44; comp. also Aristid. *Op.* I. p. 524 τὸν τόνον τῆς γνώμης. Though the word might suggest a continuation of the nautical metaphor of the previous clauses (comp. Herod. vii. 36), it is difficult to find an appropriate application of such an image here.

11. τῆς τελείας κ.τ.λ.] See *Trall.* 5 οὐ...παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητής εἰμι, *Rom.* 5 νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς εἶναι, *ib.* 4 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθῶς κ.τ.λ., with the notes on *Ephes.* 1, 3.

ὅθεν ἔτεσιν ὀλίγοις ἔτι παραμένων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, [καὶ] λύχνου δίκην θεϊκοῦ τὴν ἑκάστου φωτίζων διάνοιαν διὰ τῆς τῶν γραφῶν ἐξηγήσεως, ἐπετύγχανεν τῶν κατ' εὐχήν.

II. Τραϊανοῦ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐννάτῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἐπαρθέντος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ κατὰ Σκυθῶν καὶ Δακῶν καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ νομίσαντος ἔτι λείπειν αὐτῷ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑποταγὴν τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβὲς σύστημα, εἰ μὴ τὴν τῶν

1 καὶ] GLA; om. S[B]. 3 γραφῶν] LSB; θειῶν γραφῶν G; *scripturarum sacrarum* A. For ἐπετύγχανεν τῶν κατ' εὐχὴν S has *quae revelabantur ipsi per precem* (*in prece*). 5 γὰρ] GLA; δὲ (*vero*) SB. ἐννάτῳ] GSAB; *quarto* L (iv for ix). The sentence is translated *post novem annos* in S, and *post quartum annum* in L* (but see Appx). 7 Δακῶν] GSB; *thraces* L; *dacos* (vel *thraces*) A (thus giving both readings). ἑτέρων πολλῶν] GS (comp. M); *alteras multas et diversas* L; *diversarum* B; def. A. νομίσαντος] txt GLA[B]; add. *decere ipsi et* S. 9 εἰ μὴ] txt LSAB; præf. καὶ G. τῶν δαιμόνων] G; *daemonum suorum* A; *daemoniacam* L; al. BS. 10 ἔλοιτο]

5. ἐννάτῳ ἔτει] See above, p. 448 sq.

7. Σκυθῶν καὶ Δακῶν] For the chronology of the Dacian Wars see Borghesi *Œuvres* IV. p. 121 sq, Henzen *Ann. dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Archeol.* XXXIV. p. 137 sq, 1862, Mommsen *Hermes* III. pp. 45, 130 sq, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* III. p. 102 sq, Dierauer *Geschichte Trajans* p. 63 sq (in Büdinger's *Unters. z. Röm. Kaisergesch.* vol. I), besides Clinton and older writers, e.g. Tillemont *Empereurs* II. pp. 553 sq, 560 sq, Eckhel *Doct. Num.* VI. p. 414. Recent discoveries have added to our knowledge on this subject; see above p. 404 sq. The First Dacian War began A.D. 101 and ended A.D. 103 (or at the close of A.D. 102); the Second was waged during the years 105, 106, and (as Mommsen thinks) 107 also.

The mention of the Scythians here in connexion with the Dacians is borrowed from Euseb. *Chron.* II. p. 162 'Trajanus de Dacis et Scythis triumphavit.' They are not mentioned, so far as I am aware, in any histories or monuments relating to the period. In the Metaphrast's Acts of Ignatius they displace the Dacians, who disappear altogether. See above, p. 410, and comp. Hodgkin *Italy and her Invaders* I. p. 84 sq.

ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἐθνῶν] This is a rhetorical flourish; but during the Second Dacian War (A.D. 105 or 106) Palmas the governor subjugated Arabia Petræa and added it to the dominions of Trajan, Dion Cass. lxviii. 14 (comp. *Chron. Pasch.* II. p. 472); see above, p. 406 sq.

9. εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ.] Euseb. *H. E.* x. 8 εἰ μὴ τοῖς δαίμοσι θύειν αἱροῖντο. See however the upper note.

15. διάγοντα κ.τ.λ.] It is clear that our hagiologist places the Armenian expedition and consequent residence

δαιμόνων †ἔλοιτο† λατρείαν μετὰ πάντων ὑπεισιέναι τῶν ἐθνῶν, διωγμὸν [ὑπομένειν] ἀπειλήσα[ντο]ς, πάντας τοὺς εὐσεβῶς ζῶντας ἢ θύειν ἢ τελευτᾶν κατηνάγκαζεν. τότε τοίνυν φοβηθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας ὁ γενναῖος τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιώτης ἑκουσίως ἤγετο πρὸς Τραϊανόν, διάγοντα μὲν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, σπουδάζοντα δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Πάρθους. ὡς δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔστη Τραϊανοῦ [τοῦ βασιλέως]· Τίς εἶ, κακοδαῖμον, τὰς ἡμετέρας

G; *cogeret* LSA; *inclinaret* B; so that all the versions would seem to have had another reading, possibly *ἐπείγοι*. 11 *ὑπομένειν*] G; om. L; dub. SA (which are too loose to allow any inference); def. B. *ἀπειλήσαντος*] G; *comminans* (as if *ἀπειλήσας*) L. *πάντας*] txt LSAB; præf. *ὁ φόβος* G. 12 *τοὺς εὐσεβῶς ζῶντας*] G; *ipsos dei cultores existentes* (*αὐτοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ὄντας*) L; *dei cultores* B; *christianos* A; *sanctos* S. 14 *στρατιώτης*] txt GL; add. *ignatius* S* (as a v. l.) AB. 18 *τοῦ βασιλέως*] GLB; om. S[A]. Add. *traianus dixit* LB; add. *dixit illi* (*traianus*) S*; add. *et senatu, interrogabat eum rex et dicebat* A (see above, p. 372); om. G.

of Trajan at Antioch immediately after the end of the Dacian Wars. This however is not consistent with the known facts. The Dacian Wars ended A.D. 107 at the latest; while the Eastern expedition did not commence till the autumn A.D. 113. The interval of six or seven years was spent by the emperor at Rome or the neighbourhood. On the attempts which have been made to interpolate an earlier expedition to the East and consequent residence at Antioch in this interval, see above p. 407 sq.

18. *κακοδαῖμον*] '*wretch*', '*miserable creature*'; a common mode of address. The word however properly means 'one possessed by an evil genius or fate', especially when this evil genius urges him on to his ruin by infatuation; comp. Dion Chrysost. *Orat.* xxiii. p. 514 *ἀπόκριναί μοι ὅ τι ἡγῶμαι ἄνθρωπον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι. Δ. ἆρ' οὗ ὁ δαιμὼν ἀγαθός ἐστιν, τοῦτον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι φῄς, οὗ δὲ μοχθηρός, κακοδαίμονα;* and again p. 515 *ἀναγκὴ κακοδαίμονα φάσκειν ἐκεῖνον κακῷ δαίμονι συνεζευγμένον καὶ λατρεύοντα*, Arist. *Plut.* 850 *οἵμοι κακοδαίμων ...καὶ τρὶς κακοδαίμων...καὶ μυριάκις... οὕτω πολυφόρῳ συγκέκραμαι δαίμονι.* See also Gataker on M. Antonin. vii. 17. In this sense it is taken up by Ignatius in his reply. 'Ignatius', says Leclerc, 'vocem Christianorum more interpretatur, quasi Trajanus *κακοδαίμονα* dixisset *ἐνεργούμενον*, ut loquamur, ecclesiastico more, seu a malo daemone obsessum.' But the passages which I have quoted show that he is hardly justified in adding 'qua in re, quod cum pace sanctissimorum manium dictum esto, nonnulla tamen cavillatio fuisse videtur.' *Κακοδαίμων* is the direct antithesis to

σπουδάζων διατάξεις ὑπερβαίνειν μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἑτέρους ἀναπείθειν ἵνα κακῶς ἀπολοῦνται; Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Οὐδεὶς θεοφόρον ἀποκαλεῖ κακοδαίμονα· ἀφεστήκασι γὰρ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ δαιμόνια. εἰ δέ, ὅτι τούτοις ἐπαχθής εἰμι, κακόν με πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας ἀποκαλεῖς, συνομολογῶ· Χριστὸν γὰρ ἔχων ἐπουράνιον βασιλέα τὰς τούτων καταλύω ἐπιβουλάς. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Καὶ τίς ἐστιν θεοφόρος; Ἰγνάτιος ἀπεκρίνατο· Ὁ Χριστὸν ἔχων ἐν στέρνοις. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ἡμεῖς οὖν σοι δοκοῦμεν κατὰ νοῦν μὴ ἔχειν θεούς, οἷς καὶ χρώμεθα συμμάχοις πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους; Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Τὰ δαιμόνια τῶν ἐθνῶν θεοὺς προσαγορεύεις πλανώμενος· εἷς γάρ ἐστιν Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἷς Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς

1 ὑπερβαίνειν] ὑπερβένειν G. μετὰ τοῦ κ.τ.λ.] *cum et alteros persuadere* L; μετὰ τὸ κ.τ.λ. G; the other versions SAB probably had τοῦ, for they render loosely *et aliis persuades*. 4 μακρὰν] Zahn; *longe* LB; *longo intervallo* S; om. G. The *procul sunt* of A is doubtful, and possibly represents ἀφεστήκασι alone. 5 εἰ δέ] GLSA; *scio quidem* (οἶδα) B. κακόν] txt L[S][A]; præf. καὶ G; præf. *propterea* B. 6 ἔχων...τὰς...καταλύω] GLAB; ἔχω...τὸν...καταλύοντα S. 8 τίς] GLSB; τί M; al. A. 14 τὸν οὐρανὸν] GLB; præf. ταῦτα πάντα κατὰ S; def. A. 16 αὐτοῦ] LSB; τοῦ θεοῦ G (comp. M); def. A. οὖ] οὐ G. φιλίας] *amicitia* L; *amicitiam* B; *in amore* S; *amoris* A; βασιλείας G (comp. M). 18 τὴν] txt LSABM; add. ἐμὴν G.

θεοφόρος.—The word is naturalised in earlier English writers; e.g. Shakespeare *Richard the Third* i. 3 'Hie thee to hell for shame and leave this world, Thou cacodæmon.'

3. θεοφόρον] '*one who carries God within him*': see the notes on *Ephes.* inscr., 9. The word should not be treated directly as a proper name here, but is general, as the context shows, =τινα τῶν τὸν Θεὸν ἐν καρδίᾳ φορούντων.

10. κατὰ νοῦν] '*in our mind*', equivalent to ἐν στέρνοις, ἐν καρδίᾳ, which occur in the context.

18. τὸν ἀνασταυρώσαντα] '*who suspended on the cross, who crucified*'; comp. 1 Pet. ii. 24 τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ. The preposition in ἀνασταυροῦν (as in ἀνασκολοπίζειν) always has this meaning in classical writers (e.g. Herod. vi. 30, Thuc. i. 110, etc.), and so also in Josephus *B. J.* ii. 14. 9, v. 11. 1, *Ant.* ii. 5. 3, xi. 6. 10; see Bleek on Heb. vi. 6. The Greek and other

αὐτοῦ ὁ μονογενής, οὗ τῆς φιλίας ὀναίμην. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Τὸν σταυρωθέντα λέγεις ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου; Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Τὸν ἀνασταυρώσαντα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν μετὰ τοῦ ταύτης εὑρετοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν καταδικάσαντα δαιμονικὴν κακίαν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τῶν αὐτὸν ἐν καρδίᾳ φορούντων. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Σὺ οὖν ἐν ἑαυτῷ φορεῖς τὸν Χριστόν; Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ναί· γέγραπται γάρ, ΕΝΟΙΚΗΣΩ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΜΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΗΣΩ. Τραϊανὸς ἀπεφήνατο· Ἰγνάτιον προσετάξαμεν, τὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγοντα περιφέρειν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, δέσμιον ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν γενόμενον ἄγεσθαι παρὰ τὴν μεγάλην Ῥώμην, βρῶμα γενησόμενον θηρίων εἰς ὄψιν καὶ εἰς τέρψιν τοῦ δήμου. ταύτης ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς ἐπακούσας τῆς ἀποφάσεως μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐβόησεν· Εὐχαριστῶ σοι,

20 κακίαν] LS; *malitias* A; πλάνην καὶ κακίαν G; al. B. 21 φορεῖς] *φέρεις* G; *gestas* B; *circumfers* (περιφέρεις) LA (comp. M); *amictus es...et indutus* S. The versions BS seem to require *φορεῖς*, which accordingly I have substituted for *φέρεις*. 22 τὸν Χριστόν] LSABM; *τὸν σταυρωθέντα* G. The vv. ll. *περιφέρεις* and *τὸν σταυρωθέντα* seem both to have been suggested for the sake of conformity to the sentence below, *τὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγοντα περιφέρειν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον*. 26 στρατιωτῶν] GLAB; *ῥωμαίων* S. μεγάλην] This epithet appears in all our authorities, GLSAB. 27 εἰς ὄψιν καὶ εἰς τέρψιν] *in spectaculum et in oblectationem* A; *delectentur* (*delectetur*) *videntes quid acciderit ei* S; *in spectaculum* (εἰς ὄψιν) L; εἰς τέρψιν G[M]; *pro avocatione* B. 28 μάρτυς] GLSB (comp. M): om. A.

ancient commentators seem to be agreed in giving a different sense, 'crucify anew,' to the word in Heb. l. c., but this meaning is entirely without a parallel in earlier or contemporary usage.

20. ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας] Rom. xvi. 20 *συντρίψει τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν*.

23. ἐνοικήσω] Taken word for word from 2 Cor. vi. 16, where it is a loose quotation from Levit. xxvi. 11, 12, *καὶ θήσω τὴν σκήνην μου ἐν ὑμῖν...καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν*; comp. Ps-Ign. *Hero* 6 *σεαυτὸν ἁγνὸν τήρει, ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκητήριον κ.τ.λ.* See also *Ephes.* 15 *ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί*, with the note.

25. περιφέρειν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 2 Cor. iv. 10 *πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες*. Trajan is made to speak the language of S. Paul.

29. ἀποφάσεως] '*sentence*' (from ἀποφαίνω), as e.g. Dion Cass. xlvi. 6 *τὰς τῶν δικαστῶν ἀποφάσεις*; comp. *Mart. Rom.* 9.

δέσποτα, ὅτι με τελείᾳ τῇ πρός σε ἀγάπῃ τιμῆσαι κατηξίωσας, τῷ ἀποστόλῳ σου Παύλῳ δέσμοις συνδήσας σιδηροῖς. ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ μετ' εὐφροσύνης περιθέμενος τὰ δεσμά, ἐπευξάμενος πρότερον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ταύτην παραθέμενος μετὰ δακρύων τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὥσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος ἀγέλης καλῆς ἡγούμενος, ὑπὸ θηριώδους στρατιωτικῆς δεινότητος συνηρπάζετο, θηρίοις ὠμοβόροις ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπαχθησόμενος πρὸς βοράν.

III. Μετὰ πολλῆς τοίνυν προθυμίας καὶ χαρᾶς, ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ πάθους, κατελθὼν ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας εἰς τὴν Σελευκείαν ἐκεῖθεν εἴχετο τοῦ πλοός· καὶ προσχὼν μετὰ πολὺν κάματον τῇ Σμυρναίων πόλει, σὺν πολλῇ χαρᾷ καταβὰς τῆς νηὸς ἔσπευδε τὸν ἅγιον Πολύκαρ-

1 τῇ πρός σε ἀγάπῃ] GL; *amore tuo* SA, and *in tua dilectione* B (as if they had read τῇ σῇ ἀγάπῃ). 2 συνδήσας] G; *et ligasti* [S]; *colligari* (corrupted into *collocari*) L* (probably reading συνδῆσαι, just as ἀποδοῦναι in § 4 is translated *reddi*), and similarly *alligari* B, *ligari* A. 4 ἐπευξάμενος] G; *oransque* L. A connecting particle is also supplied by SAB in different ways, but they count for nothing in such a case. 8 ὠμοβόροις] *crudivorantibus* L*; αἱμοβόροις G;

6. ὥσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος] *Mart. Polyc.* 14 προσδεθείς, ὥσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος ἐκ μεγάλου ποιμνίου εἰς προσφοράν, from which passage our martyrologist has probably borrowed the image, though the application is different.

7. θηριώδους στρατιωτικῆς κ.τ.λ.] *Rom.* 5 θηριομαχῶ...δεδεμένος λεοπάρδοις, ὅ ἐστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα.

8. ὠμοβόροις] '*carnivorous*', as e.g. Philo *de Somn.* ii. 13 (p. 670) ἄρκτον τις ἢ λέοντα...ἐξαγριαίνει καὶ ἀνερεθίζει, ὅπως θοίναν καὶ εὐωχίαν ὠμοβόροις ἀνηλεεστάτην εὐτρεπίσῃ ἑαυτόν: and so ὠμοβορία Tatian *ad Graec.* 2. But αἱμοβόροις is unobjectionable in itself (comp. e.g. Aristot. *Hist. An.* viii. 11, p. 596, 4 Macc. x. 17), and perhaps should be retained. It occurs in the *Mart. Rom.* 7; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 7 ἐν θηρσὶν αἱμοβόροις. The same v. l. αἱμοβόρον, ὠμοβόρον, appears in Alciphr. *Epist.* iii. 21.

10. τοῦ πάθους] i.e. not 'of his own martyrdom', but 'of the Passion of Christ', as a gloss in the Syriac translation has correctly interpreted it; comp. *Rom.* 6 ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου.

κατελθὼν κ.τ.λ.] As Acts xiii. 4 κατῆλθον εἰς [τὴν] Σελεύκειαν, ἐκεῖθέν τε ἀπέπλευσαν.

12. τῇ Σμυρναίων πόλει] On the impossibility of reconciling this sea voyage from Seleucia to Smyrna with the notices in the epistles see

που τὸν Σμυρναίων ἐπίσκοπον τὸν συνακροατὴν θεά-
σασθαι· ἐγεγόνεισαν γὰρ πάλαι μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου.
παρ' ᾧ καταχθεὶς καὶ πνευματικῶν αὐτῷ κοινωνήσας
χαρισμάτων καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς ἐγκαυχώμενος, παρεκάλει
συναθλεῖν τῇ αὐτοῦ προθέσει, μάλιστα μὲν κοινῇ πᾶσαν
ἐκκλησίαν (ἐδεξιοῦντο γὰρ τὸν ἅγιον διὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων
καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων αἱ τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις
καὶ ἐκκλησίαι, πάντων ἐπειγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴ πως
μέρος χαρίσματος λάβωσι πνευματικοῦ), ἐξαιρέτως δὲ
τὸν ἅγιον Πολύκαρπον, ἵνα διὰ τῶν θηρίων θᾶττον
ἀφανὴς τῷ κόσμῳ γενόμενος ἐμφανισθῇ τῷ προσώπῳ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

crudelissimis (?) [B] (which paraphrases); om. A. The equivalent for *θηρίοις ὠμοβόροις* in S is חיות שנא *ferae voraces*. *βορᾶν*] *βορρᾶν* G. 12 *μετὰ πολὺν κάματον*] GLB; *cum* (ב) *multo labore* (*μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου*) AS*. *Σμυρναίων*] *σμυρνέων* G; *zmyrnaeorum* A; *zmyrnam* S. 14 *Σμυρναίων*] *smyrnaeorum* LB; *σμυρνέον* (sic) G; *zmyrnae* [S]A. 15 *Ἰωάννου*] txt L (comp. M); præf. *τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου* GA; add. *apostoli* B; præf. *apostoli* S. 18 *συναθλεῖν*] GLSA; *ire ad* (*συνελθεῖν*?) B. 20 *καὶ* prim.] GS[B]; om. LA. 21 *εἴ πως*] G; *ut fortasse* SA; *ut* B; *si quo aliquam* L (as if *εἴ πού* (?) *τι*).

above pp. 232, 241, 251, 265, 266, 267; comp. p. 211.

14. *τὸν συνακροατὴν*] See the note on § 1 *Ἰωάννου μαθητής*. The disparity of age is an additional objection to the statement here, and the opening of the Epistle to Polycarp implies that Ignatius had not seen him before his visit to Smyrna. The *Menæa* Feb. 23 say of Polycarp, *οὗτος ἐμαθητεύθη τῷ θεολόγῳ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ εὐαγγελιστῇ σὺν Ἰγνατίῳ τῷ θεοφόρῳ*.

18. *συναθλεῖν κ.τ.λ.*] See his own language in *Polyc.* 6 *συγκοπιᾶτε ἀλλήλοις, συναθλεῖτε*.

πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν] '*every church*', *Rom.* 4 *Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἑκὼν ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω κ.τ.λ.* It could hardly mean 'all the Church', as Leclerc takes it; see the note on *Ephes.* 12 *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ*.

19. *διὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων κ.τ.λ.*] For the preposition comp. § 4 *διὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων* below, and see the note on *Magn.* 2 *διὰ Δαμᾶ*. See also the note on *Ephes.* 1 *ἀπείληφα*.

22. *μέρος χαρίσματος κ.τ.λ.*] Rom. i. 11 *ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικόν*.

ἐξαιρέτως] As in *Smyrn.* 7, *Trall.* 12; comp. *Philad.* 9.

24. *ἀφανὴς κ.τ.λ.*] Suggested by *Rom.* 3 *καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι, ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι κ.τ.λ.*, *ib.* 4 *ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται*.

IV. Καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔλεγεν, [καὶ] οὕτως διεμαρτύρατο, τοσοῦτον ἐπεκτείνων τὴν πρὸς Χριστὸν ἀγάπην, ὡς οὐρανοῦ μέλλειν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι διὰ τῆς καλῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ τῆς τῶν συνευχομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀθλήσεως σπουδῆς, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ὑπαντησάσαις αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων, γραμμάτων εὐχαρίστων ἐκπεμφθέντων πρὸς αὐτάς, πνευματικὴν μετ' εὐχῆς καὶ παραινέσεως ἀποσταζόντων χάριν. τοιγαροῦν τοὺς πάντας ὁρῶν εὐνοϊκῶς διακειμένους περὶ αὐτόν, φοβηθεὶς μή ποτε ἡ τῆς ἀδελφότητος στοργὴ τὴν πρὸς Κύριον αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν ἐκκόψῃ, καλῆς ἀνεῳχθείσης αὐτῷ θύρας τοῦ μαρτυρίου, οἷα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιστέλλει Ῥωμαίων ὑποτέτακται.

[Here follows the Epistle to the Romans.]

1 καὶ sec.] GS; om. L; al. A; def. B. διεμαρτύρατο] GL; διεμαρτύρετο S; al. A; def. B. 2 πρὸς Χριστὸν] G; *circa* (περὶ) *christum* L; *christi* [S]A; def. B. 3 μέλλειν] G; *quidem* (μὲν) L; def. B. Zahn accepts μὲν, but μέλλειν (or μέλλων) seems to be recognised by the paraphrases, *et spes* [*cordis*] *ejus* (*erat*) *ut assequeretur caelestia* S; *donec fiet mihi caelestia apprehendere* A. 6 αὐτῷ] GSA; *christi* L* (the MSS); def. B. ἡγουμένων] L wrongly connects this with the following words and translates, *per praecedentes literas*, thus referring it to the collection of letters to which the Martyrology is appended. 7 εὐχα-

3. τῆς καλῆς ὁμολογίας] The expression is taken from 1 Tim. vi. 12, 13, in which latter verse it is used of our Lord's witness before Pilate.

8. ἀποσταζόντων χάριν] Prov. x. 32 χείλη ἀνδρῶν δικαίων ἀποστάζει χάριτας, quoted by Zahn. So we meet with στάζειν χάριν or χάριτας elsewhere.

12. ἀνεῳχθείσης κ.τ.λ.] 1 Cor. xvi. 9, 2 Cor. ii. 12, Col. iv. 3; comp. Apoc. iii. 8.

15. καταρτίσας] '*have quieted*', literally '*adjusted*'; see the note on *Ephes.* 2.

18. χριστοφόρος] See the note on *Ephes.* 9.

φιλοτιμίας] '*public entertainments*', '*shows*'. The word denotes a 'display of public spirit', 'an act of munificence', 'a benefaction' (e.g. *C. I. G.* 108), whether in the form of a public building (Plut. *Vit. Dion.* 29 τὴν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα τοῦ τυράννου), or of a largess, or of a public spectacle or entertainment, as the case may be. For the last of these meanings comp. Plut. *Vit. Nic.* 3 χορηγίαις ἀνελάμβανε καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις ἑτέραις τε τοιαύταις φιλοτιμίαις τὸν δῆμον κ.τ.λ., *Vit. Phoc.* 31 φιλοτιμίας τινὰς ἔπεισε καὶ δαπάνας ὑποστῆναι γενόμενον ἀγωνοθέτην, Lucian. *Asin.* 53 ἐν ᾗ τὰς φιλοτιμίας ἦγεν

15 V. Καταρτίσας τοίνυν, ὡς ἠβούλετο, τοὺς ἐν
Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄκοντας διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, οὕτως
ἀναχθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς Σμύρνης (κατεπείγετο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν
στρατιωτῶν ὁ χριστοφόρος φθάσαι τὰς φιλοτιμίας ἐν
τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει, ἵνα ἐπ' ὄψεσι τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων
20 θηρσὶν ἀγρίοις παραδοθεὶς τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς δικαιοσύνης
διὰ τοιαύτης ἀθλήσεως ἐπιτύχῃ) προσέσχε τῇ Τρωάδι.
εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν καταχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν Νεάπολιν, διὰ Φιλιπ-
πησίων παρώδευεν Μακεδονίαν πεζῇ καὶ τὴν Ἤπειρον

ρίστων] S; εὐχαριστῶν GL; εὐχαριστίαν A; def. B. S translates the whole clause *et deduxerunt eum cum* (בּ) *literis gratiarum-actionis* with its characteristic looseness, as if it were ἐκπέμποντες for ἐκπεμφθέντων; but if it had read διὰ γραμμάτων (as Zahn supposes and as he himself reads), it would probably have rendered by ב״ו, not by the simple ב. 8 ἀποσταζόντων] G[A] (but rendered paraphrastically); *amplexantes* (ἀσπαζομένων) L; *communicantes-invicem et addentes* [S]; def. B. 10 περὶ] G[A]; *ad* (πρὸς) L; *adversus* S. 16 ἄκοντας] GSA; *absentes* (ἀπόντας) L; def. B. 18 στρατιωτῶν] GLA[M]; ῥωμαίων S; def. B. ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει] LA; ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ῥώμῃ G; *romanorum* S; def. B. 20 τῆς δικαιοσύνης διὰ τοιαύτης ἀθλήσεως] *justitiae per tale certamen* LA; *justitiae in* (בּ) *hoc certamine* S; τῆς ἀθλήσεως G (the words δικαιοσύνης διὰ τοιαύτης have been omitted by homœoteleuton); def. B. 22 διὰ Φιλιππησίων] *per philippenses* L; *per philippesios* B, but with a v. l. *philippos*; διὰ φιλίππων GA(?)[S] (and so M). 23 πεζῇ] πεζὶ G (not περὶ, as it has been hitherto read). Critics have restored πεζῇ from the versions, which all (LSBA) read thus; and so too M.

ἐμὸς δεσπότης. With this meaning it corresponds to the Latin *munera*; see Lactant. *Div. Inst.* vi. 20 'venationes quae vocantur munera', with Lenglet-Dufresnoy's note; and Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 6 τὰς φιλοτίμους θέας ...πλεῖόν τι καὶ παράδοξον χρῆν ὑπάρξαι ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις, where, as here, the subject is a martyrdom. There is an approach to this sense in Demosth. *de Cor.* p. 312 χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι.

22. Νεάπολιν] As S. Paul does in Acts xvi. 11. See the language of Ignatius himself *Polyc.* 8 διὰ τὸ ἐξαίφνης πλεῖν με ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εἰς Νεάπολιν. Neapolis, though the port town of Philippi, belonged itself to Thrace rather than to Macedonia; see *Philippians* pp. 49, 50.

διὰ Φιλιππησίων] Polycarp mentions the stay of Ignatius at Philippi in his letter to this church § 9 (comp. § 1). The spurious letters to the Tarsians (§ 10), to the Antiochenes (§ 14), and to Hero (§ 8), profess to have been written from Philippi; and the pseudo-Ignatius writes afterwards to the Philippians themselves from the neighbourhood of Rhegium (*Philipp.* 15).

23. τὴν Ἤπειρον] The word is probably intended as a proper name

τὴν πρὸς Ἐπίδαμνον· οὗ ἐν τοῖς παραθαλαττίοις νηὸς ἐπιτυχὼν ἔπλει τὸ Ἀδριατικὸν πέλαγος, κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιβὰς τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ καὶ παραμείβων νήσους τε καὶ πόλεις, ὑποδειχθέντων τῷ ἁγίῳ Ποτιόλων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξελθεῖν ἔσπευδεν, κατ' ἴχνος βαδίζειν ἐθέλων τοῦ ἀποστόλου [Παύλου]. ὡς δὲ ἐπιπεσὸν βίαιον πνεῦμα οὐ συνεχώρει, τῆς νηὸς ἐκ πρύμνης ἐπειγομένης, μακαρίσας τὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀγάπην οὕτω παρέπλει. τοιγαροῦν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ τῇ αὐτῇ, οὐρίοις ἀνέμοις προσχρησάμενοι, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἄκοντες ἀπηγόμεθα

1 οὗ] *cujus* L (wrongly translated, as if Epidamnus had been masc.); *et ibi* [A]; *atque exinde* [B]; *tunc* S; om. G. 3 νήσους τε καὶ πόλεις] G; *insulas et civitates* LS; *et insulas multas* (νήσους τε πολλάς?) A; def. B. 6 Παύλου] GLA[B]; om. S. 10 ἀπηγόμεθα] G; *abducimur* (ἀπαγόμεθα) L; *ibamus* S; *iter perficiebamus* A; al. B. 16 στρατιῶται] GLA; ῥωμαῖοι S (as before,

here. As such, it would still have a tendency to retain 'the definite article.

4. ὑποδειχθέντων] Acts xxi. 3 ἀναφάναντες (v. l. ἀναφανέντες) δὲ τὴν Κύπρον. So *aperire*, Virg. *Æn.* iii. 206, 275; and of the opposite, *ib.* iii. 291 'Phaeacum *abscondimus* arces.'

Ποτιόλων] The word Ποτίολοι is the proper Greek form (e.g. *C. I. G.* 5853, an inscription at Puteoli itself) corresponding to the Latin Puteoli, which is derived from *putei* (Strabo v. 4, p. 245, ἀπὸ τῶν φρεάτων); but its ancient Greek name was Δικαιάρχεια. There seems to have been a vulgar tendency however to insert a ν into the name in Greek; and in this form it became a fertile source of legend. Thus it is written Ποντιόλη in *Act. Petr. et Paul.* 12, 14 (p. 5, ed. Tisch.), and a miracle is founded on this bad spelling, τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην τὴν καλουμένην Ποντιόλην πεποντισμένην, and again ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ποντιόλης τῆς ποντισθείσης ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Καίσαρι εἰς Ῥώμην ὅτι Ποντιόλη ἐποντίσθη. So here also in the Bollandist Acts § 5 the passage appears 'Et cum inde ascenderet ad Tyranicum, ostensum est sancto Pontiolo episcopo, quod ipse transiturus esset; et obviam ei exiens festinabat sequi ejus vestigia, tanquam apostoli Pauli; et non potuit sequi, spiritu navis prorae incumbente: et Ignatius beatificans in eo loco fratrem suum in dilectione ita navigavit.' Thus the seaport is transformed into a person, the bishop apparently of Tyranicum (=Τυρρηνικὸν 'the Tyrrhene Sea'), who puts out to sea to follow Ignatius, but is prevented by adverse winds and receives a passing benediction from the saint on ship-board. There must have been a corrupt reading τῷ ἁγίῳ Ποντιόλῳ, and this S. Pontiolus was made into a bishop by some scribe to account for his sudden appearance on the scene. The Bollandist editors are content to suggest Puteolono (Puteolano?), and

στένοντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν μέλλοντι χωρισμῷ τοῦ δικαίου γίνεσθαι, τῷ δὲ κατ' εὐχὴν ἀπέβαινεν σπεύδοντι θᾶττον ἀναχωρῆσαι τοῦ κόσμου, ἵνα φθάσῃ πρὸς ὃν ἠγάπησεν Κύριον. καταπλεύσας γοῦν εἰς τοὺς λιμένας
15 Ῥωμαίων, μελλούσης λήγειν τῆς ἀκαθάρτου φιλοτιμίας, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται ὑπὲρ τῆς βραδύτητος ἤσχαλλον, ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος χαίρων κατεπείγουσιν ὑπήκουεν.

VI. Ἐκεῖθεν γοῦν ἔωθεν ὁρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Πόρτου (διεπεφήμιστο γὰρ ἤδη τὰ κατὰ τὸν

for we should doubtless read דרהומיא for רהומיא). 17 *ὑπήκουεν*] G (not *ὑπήκουσεν*, as it has hitherto been read), and so *obediebat* L. 18 *ἔωθεν ὁρμηθέντες*] see below; *excitati* (*expergefacti*) *inde primo mane* A; *expulsi* (*ἐωθέντες* taken for *ὠσθέντες*) L; *ἐώθησαν* G; *mane* (*tempestive*) *duxerunt eum* (אקדמותי) S.

leave the context as it is. Two copies at least of these Latin Acts, which I have seen, omit *episcopo*, which is therefore a later introduction; *Paris Bibl. Nat.* 1639, *Bodl. Laud. Lat.* 31.

5. *κατ' ἴχνος κ.τ.λ.*] Suggested by *Ephes.* 12 *Παύλου...οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὑρεθῆναι*; see the note there. His imitation of S. Paul is a frequent topic in the *Menæa* Dec. 20. See the Hymn of S. Joseph 5 (p. 389).

10. *ἡμεῖς*] This is the first occurrence of the first person plural. On the difficulties connected with it, see above, p. 389 sq.

18. *ἔωθεν ὁρμηθέντες*] This conjecture suggested itself to me from a comparison of the various readings. The Armenian translator had before him the uncorrupted text; of which also the Syriac is perhaps a loose paraphrase. But some letters having dropped out by homœoteleuton, εω[θενορμη]θεντες became εωθεντες, which was treated as if *ὠσθέντες* by the Latin translator, and altered into *ἐώθησαν* by the Greek scribe in order to get a finite verb. At all events it is clear from the authorities that *ἔωθεν* ought somehow to be brought into the text.

19. *Πόρτου*] Owing to the gradual silting up of the Tiber at Ostia, it became necessary in early imperial times to construct an artificial harbour for Rome. This work was carried out mainly by Claudius (Dion Cass. lx. 11), and called *Portus Augusti*. It was considerably to the north of Ostia, on the right branch of the river. Trajan afterwards added an inner basin which was called after him *Portus Trajani* (Clem. Hom. xii. 10). In the neighbourhood of this twofold harbour grew up the town of Portus—the present Porto—with which the name of Hippolytus is connected. But it would hardly, I think, have been mentioned, as it is in our martyrology, at the date of Ignatius' death, when Trajan's part of the work can only have been very recently constructed, if it existed at all. Döllinger *Hippolytus*

ἅγιον μάρτυρα) συναντῶμεν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς φόβῳ καὶ χαρᾷ πεπληρωμένοις, χαίρουσιν μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἠξιοῦντο τῆς τοῦ Θεοφόρου συντυχίας, φοβουμένοις δὲ διότι περ ἐπὶ θάνατον τοιοῦτος ἤγετο. τισὶ δὲ καὶ παρήγγελλεν ἡσυχάζειν, ζέουσι καὶ λέγουσι καταπαύειν τὸν δῆμον πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιζητεῖν ἀπολέσθαι τὸν δίκαιον· οὓς εὐθὺς γνοὺς τῷ πνεύματι καὶ πάντας ἀσπασάμενος, αἰτήσας τε παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἀγάπην, πλείονά τε τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ διαλεχθεὶς καὶ πείσας μὴ φθονῆσαι τῷ σπεύδοντι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, οὕτω μετὰ γονυκλισίας πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν παρακαλέσας τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ καταπαύ-

2 ἠξιοῦντο] *dignificabantur* LA; ἠξιῶντο (sic?) G; al. S. The edd. have retained ἠξιῶντο, without correcting the accent. 5 ἡσυχάζειν] *silere* L, and so SA; ἡσυχάζουσιν G. ζέουσι] GL; *sed illi fervebant* (ζέουσι δὲ) A (thus changing the participles into finite verbs); *videns quod ferverent* S. 6 οὓς] *quos* L; *et eos qui illa cogitabant* S; *et...cogitationes eorum* A; ὃς G. The renderings of SA suggest that some words have dropped out, such as οὕτω φρονοῦντας or ταῦτα

and Callistus p. 72 sq (Eng. Trans.) gives reasons for supposing that there was no town at Portus even as late as the third century.

9. μὴ φθονῆσαι] *Rom.* 5 μηθέν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 7 βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικείτω.

18. τρισκαιδεκάτῃ] i.e. the 'thirteenth before the Kalends of January', as stated in § 7. The *Saturnalia* had originally occupied one day only, xiv Kal. Jan. (Dec. 19). But Cæsar's reforms in the calendar, by adding two days to the month of January, had caused some uncertainty and confusion with respect to the right day of celebration; and, in order to meet this difficulty, by an edict of Augustus they were extended backward to three days, xvi, xv, xiv Kal. Jan. (Dec. 17, 18, 19); see Macrob. *Sat.* i. 10. 2—6, 23. Afterwards the festival was still further prolonged by the addition of the *Sigillaria*, which commenced xiii Kal. Jan. (Dec. 20). In this way before the close of the reign of the emperor Gaius the festival extended over a fifth day (Sueton. *Calig.* 17, Dion Cass. lix. 6, lx. 25), the Sigillaria occupying two days; and ultimately four days were assigned to the Sigillaria, so that the whole festival took up seven days (Lucian, *Saturn.* 2, 25), xvi—x Kal. Jan. (Dec. 17—23); comp. Macrob. i. 10. 24 'Sigillariorum adjecta celebritas in septem dies discursum publicum et laetitiam religionis extendit.' This part of the festival derives its name from the 'sigilla', little images of clay or of sweetmeats or of precious metal, which were exposed for sale at the fair and given as presents. The 'thirteenth' therefore

σεως, ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπης, ἀπήχθη μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον. εἶτα εὐθὺς ἐμβληθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πάλαι πρόσταγμα τοῦ Καίσαρος, μελλουσῶν καταπαύειν τῶν φιλοτιμιῶν (ἦν γὰρ ἐπιφανής, ὡς ἐδόκουν, ἡ λεγομένη τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ τρισκαιδεκάτη, καθ' ἣν σπουδαίως συνήεσαν), οὕτως θηρσὶν ὠμοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἀθέων παρεβάλλετο, ὡς παραυτὰ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου πληροῦσθαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΔΕΚΤΗ, ἵνα μηδενὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπαχθὴς διὰ τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ λειψάνου γένηται, καθὼς φθάσας ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι τελείωσιν. μόνα

διαλογιζομένους. 19 παρὰ τῶν ἀθέων] as Zahn correctly; *ab hominibus qui sine deo* S; *ab impiis* L; παρὰ τῷ ναῷ G. A has certainly ἄθεοι, though changing the form of the sentence. Smith had conjectured παρὰ τῶν ἀνοσίων or ἀνόμων from L, but AS supply the right word; and ἄθεος is translated *impius* by L in *Trall.* 3, though not in *Trall.* 10. In G some letters have been dropped τωνα[θε]ω[ν].

was the first day of the Sigillaria and the middle day of the whole festival, and seems to have had, at least in later times, a special distinction; Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 11. 50 'ideo Saturnalibus talium commerciorum coepta celebritas septem occupat dies, quos tantum feriatos facit esse, non festos omnes: nam medio, id est tertio decimo Kalendas, festum probavimus etc.' During the festival there were gladiatorial and other contests of the arena; Auson. *Ecl. de Fer.* 32 sq 'Aediles plebeii etiam aedilesque curules Sacra sigillorum nomine dicta colunt; Et gladiatores funebria praelia notum Decertasse foro; nunc sibi arena suos Vindicat; extremo qui jam sub fine Decembris Falcigerum placant sanguine Caeligenam', Lactant. *Div. Inst.* vi. 20 'venationes quae vocantur munera Saturno sunt attributae' (see the note on φιλοτιμίας above, § 5). For the customs of this festival see Marquardt *Röm. Alterth.* IV. p. 459 sq, Forbiger *Hellas u. Rom* I. 2 pp. 157 sq, 183 sq. The coincidence is purely accidental in 2 Macc. xv. 36 ἔχειν δὲ ἐπίσημον τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνός.

19. τῶν ἀθέων] As this reading is unquestionably right, it is unnecessary to discuss the proposed interpretations of τῷ ναῷ.

20. παραυτὰ] '*along with the events*', '*then and there*', '*forthwith*'; see the note on *Trall.* 11.

21. ἐπιθυμία κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX Prov. x. 24.

23. φθάσας κ.τ.λ.] '*already in his epistle*'. The reference is to *Rom.* 4 μηθὲν καταλίπωσιν κ.τ.λ. On the whole subject of the reliques, see pp. 386 sq, 431 sq.

24. τελείωσιν] The word was early

γὰρ τὰ τραχύτερα τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ λειψάνων περιελείφθη, ἅτινα εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀπεκομίσθη καὶ ἐν ληνῷ κατετέθη, θησαυρὸς ἀτίμητος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ μάρτυρι χάριτος τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καταλειφθέντα.

1 ἁγίων αὐτοῦ] GL; *justi* (τοῦ δικαίου) S; om. [A]. 3 ληνῷ] *capsa* L; *glossocomo* S; λίνῳ G; def. A: see the lower note. 5 πρὸ δεκατριῶν καλανδῶν Ἰαννουαρίων] GL; *ante ix* (*secundum graecos xiii*) *kalendas januarias* A; *decimo septimo tishri posterioris* S. After Ἰαννουαρίων add. τουτέστιν δεκεμβρίῳ εἰκάδι G; add. *id est decembris* 24 *vel* 20 A (an addition of the editor?); txt L.

used with a special reference to martyrdom; see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 4 (p. 570) τελείωσιν τὸ μαρτύριον καλοῦμεν, οὐχ ὅτι τέλος τοῦ βίου ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔλαβεν, ὡς οἱ λοιποί, ἀλλ' ὅτι τέλειον ἔργον ἀγάπης ἐνεδείξατο, quoted by Jacobson. So too the verb, as e.g. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 35 τοῦ Συμεῶνος τὸν δηλωθέντα τελειωθέντος τρόπον, viii. 6, and frequently. See Suicer *Thes.* s. vv. τελειοῦν, τελείωσις.

μόνα γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] For the relation of this account to the statement of Evagrius *H. E.* i. 16, see above pp. 387 sq, 434.

2. ἐν ληνῷ] '*in a coffin*', '*a sarcophagus*'. I have restored this reading from the versions for ἐν λίνῳ. Jacobson writes, 'ἐν λίκνῳ hariolatur Noltius', but Nolte was on the right track. For ληνός, 'a coffin', see Phrynichus Bekker *Anecd.* p. 51 ληνούς· οὐ μόνον ἐν αἷς τοὺς βότρυς πατοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν σοροὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῆς κατασκευῆς: comp. Pollux *Onom.* iii. 102, viii. 146, x. 150. In the last passage Pollux quotes Erastus and Coriscus writing to Plato, ληνὸν Ἀσσίαν σαρκοφάγου λίθου, and also Pherecrates *Agr.* 12 πόθεν ληνοὺς τοσαύτας λήψομαι (Meineke *Fragm. Com.* ii. p. 260). The word occurs several times in the inscriptions; *C. I. G.* 1979, 1981, 1993, 1997 e, 2209, 2210, *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* viii. p. 374 (1887). There is the converse itacism in our MS in the same word, used as a proper name, Ps-Ign. *ad Mar.* 4 τῷ μακαρίῳ πάπᾳ Λήνῳ (for Λίνῳ).

3. ὑπὸ τῆς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'by the Divine grace as manifested in the case of the martyr.'

6. Σύρα κ.τ.λ.] The year intended is A.D. 107, in which the consuls were L. Licinius Sura III, Q. Sosius Senecio II; see Mommsen in *Hermes* III. p. 138, *Ephem. Epigr.* v. p. 715. In the common lists (e.g. Clinton) they are called C. Sosius Senecio IV, L. Licinius Sura III, after a spurious inscription 'in antiqua figulina' given by Panvinio *Fasti* p. 217 'L. Licinio Sura III, C. Sosio IV.' But it is quite certain from a genuine inscription since discovered, that Senecio was never consul more than twice, and that his prænomen was Quintus; see Borghesi in *Bull. dell' Inst. di Archeol.* 1853, p. 184 sq. The words τὸ δεύτερον therefore refer to Σενεκίωνος alone; and the number of the consulship in the case of Sura has been omitted through carelessness or ignorance. The expression has sometimes been interpreted as meaning the second year in which Sura and Senecio were consuls together; so Hefele (in some editions), Uhlhorn (p. 254), Nirschl (*Todesjahr* p. 8), and at one time even Borghesi himself (*Œuvres* I. p. 507), though he

VII. Ἐγένετο δὲ ταῦτα τῇ πρὸ δεκατριῶν καλανδῶν Ἰαννουαρίων, ὑπατευόντων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις Σύρα καὶ Σενεκίωνος τὸ δεύτερον. τούτων αὐτόπται γενόμενοι μετὰ δακρύων κατ' οἶκόν τε παννυχίσαντες καὶ πολλὰ μετὰ γονυκλισίας καὶ δεήσεως παρακαλέσαντες τὸν

7 Σενεκίωνος] S; *senecio* (abl. = σενεκίου) L; σεδεκίου G (which punctuates σύρα. καὶ σεδεκίου τὸ δεύτερον, so as to confine τὸ δεύτερον to the second name); def. A. 9 γονυκλισίας] γονυκλησίας G.

afterwards corrected his mistake (see the other references in this note). This interpretation seemed to be favoured by an inscription on a lead weight in the Borgian Museum, SOSETSVRA COSIT, taken to mean 'Sosio et Sura consulibus iterum', but Borghesi (see De Rossi *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.* I. p. 4 sq) points out that this would require the order IT . COS, and that IT therefore stands for 'Italica libra'. In fact Sura and Senecio never were consuls together more than once. In Clinton indeed, and in other lists, the consuls for A.D. 102 appear as C. Sosius Senecio III, L. Licinius Sura II; but this is conjectural, the old lists giving the former name Servillus, Severianus, or Συριανός. An inscription discovered since Clinton's time (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* VI. 2185) shows that the consuls of that year were C. Julius Ursus Servianus II, L. Licinius Sura II; see Visconti *Ann. dell' Inst. di Archeol.* 1860, XXXII. p. 440 sq: and this agrees with the notice of the consulate in Spartian. *Vit. Hadr.* 3 'Praetor factus est sub Surano bis Serviano iterum consulibus', though Spartianus has here assigned the prætorship of Hadrian to a wrong year (see Visconti l.c., Mommsen *C. I. L.* III. p. 102). The two consulships of Senecio were in 99 and 107. The second and third of Sura were in 102 and 107, as we have seen; but his first cannot have been an ordinary consulship, as it does not appear in the fasti, and its year is therefore unknown (see Mommsen in *Hermes* III. p. 129, note 3). His three consulships are mentioned, *C. I. L.* II. 4536—4548, III. 356. For this Sura see Borghesi *Œuvres* V. p. 34 sq, *C. I. L.* II. p. 602 sq, VI. p. 315; comp. Julian *Cæs.* p. 327; for Senecio see Borghesi VIII. p. 367. Both Sura and Senecio were highly honoured by Trajan; Dion Cass. lxviii. 15, 16.

This consulate (A.D. 107) is not reconcilable with the statement § 2 ἐννάτῳ ἔτει. Trajan was adopted by Nerva and assumed the tribunician power in the autumn 97 (see above, p. 398); Nerva died at the end of January 98. Thus Dec. 20, A.D. 107, fell not before the 10th year of his reign, on the strictest reckoning, and the 11th of his tribunician power, whatever mode of reckoning the years we adopt (see above, p. 399 sq). Nor can the two notices be reconciled by supposing the events which intervened between the point of time designated in § 2 and the martyrdom to have extended into the following year of Trajan's reign; for the date assigned to the martyrdom, Dec. 20, A.D. 107, is not towards the beginning, but at the very end of the 10th year.

Κύριον πληροφορῆσαι τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς προγεγονόσιν, μικρὸν ἀφυπνώσαντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστάντα καὶ περιπτυσσόμενον ἡμᾶς ἐβλέπομεν, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἐπευχόμενον ἡμῖν ἐωρῶμεν τὸν μακάριον Ἰγνάτιον, ἄλλοι δὲ σταζόμενον ὑφ' ἱδρῶτος ὡς ἐκ καμάτου πολλοῦ παραγενόμενον καὶ παρεστῶτα τῷ Κυρίῳ μετὰ πολλῆς [παρρησίας καὶ ἀνεκλαλήτου δόξης· πλησθέντες δὲ] χαρᾶς ταῦτα ἰδόντες καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ὄψεις τῶν ὀνειράτων, ὑμνήσαντες τὸν Θεὸν τὸν δοτῆρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ μακαρίσαντες τὸν ἅγιον, ἐφανερώσαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἵνα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου συναγόμενοι κοινωνῶμεν τῷ ἀθλητῇ καὶ γενναίῳ μάρτυρι Χριστοῦ καταπατήσαντι τὸν διάβολον καὶ τὸν τῆς φιλοχρίστου αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμίας τελειώσαντι

3 *ἐβλέπομεν* GS; *videbant* LA. 4 *ἐωρῶμεν*] G; *videbant* LS[A] (but A transposes). In this case and the last the change of person is simply a question of idiom. 5 *ἄλλοι δὲ σταζόμενον ὑφ' ἱδρῶτος*] GSA; om. L. 6 *μετὰ...ἰδόντες*] *in* (l. *cum*?) *multa confidentia et ineffabili gloria. impleti autem gaudio haec videntes* L; *μετὰ πολλῆς τοίνυν χαρᾶς ταῦτα ἰδόντες* G; *et haec videntes magno gaudio implebantur omnes* A; *gaudio magno. et quum haec autem vidissent* S. It appears therefore that a whole line has dropped out in GS. 8 *συμβαλόντες...τῶν ὀνειράτων*] GS; om. L (a line probably omitted, the eye passing from the *υμ-* of *συμβαλόντες* to that of *ὑμνήσαντες*); *intelligentes bonam et mirabilem revelationem* A (the translator seems to have had the clause, and to have changed it because it did not harmonize with his form of narrative). 14 *καὶ*

1. *τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἡμᾶς*] '*us, weak men as we were*'; comp. Clem. Rom. 6 *αἱ ἀσθενεῖς* for the definite article, and see the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 19 *οἱ ἄσοφοι*. Objection has been taken to this narrative on the ground that these eye-witnesses did not need to be convinced of the saint's death (e.g. by Grabe *Spicil.* II. p. 22, and Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 43). But, on the supposition that this part of the narrative is a fiction, our martyrologist was not so stupid as to make such an obvious blunder; and *τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς* refers more naturally to the need of assurance respecting God's providence and righteousness after this execution of an innocent man, than to the certification of a fact patent to their eyes.

5. *σταζόμενον κ.τ.λ.*] The image is taken from the athlete, just as in the dream of Perpetua on the eve of her martyrdom (*Act. Perp. et Felic.* 10) she sees herself anointed for the contest, 'coeperunt me favitores mei oleo defrigere, quomodo solent in agonem.'

15 δρόμον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

τὸν...ἡμῶν] G, and so substantially SA; *et* ***hutus*** *insidias in finem prostravit* [*glorificantes*] *in ipsius venerabili et sancta memoria dominum* [*nostrum*] *jesum christum* L*. 15 ἐν Χριστῷ...ἡμῶν] GA; *dominum* [*nostrum*] *jesum christum* [L]; *in iesu christo domino nostro* S. δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ] GL; *cui et per quem* S; *cui* A; *μεθ' οὗ* [M]. 16 τῷ πατρὶ] GL; *deo patri* S; *cum patre* A. ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος] GLA; *gloria et honor et magnitudo* S. 17 πνεύματι] txt GSA; add. *in sancta ecclesia* L.

Subscription. *Finis martyrii sancti domini ignatii episcopi antiochiae. et deo gloria* S. There is none in G, and none is recorded for A. For L see the Appx.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ

Β.

I. Ἐν ἔτει ἐννάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος, τουτέστι τῆς σκγ' ὀλυμπιάδος δευτέρῳ ἔτει, ἐν

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ Β] *μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου* (add. *ἱερομάρτυρος* LP) *ἰγνατίου* (add. *τοῦ θεοφόρου* L) *ἐπισκόπου* (*ἀρχιεπισκόπου* L) *ἀντιοχείας* LPV; *martyrium sancti ignatii qui dicitur theophorus, id est is qui fert deum, is qui erat episcopus antiochiae post praedicationem apostolorum, qui complevit martyrium suum in roma septimo mensis epiphi in pace dei. amen* C.

1 *ἐννάτῳ*] LC: *πέμπτῳ* PV. Τραϊανοῦ] LPV; ἁπτριαπος (perhaps a confusion between ἁπτριαπος *hadriani*, and ἠτριαπος *traiani*) C, but else-

1. *ἐννάτῳ*] The Coptic version shows that this is the right reading. So long as it was found only in L, it was open to grave suspicion; and Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 16) seemed justified in inferring that it was an arbitrary correction of the scribe, who elsewhere has altered the narrative so as to make it conform to the Antiochene story (§ 10 *σπαράξαντες κατέδοντο κ.τ.λ.*). But this solution is no longer possible. This version also shows how the corruption arose; for it is written with the numeral Θ (*ἐννάτῳ*), which would easily be altered into Ε (*πέμπτῳ*). Hence the not unfrequent confusion of 5 and 9 in Greek documents. For several instances of this interchange as affecting the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, see Hort in the *Academy*, Sept. 15, 1871, p. 435. This common corruption suggests an easy correction in the heading of the letter of M. Aurelius, Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 13 Ἀρμένιος...δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ [τὸ] δέκατον, ὕπατος τὸ τρίτον. If *ἔννατον* be substituted for *πέμπτον*, the letter (if genuine) will belong to A.D. 165, and the emperor's titles will be in strict accordance with history.

Τραϊανοῦ] The tradition, so far as it is worth anything, points consistently to Trajan as the emperor under whom Ignatius suffered. The confusion in the Coptic seems to be due to an Egyptian mode of representing the Greek Δ, and does not betoken any wavering in the tradition. Thus the Δ of Darius is written in the hieroglyphics NT: see Lepsius, *Königsbuch* p. 172. So also in the *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 65 *τὸν μέτα τρεῖς ἄρξουσι πανύστατον ἦμαρ ἔχοντες*, Οὔνο-

ὑπατείᾳ Ἀττίκου Σουρβανοῦ καὶ Μαρκέλλου, Ἰγνάτιος

where the emperor's name is consistently given τραιανος in these Acts; see the lower note. 2 τουτέστι τῆς σκγ' ὀλυμπιάδος δευτέρῳ ἔτει] *quod est secundus annus ducentesimae vicesimae tertiae olympiadis* C; δευτέρῳ ἔτει P; καὶ δευτέρῳ ἔτει V; δευτέρῳ μηνί L. ἐν ὑπατείᾳ] P; ἐν ὑπατίᾳ L; *in consulatu* (ϋπατια) C; ἐνυπατίας V. 3 Ἀττίκου] LPC[B]; ἀττήκου V. Σουρβανοῦ] *surbonis* (ϲϋρβωπ) C; καὶ σουρβανοῦ L; καὶ σουρβούνου P; καὶ σουρβίνου V; om. [B].

μα πληρώσαντες ἐπουρανίοιο Θεοῖο, the connexion between the name of the *Antonini* and *Adonai* is much closer than the commentators generally seem to be aware, because the latter might be represented in Egyptian writing (and probably in Egyptian pronunciation also) as *Antonai*.

2. τουτέστι κ.τ.λ.] I have restored these words from the Coptic version. The different Greek texts betray their history. The lacuna is left unmended in P, though δευτέρῳ ἔτει is meaningless after ἔτει πέμπτῳ. The mutilated text is then patched up in different ways: (1) In L μηνὶ is substituted for ἔτει in order to make some sense; (2) In V καὶ is inserted before δευτέρῳ ἔτει, and ἐνυπατίας is substituted for ἐν ὑπατίᾳ (or ὑπατείᾳ), so as to read 'and in the second year of the consulship of etc.' The substantive ἐνυπατία (or ἐνυπατεία) does not occur elsewhere, nor is it justified by the occurrence of the verb ἐνυπατεύειν (Plut. *Mor.* p. 797 οἷς ὀρθῶς ἐνυπατεύων); for the verb signifies 'to spend the consulate in,' and is only explained by its context.

The first numeral in the Coptic is not easily deciphered, but it can hardly be anything else than σ=200. The 2nd year of the 223rd Olympiad however does not correspond either to the consulate named or to the 9th year of Trajan, but is A.D. 114. We must therefore suppose that our hagiologist got his dates from different sources; (1) the 9th year of Trajan from Eusebius, if not from tradition (see above p. 450 sq); (2) Olymp. 223. 2 directly or indirectly from some chronographer who believed the story of the interview at Antioch, and consequently gave this year as being the date of Trajan's sojourn there. Having got these dates from different sources, he put them together without enquiring whether they coincided. The alternative would be to read CKA for CKT. We should thus get A.D. 106. It was not uncommon in these ages to give the Olympiad years with the names of the consuls; e.g. Socr. *H. E.* i. 40, ii. 47, iv. 38, etc.

3. Ἀττίκου κ.τ.λ.] The true names of the consuls for this year, A.D. 104, are *Sextus Attius Suburanus II*, *Marcus Asinius Marcellus*, as appears from a Greek inscription recently published, Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 1, p. 36; see Mommsen *Hermes* III. p. 132. But as it is probable that our hagiologist himself did not write the names correctly, I have given in the text the nearest approximation which the authorities countenance. The name Suburanus is rightly given in Idatius, but corrupted into Suranus, Urbanus, and Συριανός, in the other consular lists. His first consulate was A.D. 101, when he was *suffectus*; see *C. I. L.* VI. 2074. The substitution of *Atticus* for *Attius* may perhaps have been owing to a reminiscence of Hegesippus as quoted by Euseb.

ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀντιοχείας δεύτερος μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους γενόμενος (Εὐόδιον γὰρ διεδέξατο) μετὰ ἐπιμελεστάτης φρουρῶν φυλακῆς ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν παρεπέμφθη τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ἕνεκα μαρτυρίας. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ φυλάσσοντες αὐτὸν Τραϊανοῦ προτίκτορες δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἀνήμεροί τινες καὶ θηρίων

1 τῆς Ἀντιοχείας] C; τῆς ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας LP; τῆς ἀντιοχέων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας V. τοὺς ἀποστόλους] LVC; τοῦ ἀποστόλου P. 2 Εὐόδιον] VC; εὐώδιον LP. 3 φρουρῶν φυλακῆς] LP Euseb.; φρουροφυλακῆς V. ἀπὸ Συρίας] LPV Euseb.; om. [C]. 4 Ῥωμαίων πόλιν] V Euseb.; ῥώμην LPC. Χριστὸν] LP Euseb.; τὸν χριστὸν V. 6 προτίκτορες] C_s begins at this point. τὸν ἀριθμόν] txt LPVB; add. *haec autem sunt nomina eorum, cornelios, phison, jubinos, sedos, bautos, lelarchos, palmas, lymen, barbaros, lymppos* (sic) C_m. (C_s transposes and

H. E. iii. 32, where Atticus is twice named as the legate of Syria who under Trajan condemned Symeon the son of Clopas to death.

Modern writers for the most part, following Noris and Fabretti, have transposed the consuls of 103 and 104, as they appear in all the ancient lists, owing to a spurious inscription on a coin, and have assigned *Suburanus II*, *Marcellus*, to A.D. 103, giving *Imp. Nerva Trajanus Aug. V*, *M'. Laberius Maximus II*, the proper consuls of A.D. 103, to A.D. 104 (see *C. I. L.* III. p. 864, v. 4067, VII. 1193). So e.g. Clinton, Eckhel *Doctr. Num.* VI. p. 415 sq, and even Borghesi *Œuvres* III. p. 70. Mommsen (*Hermes* III. p. 126 sq) has vindicated the old lists and restored the consuls of these two years to their proper places.

In no case however can this consulate be reconciled with the year of Trajan's reign as given just before, whether πέμπτῳ or ἐννάτῳ be read. If the reckoning be by tribunician years, the date of the martyrdom (July 1) would fall in the one case in A.D. 101 and in the other in A.D. 105. If on the other hand the Egyptian computation be followed (see p. 412, note 3), as is not improbable, July 1 in the 5th year would be A.D. 102, and in the 9th A.D. 106.

1. ἐπίσκοπος κ.τ.λ.] From Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36 Ἰγνάτιος τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς δεύτερος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος, compared with *ib.* iii. 21 τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Εὐοδίου πρώτου καταστάντος, δεύτερος ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος ἐγνωρίζετο.

2. μετὰ ἐπιμελεστάτης κ.τ.λ.] From Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36 λόγος δ' ἔχει τοῦτον ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἀναπεμφθέντα θηρίων γενέσθαι βορὰν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἕνεκεν. οὗτος δὴ οὖν τὴν δι' Ἀσίας ἀνακομιδὴν μετ' ἐπιμελεστάτης φρουρῶν φυλακῆς ποιούμενος κ.τ.λ.

6. προτίκτορες] i.e. '*protectores*,' '*body-guards*'; see *Ephem. Epigr.* V. p. 121 sq, 647 sq; comp. Menander *Exc.* p. 418 (ed. Bonn.) ὁ δέ γε τῶν μεθορίων λεγόμενος προτίκτωρ (δηλοῖ δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἐς τοῦτο καταλεγόμενον ἀξίας, τὸν βασίλειον προσκεπαστήν) κ.τ.λ. This writer was himself a 'protector': see Suidas s. v. Μένανδρος. Comp. also *Cod. Theod.*

τρόπους ἔχοντες· οἳ καὶ δι' Ἀσίας δέσμιον ἦγον τὸν μακάριον· ἐκεῖθέν τε ἐπὶ τὴν Θράκην καὶ Ῥήγιον διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ὑπωπιάζοντες τὸν ὅσιον ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, καίτοι καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν εὐεργετούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπράϋνεν αὐτῶν τὰς

varies the forms of some of these names.) *θηρίων τρόπους*] LPCB; *θηριώδη τὸν τρόπον* V. 7 *δι' Ἀσίας*] L Euseb.; *διὰ τῆς ἀσίας* PV. *τὸν μακάριον*] PVC; om. L (having already inserted *τὸν ἅγιον* after *οἳ καί*). 8 *τε*] LP; *et* C; *δὲ* V. *Θράκην*] PV; *τὴν θράκην* L. 9 *ὑπωπιάζοντες*] *ὑποπιέζοντες* PV; *ὑποπιαίζοντες* L. *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός*] VC; *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* LP. 10 *καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν*] LPV; but, as C has κατα πολις, perhaps we should read *κατὰ πόλιν* 'from city to city.' B has *quotidie*=*καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν*. 11 *ἀδελφῶν*] txt LPVB; add. *scilicet ut darent indulgentiam sancto* C. *αὐτῶν*] LPCB; *τῶν ἀνημέρων* V. *τὰς ὀργάς*] PV; *iracundiam* BC; *θηριώδη προαίρεσιν* L.

vi. 24. 9 'Devotissimos protectores, qui armatam militiam subeuntes, non solum defendendi corporis sui, verum etiam protegendi lateris nostri sollicitudinem patiuntur (unde etiam *protectorum* nomen sortiti sunt), inglorioso esse non patimur'. For this office and its duties see Gothofred's paratitlon and notes *Cod. Theod.* Lib. vi. Tit. xxiv (II. p. 130 sq), Ducange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v. protector. They are styled in the inscriptions 'protectores Augusti' or 'Augustorum' (e.g. *Corp. Insc. Lat.* III. 327, 3126, 3424); the name of the emperor being sometimes added e.g. 'protector Aureliani Augusti' (*ib.* III. 327); also 'protectores lateris divini' (*ib.* III. 1805, an inscription of the year A.D. 280). A soldier so serving was said 'protegere' (*ib.* III. 6194 'deinde protexit'). We read also of the 'protectoria dignitas' being bestowed on veterans (*Cod. Just.* xii. 47. 2); and altogether the 'protectores' were treated with the highest honour (*Cod. Just.* xii. 17. 1, 2). The career of such a person is sketched out in *C. I. L.* III. 371 'militavit in vexillatione Fesianesa annis xxiii, unde factus protector, idequi (l. indeque *or* idemque) militavit in schola protectorum annis quinque'. For the 'schola protectorum' see also *Cod. Theod.* vi. 24. 3, *Cod. Just.* xii. 17. 2, Amm. Marcell. xiv. 7. 9. These officers appear in the martyrdoms of a later age; e.g. *Act. SS. Philem. et Apoll.* 9 ὁ Διοκλετιανὸς ἀπέστειλε προτίκτορας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι ...οἱ προτίκτορες συνέλαβον αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ., quoted in Ducange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.: see also his *Gloss. Graec.* s. v., and comp. Ps-Prochorus *Act. Joann.* p. 48 (ed. Zahn). But the name is an anachronism in the time of Trajan. In the inscriptions the office is mentioned under Gallienus A.D. 267, *C.I.L.* III. 3424. Spartianus (*Vit. Carac.*) writes § 5 'cum protectoribus', and § 7 'inter protectores suos', speaking of Caracalla; but perhaps he was unconsciously attributing to a former age an institution with which he was familiar in his own time.

8. *Ῥήγιον*] See above, p. 380.

9. *ὑπωπιάζοντες*] '*oppressing, maltreating*'; comp. 1 Cor. ix. 27, where there is the same v. l. *ὑποπιέζω*, as here. See Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 461.

ὀργάς, ἀλλ' ἀνηκέστοις καὶ ἀνηλεέσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐξέθλιβον τὸν ἅγιον, ὥς που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης [ἀγόμενος], ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, οἵτινές εἰσι στρατιωτικὸν στῖφος· οἳ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χείρους γίνονται.

II. Ἀπάραντες οὖν ἐκ Ῥηγίου παραγίνονται ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. καὶ προσήνεγκαν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εἰσαχθῆναι αὐτόν, παρούσης καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου, καί φησιν πρὸς αὐτόν· Σὺ εἶ Ἰγνάτιος ὁ τὴν Ἀντιοχέων πόλιν ἀνάστατον ποιήσας; ὡς καὶ εἰς ἀκοὰς ἐμὰς ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν Συρίαν μετέβαλες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑλληνισμοῦ εἰς τὸν χριστιανισμόν. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Εἴθε, βασιλεῦ, οἷός τε ἦμην

1 ἀνηκέστοις] ἀνικέστοις P; ἀνεικέστοις L; *impudentibus* (ἀναιδέσιν or perhaps a paraphrase of ἀνηκέστοις) C; ἀτάκτοις V. The clause stands *crudelibus oculis et manibus* (l. *immanibus*?) in B. ἀνηλεέσιν] ἀνιλεέσιν LP; *immisericordibus* C; ἀναιδέσιν V. For B see the previous note. 3 μαρτυρεῖ] LPCB; γράφει V. θηριομαχῶ] PB; θηριομαχῶν LV; dub. C. 4 ἀγόμενος] V; ἤχθην L (a change necessitated by the previous θηριομαχῶν); om. PB (with *Rom.* 5). For θηριομαχῶ...ἀγόμενος C has *iter facio* (or *faciens*) *cum feris*. 5 οἵτινές εἰσι] V [C]; οἵτινές ἐστι L; ὃ ἐστὶν PB (after *Rom.* 5). στρατιωτικὸν στῖφος] LP; στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα V (after *Rom.* 5); *militaris custodia* B; *milites* C. 6 γίνονται] LVCB; ἐγένοντο P. 8 Ἀπάραντες] LP; ἄραντες V; *tollentes* B. Ῥηγίου] txt PV; add. τὸν ἅγιον L; add. τὸν δίκαιον C; add. *beatum ignatium* [B]. παραγίνονται] LV; παρεγένοντο P[C]. 9 αὐτοκράτορι] txt CB; add. τραϊανῷ LPV. 10 ἐκέλευσεν] LP; ἐκέλευσε V. 11 καὶ pri] PV[M]; om. LB; al. C. φησιν] P; φησι LV. 13 ποιήσας] txt PVC[B]A; add. τοῦ μὴ σέβεσθαι θεούς L. ἐμὰς] VCA; ἡμῶν LP; def. B. 14 Συρίαν] PVCBA; ἀνατολὴν L. 15 ἦμην] PV; εἰμί L. 16 καὶ σὲ] here PV[A]; before οἷός τε L[B]. μεταστῆσαι... καὶ προσαγαγεῖν] L; μεταβαλεῖν...καὶ προσαγαγεῖν V; μεταστήσας...προσαγαγεῖν P;

2. ἐν ἐπιστολῇ] The reference is to *Rom.* 5.

6. στῖφος] This word seems to have been substituted by the author himself for τάγμα of Ignatius. The expression στρατιωτικὸν στῖφος occurs Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 4. Our hagiologist shows himself a diligent reader of Eusebius.

12. ἀνάστατον ποιήσας] Acts xvii. 6 οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες οὗτοι καὶ ἐνθάδε πάρεισιν.

καὶ σὲ μεταστῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τῷ τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ καὶ φίλον Χριστοῦ παραστῆσαι καὶ ἰσχυροτέραν σοι καταστῆσαι τὴν ἀρχήν. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Εἰ βούλει μοι χάριτας καταθέσθαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς φίλοις καταριθμεῖσθαι, μετατιθέμενος τῆς γνώμης ταύτης θῦσον τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ ἔσῃ ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ μεγάλου Διὸς καὶ βασιλεύσεις σὺν ἐμοί. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Χάριτας δεῖ παρέχειν, βασιλεῦ, τὰς μὴ βλαπτούσας ψυχήν, οὐ τὰς ἀπαγούσας εἰς αἰώνιον κόλασιν. τὰς δὲ ἐπαγγελίας σου, ἃς ἐπηγγείλω διδόναι μοι, οὐδενὸς λόγου ἀξίας κρίνω· οὔτε γὰρ θεοῖς οἷς οὐ γινώσκω λατρεύω, οὔτε ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ σὸς τίς ἐστιν ἐπίσταμαι, οὔτε βασιλείας κοσμικῆς ἐφίεμαι· τί ΓΑΡ ὠΦΕΛΗΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ, ΕΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΟΛΟΝ ΚΕΡΔΗΣΩ ΤΗΝ ΔΕ

avertere...et introducere B; *convertere...et offerre* A; *convertere...ad offerendum* C. ἀπὸ] PV; om. L. εἰδωλολατρείας] VL*s*; εἰδωλολατρίας P. 17 τῶν ὅλων] LPVBAC$_s$; om. C$_m$. παραστῆσαι καὶ...καταστῆσαι] παραστήσας... καταστῆσαι L; ποιήσας...καταστῆσαι P; καταστῆσαι καὶ...ποιῆσαι V; *constituere ac ...facere* A; *facere...ut corroboret* C. B is deficient in the first clause and has *constituere* in the second. 18 ἰσχυροτέραν] LP; ἰσχυρωτέραν V. σοι] LP BA; σου VC. 20 καταριθμεῖσθαι] PV; συναριθμεῖσθαι LC [?]: *connumerari* B; *aestimari* A. μετατιθέμενος τῆς γνώμης ταύτης] LP[A] comp. [M]; μετατιθέμενος τὴν γνώμην V. The demonstrative pronoun appears in CB, but whether they had the gen. or accus. is doubtful. 23 δεῖ] PVCBA; δὴ L. βασιλεῦ] LP; βασιλεύς V. 24 ψυχήν] LPVCB; om. A. αἰώνιον] L; αἰωνίαν P; τὴν αἰώνιον V. 27 λατρεύω] V; *sacrifico* B; λατρεύσω LPC; def. A. Ζεὺς ὁ σὸς τίς] P; *zeus quidem, quem dicis* (*zeus iste quem dicis nunc* C$_s$)*...cujusmodi sit* (ζεὺς ὁ σός, ὅστις?) C; ζεὺς ὅστις L; ὁ ζεὺς ὅστις V; *aramazdum omnino, quisnam sit* A; *jovem, quis sit* B. 28 ὠφεληθήσομαι] P; ὀφεληθήσομαι L; ὄφελος θήσομαι V; *prodest mihi* B; *lucrabor* AC. 29 τὸν κόσμον ὅλον] LP; ὅλον τὸν κόσμον V; *mundum totum* [A]C$_s$; *totum mundum* B; *hunc mundum totum* C$_m$. The order differs in the different evangelists. κερδήσω τὴν δὲ] LV; *lucrer et* BA; κερδήσας τὴν P; dub. C.

23. τὰς μὴ βλαπτούσας κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Polyc.* 10 δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναις τίμην κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον, τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἡμᾶς, ἀπονέμειν.

28. οὔτε βασιλείας κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Rom.* 6 οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, and *ib.* 4 νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν [κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον]. See above, p. 381.

τί γὰρ ὠφεληθήσομαι] Taken from

ψυχήν μου ζημιωθῶ; Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ἔοικάς μοι αἰσθήσεως ἔμφρονος ἄμοιρος εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο ἐξευτελίζεις μου τὰς ἐπαγγελίας. ὅθεν, ἐὰν εἰς ἀγανάκτησίν με ἀγάγῃς, πάσαις αἰκίαις σε τιμωρήσομαι, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀνήκοον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀχάριστον καὶ ὡς οὐ πειθόμενον ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου δόγματι καὶ θύοντα [θεοῖς]. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ποίει τὸ δοκοῦν σοι, βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ θύω. οὔτε γὰρ πῦρ οὔτε σταυρὸς οὔτε θηρίων θυμὸς οὔτε ἀφαίρεσις μελῶν πείσουσίν με ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ

1 ζημιωθῶ] PVC; ἀπολέσας ζημειωθῶ (sic) L; *perdam* BA. 2 ἔμφρονος] LP; ἐμφρόνου V (?), in which the edd. have acquiesced. διὰ τοῦτο] VC; καὶ διὰ τοῦτο LPBA. ἐξευτελίζεις] LP; ἐξεοτελίζεις (sic) V; *annullas* (v. l. *annihilas*) B ('legisse videtur ἐξουθενίζεις' Zahn); *contemnis* A. The word in C_m, ܫܘܝܦ, *vituperare, contumeliis afficere*, is a rendering of ἐξουδενοῦν, Job xxx. 1, but would stand quite well for ἐξευτελίζειν. 3 ἐὰν] ἂν here, P; ἐὰν before εἰς, V; om. L; *si* A; dub. C; def. B. 4 ἀγάγῃς] PV; ἄγεις L. τιμωρήσομαι] PVA; τιμωρίσασθαι (sic) L (necessitated by the previous ἄγεις for ἐὰν ἀγάγῃς); dub. C; def. B. 5 ὡς οὐ] LP; μὴ (om. ὡς) V. There is nothing corresponding to ὡς in CAB. 6 δόγματι] LPB (*senatusconsulto*); δόγμασι C; *decretis* A; om. V. θύοντα] L[B]; οὐ θύοντα PVC[A]. The omission or insertion [ΟΥ]ΘΥ- would be easy by a clerical oversight; or it might have been inserted to avoid ambiguity. θεοῖς] LPCBA; om. V. It should perhaps be omitted notwithstanding this weight

Matt. xvi. 26. See *Rom.* 6, where this passage from the Gospel is interpolated.

8. οὔτε γὰρ πῦρ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted from *Rom.* 5.

10. οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν κ.τ.λ.] See Polyc. *Phil.* 9 οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναστάντα. For the first part of the sentence see also 2 Tim. iv. 10 ἀγαπήσας τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα, and for the second Ps-Ign. *Rom.* 6 ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα.

15. δι' οἰκονομίαν] See *Ephes.* 18, with the note.

17. αὐτίκα γοῦν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Clem. Hom.* vi. 21 οὕτως τελευτήσαντος [τοῦ Διὸς] τὸν τάφον Κρῆτες ἐπιδεικνῦσιν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ κεῖνται Ἥλιος μέν τις ἐν Ἄτροις, Σελήνη δέ τις ἐν Κάρραις, Ἑρμῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τις ἄνθρωπος, Ἄρης ἐν Θράκῃ, Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Κύπρῳ, Ἀσκλήπιος ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ, κ.τ.λ.; comp. v. 23, *Clem. Recogn.* x. 24. The passage which follows in our martyrologist has many close resemblances to the *Protrepticon* of Clement of Alexandria. Ultimately it may have been derived from the arch-rationalist Euhemerus himself, since Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* i. 42 informs us 'Ab Euhemero et mortes et sepulturae demonstrantur deorum.' So likewise Lactant. *Epit.* 13 'Euhemerus qui de sacris inscriptionibus veterum templorum et originem Jovis et res gestas omnemque progeniem

ζῶντος. οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἀγαπῶ αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα Χριστόν.

III. Ἡ σύγκλητος εἶπεν· Ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ ἀθάνατοί εἰσιν· σὺ δὲ πῶς φῂς, Ἰγνάτιε, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν; Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ὁ ἐμὸς Κύριος, εἰ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, δι' οἰκονομίαν τινὰ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι θεοὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν ὡς θνητοί, οὐκ ἠγέρθησαν δέ. αὐτίκα γοῦν Ζεὺς μὲν ἐν

of authority. 7 εἶπεν] PV; εἶπε L. οὐ θύω] txt PVCA (*sacrificabo*); præf. *diis* B; add. οὐδὲ προσκυνῶ δαίμοσιν L. 8 σταυρὸς] LPVC$_s$AB; ταῦρος C$_m$. 9 πείσουσιν] P; πείσωσι L; *persuadent* B; *possunt persuadere* A; *praevalebunt* C (translating ἀποστῆναι as if ἀποστῆσαι); ποιοῦσιν V. 11 καὶ ἀναστάντα] VCA; om. P; *et qui a deo resuscitatus est* B; καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνάσταντα L. 13 φῂς] LPCAB; ἔφης V. 14 ἀπέθανεν] LPVAB; add. *qui deus est* C. 15 δι' οἰκονομίαν τινὰ] PAB; δι' οἰκονομίαν V; διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν ἑκουσίως L, comp. [M]; *secundum* (κατὰ) *oeconomiam propter nostram salutem* C. ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη] V, and so substantially AB (but they both omit the previous εἰ καὶ ἀπέθανεν), comp. [M]; ἀπέθανεν (alone) L; *resurrexit tertio die* C; δι' ἡμερῶν τριῶν πάλιν ἀνέστη (alone) P. 17 ἠγέρθησαν δέ] txt LPCBA; add. ὡς θεοί V. αὐτίκα γοῦν] PV; *ut sciatis* C; *quod manifestum est, quia* B; *idem utique* (αὐτὸς γοῦν?) A; ἀμέλει L.

collegit; item ceterorum deorum parentes, patrias, actus, imperia, obitus, sepulcra etiam persecutus est: quam historiam vertit Ennius in Latinam' (comp. *Div. Inst.* i. 11). His work was doubtless a rich storehouse of materials ready to hand for the Christian apologists (comp. e.g. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2, p. 20, Minuc. *Octav.* 21).

Ζεὺς μὲν κ.τ.λ.] Callim. *Hymn. ad Jov.* 8 sq Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο, σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες (with Spanheim's note), a passage quoted by Athenag. *Suppl.* 30, by Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 32, and by Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 43, and alluded to by Tatian *ad Graec.* 27. Chrysostom *Hom. in Ep. ad Tit.* 3 (*Op.* xi. p. 744) ascribes these verses to Epimenides. The inscription on this tomb of Zeus at Gnossus was ZAN KPONOY according to Lactantius *Epit.* 13, on the authority of Euhemerus as reproduced by Ennius (comp. *Div. Inst.* i. 11). Pythagoras is said by Porphyry (*Vit. Pyth.* 17) to have written on the tomb some verses (ἐπίγραμμα ἐπεχάραξεν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ), which began Ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζὰν ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν. Hence Chrysostom (l. c.) gives the actual inscription on the tomb as Ἐνταῦθα Ζὰν κεῖται ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσι. See Hoeck *Kreta* III. p. 335 sq (comp. p. 297 sq). Comp. also the mockery of Lucian *Timon* 6, *de Sacrif.* 10. This was a commonplace of apologists and others in their attacks upon the pagan mythology; e.g. *Clem. Hom.* ll. cc., *Clem. Recogn.* l.c., Athenag. l.c., Tatian l.c., Theoph. *ad Autol.* i.

Κρήτῃ τέθαπται, Ἀσκλήπιος δὲ κεραυνοβοληθεὶς ἐν Κυνοσούρῃ, Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Πάφῳ μετὰ Κινύρου τέθαπται, Ἡρακλῆς πυρὶ ἀνήλωται. τοιούτων γὰρ τιμωριῶν ἄξιοι

1 δὲ] PLCBM; om. VA. κεραυνοβοληθεὶς] P; κεραυνωβοληθεὶς (sic) L; κεραυνῷ βληθεὶς V (comp. M). 2 Κυνοσούρῃ] P; κοινοθύρῃ L; κυθήνῃ V; κεποσστρος C_s; ο...σστρης C_m (the word being mutilated); *cithaerone* (v. l. *cithero*) B; *kitheron monte boeotiae* A. Πάφῳ] LPVBMC_s; *papho cypri* A; τάφῳ C_m. Κινύρου] V; κυνήρου P; κτπηρος C_s; κύρου L; *cennis* (πικηπος) C_m; *cyrene* (*secundum alios*; *venatore*) A; *venatore* (=κυνηγοῦ) B. 3 ἀνήλωται] LPVC; add. *in tyro* B; add. *in alio iterum loco etc.* A. γὰρ] PVC_s: *igitur* B;

10, ii. 3, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 32), Minuc. *Octav.* 21, Tertull. *Apol.* 25, *ad Nat.* ii. 17, Cyprian *Quod Idola etc.* 2, Firm. Matern. 7, Arnob. *adv. Gent.* iv. 14, 25, Lactant. ll. cc., Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ii. 2. 48, iii. 10. 21, etc. So too *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 48 ὧν Κρήτη καύχημα τάφους ἡ δύσμορος ἕξει (a passage quoted by Lactant. *Div. Inst.* i. 11), where the Sibyllist includes Cronos and Rhea. Celsus complained of the treatment of this myth by the Christians; Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 43 λέγει περὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι καταγελῶμεν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δείκνυται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον σέβομεν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, οὐκ εἰδότες πῶς καὶ καθὸ Κρῆτες τὸ τοιοῦτο ποιοῦσιν. Origen controverts his tropological explanation of the story.

1. ἐν Κυνοσούρῃ] Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 22 'Is [i.e. 'Aesculapius secundus', for he mentions three], fulmine percussus, dicitur humatus esse Cynosuris': comp. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 26) οὗτος μὲν οὖν [ὁ Ἀσκλήπιος] κεῖται κεραυνωθεὶς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσουρίδος ὄρεσι, Lactant. *Epit.* 8 'Cynosuris, ut Cicero ait, sepultus, cum esset ictu fulminis interemtus' (comp. *Div. Inst.* i. 10). The place intended was perhaps the Spartan Cynosura, on which see Müller *Dorians* II. p. 48 (Eng. Trans.), Leake *Travels in the Morea* I. p. 178, Boeckh *C. I. G.* I. p. 609; or it may have been the Cynosura of Arcadia, as Curtius (*Peloponnesos* I. p. 391 sq) with some reason supposes. There can be no doubt but that the right word is preserved by P. The ultimate Latin and Armenian reading 'Cithaerone' is an attempt to get an intelligible name out of a mutilation or corruption κγθηρη or κγθηρω, to which the readings of LV point, but no tradition placed the death or burial of Æsculapius on Cithæron. As regards the termination, I have retained that which alone the authorities support here; but in the parallel passages it is *-ρίς -ρίδος*, or *-ρα -ρων*.

2. μετὰ Κινύρου] Cinyras held the foremost place in Cyprian legend. The myths respecting him are minutely investigated in Engel's *Kypros* II. p. 94 sq (comp. *ib.* I. p. 203 sq). The story was variously told. The main points however are these. Cinyras was the founder of Cyprian civilisation and the institutor of the worship of the Paphian Aphrodite; he was the ancestor of the Paphian priests, the Cinyradæ; he was the beloved of the goddess herself; he met with a violent death; and he was buried in the sanctuary of Aphro-

ὑμῶν ἦσαν οἱ θεοί, ἐπεὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ κακοποιοὶ [ὑπῆρχον] καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθορεῖς· ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος Κύριος, εἰ καὶ ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἔδειξεν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀνελόντας αὐτὸν δι'

et A; om. LC_m. 4 *ὑμῶν*] here, LP; after *θεοί*, V. *ἐπεί*] LV; *ἐπειδὴ* P. *ὑπῆρχον*] LV; *sunt* C; *erant* A; *fuerunt* B; om. P. 5 *ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος... ἐργάται κακίας*] LPCBA (but A contains also much additional matter); om. V (obviously owing to the recurrence of *ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος* Κύριος). 6 *ἀπέθανεν*] txt PBC_sA; add. *ἑκουσίως* LC_m; def. V. *ἀλλ' ἔδειξεν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν*] P; *ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἔδειξεν* L.

dite, where also the remains of his descendants lay. On this last point see Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3 (p. 40) Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἀγησάρχου ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλοπάτορα ἐν Πάφῳ λέγει ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ Κινύραν τε καὶ τοὺς Κινύρου ἀπογόνους κεκηδεῦσθαι. So too Arnob. *adv. Gent.* vi. 6, who mentions the same fact on the same authority of Ptolemy, and obviously copies Clement. The Christian apologists, in their attacks on pagan mythology, frequently allude to the love of Aphrodite for Cinyras and represent her as a harlot whom he deified; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 5) ὁ Κύπριος ὁ νησιώτης Κινύρας... τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μαχλῶντα ὄργια ἐκ νυκτὸς ἡμέρᾳ παραδοῦναι τολμήσας, φιλοτιμούμενος θειάσαι πόρνην πολίτιδα (comp. *ib.* pp. 13, 29), Arnob. *adv. Gent.* iv. 25 'Quis rege a Cyprio, cujus nomen Cinyras est, ditatam meretriculam Venerem divorum in numero consecratam...prodidit?' (comp. *ib.* v. 19), Firm. Matern. 10 'Audio Cinyram Cyprium templum amicae meretrici donasse etc.', and Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ii. 3. 14, 15, who quotes Clement of Alexandria as above cited. The apologists do not generally speak of the death or burial of the goddess, but are content to refer to her being wounded by Diomed. The tomb however is mentioned in *Clem. Hom.* v. 23, vi. 21, *Clem. Recogn.* x. 24, and in the passage of Cæsarius corresponding to the reference in the *Recognitions*, *Dial.* ii. Resp. 102 ἐν Κύπρῳ τὴν Κύπριν κόπρῳ ἐν τάφῳ κειμένην, ἐν δὲ Θρᾴκῃ Ἄρην τὸν τῆς ἀρᾶς ἐπώνυμον, where he makes merry with the names. [The only reference given in Engel (II. p. 75) is 'Klemens v. Alex. Recognit. B. 13. Kap. 24 Ἀφροδίτης ὁ τάφος δείκνυται ἐν Πάφῳ.' It would hardly be possible to crowd more blunders into a single reference. The quotation is taken from the Metaphrast's *Martyr. Ignat.* § 7 (and therefore derived ultimately from our martyrologist) and appears in Cotelier's note as an illustration of the statement in *Clem. Recogn.* x. 24. With Clement of Alexandria it has not any, even the remotest connexion.] I do not find any references given from classical writers, which mention this tomb of Aphrodite. The reading κυνηγοῦ is apparently an emendation or a further corruption of κυνηρου, itself corrupted by itacism from κινυρου; but it seems to be intended for Adonis. Though in one form of the legend Adonis was the son of Cinyras, yet (so far as I am aware) he was never represented as buried in Paphos.

ὑμῶν τιμωρησάμενος· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑμέτεροι θεοὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην εἰσεπράχθησαν ὡς ἐργάται κακίας, ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος Κύριος ἀνῃρέθη κατὰ σάρκα ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν οὐ φερόντων αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐλεγμούς, πᾶσαν μὲν εὐεργεσίαν παρεσχηκώς, ἀχαριστηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπίστων. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ἐγώ σοι παραινῶ ἐκκλῖναι τὸν θάνατον καὶ προσδραμεῖν τῇ ζωῇ. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Καλῶς παραινεῖς μοι, βασιλεῦ· φεύγω γὰρ τὸν αἰώνιον θάνατον καὶ προσφεύγω τῇ αἰωνίῳ ζωῇ. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν·

4 ἐλεγμούς] P ; ἐλέγχους LV. πᾶσαν μὲν...ἀχαριστηθεὶς δὲ] LP ; πᾶσαν ...καὶ ἀχαριστηθεὶς V ; al. CAB. 6 σοι] LV ; σε P. 8 παραινεῖς μοι] L ; παραινεῖς με P ; μοι παραινεῖς V. βασιλεῦ] LP ; ὦ βασιλεῦ V[C][B] [A]. φεύγω] LPCA ; φύγω VB (?). αἰώνιον] LVCAB ; ἀνθρώπινον P. 9 προσφεύγω] PV ; προστρέχω L ; *festino in* C_s ; *festino ire in* C_m ; *curro ad* A ; al. B. 10 εἰσὶν] LP ; εἰσὶ V*s*. εἶπεν] PV ; εἶπε L. 11 οὕτω δὲ καὶ] V ; *similiter autem et* B ; ὡσαύτως καὶ L ; οὕτως P ; def. CA. 12 ἡ δὲ αἰώνιος] PV ; ἡ δὲ ἀΐδιος L. 14 ἀμείνων] V*s* ; ἀμείνω LP. θέλεις] V ; om.

10. ὁ μὲν πρόσκαιρος κ.τ.λ.] See the interpolated text of *Rom.* 3, where the words of 2 Cor. iv. 18 are introduced.

15. τῷ δεκατρεῖς κ.τ.λ.] For the allusion see Hom. *Il.* v. 385 sq τλῆ μὲν Ἄρης, ὅτε μιν Ὦτος κρατερός τ' Ἐφιάλτης, παῖδες Ἀλωῆος, δῆσαν κρατερῷ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ, χαλκέῳ δ' ἐν κεράμῳ δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας, Firm. Mat. 12 'Oti et Efialtae edicto Mars...ferrea catenarum vincla sustinuit', Tertull. *Apol.* 14 'Martem tredecim mensibus in vinculis paene consumptum' (comp. *ad Nat.* i. 10). When our martyrologist adds διὰ μοιχείαν, he apparently confuses this binding of Ares by the Aloidæ with the other binding of the same god by Hephæstos, as told also by Homer *Od.* viii. 295 sq. The adultery of Ares with Aphrodite is a frequent topic of the apologists ; Tatian *ad Graec.* 34, Athenag. *Suppl.* 21, Minuc. *Oct.* 23, Firm. Matern. 12, Cypr. *ad Donat.* 8, Lactant. *Div. Inst.* i. 10 (comp. *Epit.* i. 8), Arnob. v. 41, 43, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 29). Arnobius (l. c.) deals with the allegorical interpretation which heathen apologists put upon the story.

16. τῷ πεπεδημένῳ κ.τ.λ.] '*to the blacksmith with the crippled feet.*' The reference is to the common story of Hephæstos, as told from Homer (*Il.* i. 590 sq) onward. Allusions to the lameness of this god and its cause in Christian apologists appear in Tatian *ad Graec.* 8, Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 3, Minuc. *Octav.* 22, Firm. Matern. 12, Arnob. iv. 24, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 25). For this sense of πεπεδημένος, 'maimed, crippled', see Hom. *Il.* xiii. 435 πέδησε δὲ φαίδιμα γυῖα (comp. iv. 517).

χαλκεῖ] Hephæstos is so called in Hom. *Il.* xv. 309. Again in *Od.* viii. 273 he goes to his 'smithy' (βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν εἰς χαλκεῶνα). So too his festival at Athens was called χαλκεῖα. See also Tertull. *ad Nat.* i. 10 'In Vulcano

Καὶ πόσοι εἰσὶν θάνατοι; Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Δύο, ὁ μὲν πρόσκαιρος, ὁ δὲ αἰώνιος· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ζωαὶ δύο, ἡ μὲν ὀλιγοχρόνιος, ἡ δὲ αἰώνιος. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Θῦσον τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας ἔκκλινον· οὐ γὰρ εἶ σὺ τῆς γερουσίας ἀμείνων. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ποίοις θεοῖς θέλεις θύσω; τῷ δεκατρεῖς μῆνας διὰ μοιχείαν ἐν πίθῳ κατειρχθέντι; ἢ τῷ πεπεδημένῳ τὰς βάσεις χαλκεῖ; ἢ τῷ ἀστοχήσαντι τῆς μαντικῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς νικηθέντι; ἢ τῷ ὑπὸ Τιτάνων διασπωμένῳ ἀνδρογύνῳ; ἢ τοῖς τὰ

LPCAB. 15 δεκατρεῖς] PV; δεκὰ καὶ τρεῖς L. C omits the words δεκατρεῖς μῆνας. κατειρχθέντι] V; καθειρχθέντι LP. 16 χαλκεῖ] *fabro ferrario* C; χαλκῷ LPV; *aeneis vinculis* A (but he seems to have omitted ἢ, and perhaps some other words, and thus to have referred χαλκῷ to Ares in the previous clause); dub. B (who omits many words, perhaps this included). 17 νικηθέντι] PV; ἡττηθέντι L. 18 διασπωμένῳ] PV; διασπομένῳ L. For ἢ τῷ ὑπὸ T. διασπωμενῷ AB translate as if they had read τῆς ὑπὸ T. διασπωμένης. C agrees with the Greek MSS.

faber ferri consecratur.' There can be no doubt that the Coptic has preserved the correct reading. The text of the Greek MSS, 'chained with brass', does not suit the legend.

τῷ ἀστοχήσαντι κ.τ.λ.] Apollo, who did not foresee the death of Hyacinthus whom he killed unintentionally, and was a slave to his love for Daphne who escaped his embraces. The reference is explained by parallel passages in the apologists; Tatian *ad Graec.* 8 ἐπαινῶ σε νῦν, ὦ Δάφνη· τὴν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος νικήσασα ἤλεγξας αὐτοῦ τὴν μαντικήν, ὅτι μὴ προγνοὺς τὰ περὶ σὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης οὐκ ὤνατο. λεγέτω μοι νῦν ὁ ἑκατηβόλος πῶς Ὑάκινθον διεχρήσατο Ζέφυρος κ.τ.λ. (comp. *ib.* §19), Athenag. *Suppl.* 21 ὦ μάντι καὶ σοφὲ καὶ προειδὼς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ ἐσόμενα, οὐκ ἐμαντεύσω τοῦ ἐρωμένου τὸν φόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔκτεινας αὐτοχειρὶ τὸν φίλον, Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 9 Ἀπόλλωνα...τῆς Δάφνης ἐρῶντα καὶ τὸν Ὑακίνθου μόρον ἀγνοοῦντα [Justin] *Or. ad Graec.* 2 ὁ Ληταῖδης, ὁ μαντικὴν ἐπαγγειλάμενος, ἑαυτὸν ἤλεγξεν ὅτι ψεύδεται· Δάφνην ἐδίωξεν, ἣν οὐ κατέλαβε, καὶ τῷ ἐρομένῳ αὐτὸν [ἐρωμένῳ αὐτοῦ?] Αἰακίδῃ θρησκεύοντι τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον οὐκ ἐμαντεύσατο, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 27) Δάφνη γὰρ ἐξέφυγε μόνη καὶ τὸν μάντιν καὶ τὴν φθοράν, Firm. Matern. 12 'Dafnen divinans deus nec invenire potuit nec stuprare.'

18. τῷ ὑπὸ Τιτάνων κ.τ.λ.] i.e. Dionysus: comp. Diod. Sic. iii. 61 τὸν θεὸν [Διόνυσον] ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Δήμητρος τεκνωθέντα διασπασθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων, πάλιν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος τῶν μελῶν συναρμοσθέντων κ.τ.λ. (with Wesseling's note); comp. *ib.* v. 75 διασπώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων, and see Pausan. vii. 18. 4, viii. 37. 5. For Christian writers see *Clem. Hom.* vi. 2 τὸν Διόνυσον...ὃν ὑπὸ Τιτάνων ἐσπαράχθαι λέγουσιν, *Clem. Recogn.* x. 20 'Persephonae...ex qua Dionysum genuit, qui a Titanis discerptus est,'

Ἰλίου οἰκοδομήσασιν τείχη καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποστερηθεῖσιν; ἢ ταῖς τὰ ἀνδρῶν ἔργα μιμουμέναις, τὰ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργα ἐκλαθομέναις; αἰδοῦμαι λέγειν θεοὺς γόητας καὶ φθορεῖς παίδων καὶ μοιχούς, εἰς ἀετὸν καὶ ταῦρον καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ κύκνον καὶ δράκοντα, [ὡς ὑμεῖς 5 *λέγετε,] μεταβαλλομένους, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τινι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαλύσει ἀλλοτρίων γάμων· οὓς ἔχρην βδελύττεσθαι, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ προσκυνεῖν. τούτοις ὑμῶν εὔχονται*

1 Ἰλίου] A; ηλιος C_s; ⊖ΥΛΙΟΣ C_m; ἡλίου LP; τοῦ ἡλίου V; def. B. οἰκοδομήσασιν] P; οἰκοδομήσασι L_sV. ἀποστερηθεῖσιν] txt PVCA[B]; ἀποστερηθεῖσι τῶν ἐργασθέντων L. 4 καὶ ταῦρον] LPCB; ταῦρον V; om. [A]. 5 καὶ χρυσὸν] LPVC_s; *et leonem* (ΜΟΥΣ for ΠΟΥΣ) C_m; om. [A][B]. καὶ κύκνον] VA; om. LP[B]C. ὡς ὑμεῖς λέγετε] LPV_s; om. CAB. 9 ὑμῖν] here, LP; before

Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 15) οἱ Τιτᾶνες διέσπασαν ἔτι νηπίαχον ὄντα, ὡς ὁ τῆς τελετῆς ποιητὴς Ὀρφεύς φησιν ὁ Θρᾴκιος κ.τ.λ., where the story is given at length (comp. *ib.* p. 19 παιδίον ὑπὸ Τιτάνων διασπώμενον); Arnob. v. 19 'ut occupatus puerilibus ludicris distractus ab Titanis Liber sit etc.'

ἀνδρογύνῳ] Suidas Ἀνδρόγυνος. ὁ Διόνυσος κ.τ.λ. So Cosmas explains ἀνδρογύνους in Greg. Naz. as a reference to Bacchus; see Greg. Naz. *Op.* IV. pp. 402,403 (ed. Migne). Comp. also Porphyr. in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* iii. 11. 11 ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος...ἔστι θηλύμορφος, μηνύων τὴν περὶ τὴν γένεσιν τῶν ἀκροδρύων ἀρρενόθηλυν δύναμιν. He was also called δίμορφος, Diod. Sic. iv. 5. The effeminacy of Bacchus is held up to scorn in [Justin] *Orat. ad Gent.* 2 (p. 38) Διονύσου τὸ θηλυκόν, Arnob. vi. 12 'Liber membris cum mollibus et languoris feminei dissolutissimus laxitate', Firm. Matern. 7, 12, *Clem. Hom.* v. 15.

τοῖς τὰ Ἰλίου κ.τ.λ.] The 'Laomedonteae perjuria Trojae,' when Poseidon and Apollo the builders were defrauded of their wages; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 30) Λαομέδοντι δ' ἐθήτευε Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἀπόλλων, καθάπερ ἀχρεῖος οἰκέτης, μηδὲ ἐλευθερίας δήπουθεν δυνηθεὶς τυχεῖν παρὰ τοῦ προτέρου δεσπότου· τότε καὶ τὰ Ἰλίου τείχη ἀνῳκοδομησάτην τῷ Φρυγί, Lactant. *Div. Inst.* i. 10 'Nonne [Apollo]... turpissime gregem pavit alienum, et muros Laomedonti exstruxit cum Neptuno mercede conductus, quae illi negari potuit impune etc.?', Minuc. *Oct.* 23 'Laomedonti vero muros Neptunus instituit nec mercedem operis infelix structor accipit' (whose words are repeated by Cyprian *Quod Idola etc.* 2), Firm. Matern. 12 'Mercedem fabricatorum murorum Neptunus a superbo rege non recipit'. Sometimes the two are spoken of as building the walls, e.g. Hom. *Il.* vii. 452 τὸ ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἤρῳ Λαομέδοντι πολίσσαμεν ἀθλήσαντε (comp. Pind. *Ol.* viii. 31); but where the story is told at length (*Il.* xxi. 442 sq), Poseidon is represented as building the walls, while Apollo tends the cattle.

2. ταῖς τὰ ἀνδρῶν κ.τ.λ.] Athene the warrior and Artemis the hunter;

αἱ γυναῖκες, ἵνα τὴν σωφροσύνην ὑμῖν φυλάξωσιν.
10 Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ἐγώ σοι παραίτιος τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς βλασφημίας γέγονα, μὴ αἰκιζόμενός σε. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Εἴρηκά σοι καὶ πάλαι, ὅτι ἑτοίμως ἔχω πρὸς πᾶσαν αἰκίαν καὶ παντοῖον θανάτου τρόπον, ἐπειδὴ σπεύδω πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.
15 IV. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ἐὰν μὴ θύσῃς, μεταμεληθήσῃ. πρὶν οὖν παθεῖν, φεῖσαι σεαυτοῦ. Ἰγνάτιος

τὴν σωφροσύνην, V. 10 *θεοὺς*] twice in L. 11 *αἰκιζόμενος*] LP; *αἰκισάμενος* V; *αἰκισαμένους* (or *αἰκιζομένους*) B. The nom. sing. was read by CA. 12 *πάλαι*] PVCBA; *πάλιν λέγω* L. 13 *παντοῖον θανάτου τρόπον*] PVCA; *παντοίων θανάτων τρόπον* L; *omnem mortem* B. 14 *τὸν*] txt LPCAB; add. *ἀθάνατον* V. 15 *θύσῃς*] LP; *θύσεις* V. 16 *σεαυτοῦ*] PV; *σαυτοῦ* L.

comp. Justin *Or. ad Graec.* 2 (p. 39) *διδάξατε Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἄρτεμιν τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργα καὶ Διόνυσον τὰ ἀνδρῶν.*

4. *εἰς ἀετὸν κ.τ.λ.*] The amours and transformations of Zeus were a fertile theme of invective for Christian writers in their attacks upon paganism. The fullest list is in *Clem. Hom.* v. 13, from which I extract the particulars referred to in our martyrology, *Αἰγίνῃ τῇ Ἀσωποῦ πλησιάζει γενόμενος ἀετός...Δανάῃ τῇ Ἀκρισίου χρυσὸς ἐπερρύη...Καλλιστοῖ τῇ Λυκάονος ἠγριώθη λέων...Εὐρώπῃ τῇ Φοίνικος διὰ ταύρου συνῆλθεν...Νεμέσει τῇ Θεστίου, τῇ καὶ Λήδᾳ νομισθείσῃ, κύκνος ἢ χὴν γενόμενος Ἑλένην ἐτεκνώσατο...Περσεφόνην αὐτὸς ἐκνυμφεύει τὴν θυγατέρα, αὐτὸς ὁμοιωθεὶς δράκοντι* where *ἢ χὴν* is added by the author himself in ridicule; comp. *Clem. Recogn.* x. 22. See also the invective in Arnob. *ad Nat.* v. 20 sq. So too [Justin] *Orat. ad Gent.* 2 *ἐπ' Ἀντιόπῃ μὲν ὡς σάτυρος, καὶ Δανάῃ χρυσός, καὶ ἐπ' Εὐρώπῃ ταῦρος ἦν, ἐπτεροῦτο δὲ παρὰ Λήδᾳ*, Tertull. *Apol.* 21 'squamatum aut cornutum aut plumatum amatorem, in aurum conversum, Jovis enim ista sunt numina vestri', Firm. Matern. 12 'deus suus in cygno fallit, in tauro rapit, ludit in satyro etc.'; see likewise Tatian *Orat. ad Graec.* 10, Athenag. *Suppl.* 20, 21, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 31), Tertull. *ad Nat.* ii. 13, Arnob. vii. 33, Lactant. *Div. Inst.* i. 11, *Epit.* 10, 11, Euseb. *Theoph.* ii. 15, iii. 61, with the verses of Greg. Naz. *Op.* II. pp. 366, 456, ed. Caillau (see the commentary of Cosmas in Migne's ed. of Greg. Naz. *Op.* IV. pp. 404 sq, 580 sq). The passage of Homer (*Il.* xiv. 315 sq), in which Zeus mentions his various loves, is quoted by [Justin] *Coh. ad Graec.* 3 (p. 3) and Athenag. *Suppl.* 21. For the transformation into the dragon, which marked the climax of this god's turpitude, see esp. *Clem. Hom.* v. 14, Tatian *Or. ad Graec.* 10, Athenag. *Suppl.* v. 20, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (p. 14), Arnob. v. 21. The eagle is connected in *Clem. Hom.* v. 13 (quoted above) with Ægina, but other Christian writers associate it with the better known myth of Ganymede.

εἶπεν· Εἰ μὴ ἐφειδόμην ἐμαυτοῦ, ἐποίουν ὃ προσέταττες. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ταῖς μολυβίσιν αἰκίσασθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μετάφρενα. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ἐπέτεινάς μοι, βασιλεῦ, τὸν εἰς Θεὸν πόθον. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Τοῖς ὄνυξι τὰς πλευρὰς αὐτοῦ καταξάνατε καὶ ἄλατι ἀνατρίψατε. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ὅλος μου ὁ νοῦς πρὸς Θεὸν ἀνατέταται,

1 δ] LVC[A][B]; ἃ P. 2 μολυβίσιν] L; μολοβίσιν P; μολιβέσιν V. αἰκίσασθε] LP; αἰκίσατε V. 4 εἰς Θεὸν] VB; *in christum* C; *ad dominum* A; ἐν κυρίῳ LP. Τοῖς ὄνυξι] LPVB; *ferreis unguibus* AC. 5 ἅλατι] LP; ἅλσιν V; *sale* CA; *lapidibus asperis* B. 6 Θεὸν] LV; τὸν θεὸν P. ἀνατέταται] VP; τέταται L. 8 οτῖς θεοῖς] txt LPVC$_s$A; add. *haec verba enim nihil proderunt tibi* C$_m$; add. *nam ista praesumptio non te juvabit* B; see below p. 512, l. 2. Ποίοις θεοῖς] LPCAB; om. V. τάχα] PVCAB; om. L. 9 Αἰγυπτίων] LP; τῶν αἰγυπτίων V. κελεύεις με θῦσαι] here, PVCAB; κελεύεις με θύειν after ποίοις θεοῖς, L. βου-

2. μολυβίσιν] '*leaden bullets*', attached to the thongs of the lash; comp. Basil. *Hom. in Gord. Mart.* 4 (*Op.* II. p. 145) κάλει, φησί, δημίους· ποῦ δὲ αἱ μολυβίδες; ποῦ δὲ αἱ μάστιγες; *Passio S. Acacii* § 11 (quoted in Ducange *Gloss.* s.v.) ὁ δικαστὴς εἶπεν, Κλάσατε αὐτοῦ τὰς σιαγόνας μολυβδίσιν. Previous editors have altered the form into μολυβδίσιν here. The insertion of the δ is unnecessary: see the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 16, p. 332. Whips so weighted were called *plumbatae* in Latin; see Gothofred on *Cod. Theod.* ix. 35 (III. p. 270).

9. τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων κ.τ.λ.] The animals here enumerated are; the calf (βούδιον) the emblem of Osiris, called Apis at Memphis (Herod. ii. 38, iii. 27 sq) and Mnevis at Heliopolis (Plut. *Mor.* p. 364, Diod. Sic. i. 84, 88); the goat Mendes of the Mendesian nome (Herod. ii. 42, 46, Diod. i. 84, Strabo xvii. p. 802, 812); the ibis sacred to Thoth, at Hermopolis (Herod. ii. 67, 75); the ape, the cynocephalus (Strabo xvii. p. 812, Horapollo i. 14—16) and the cercopithecus (Juv. *Sat.* xv. 4), the former certainly, the latter apparently, sacred to Thoth, at Hermopolis and at Thebes; the asp sacred to Neph, at Thebes (Plut. *Mor.* p. 380 sq, comp. Herod. ii. 74); the wolf sacred to Osiris (?), at Lycopolis (Plut. *Mor.* p. 380, Diod. i. 88, Strabo xvii. p. 812); the dog supposed to have been sacred to Anubis, at Cynopolis (Herod. ii. 67, Diod. i. 87, Plut. *Mor.* 368, Strabo xvii. p. 812); the lion sacred to Djom, at Leontopolis (Strabo xvii. p. 812, Diod. i. 84, Plut. *Mor.* p. 366); the crocodile sacred to Savak, in Crocodilopolis and the Arsinoite nome (Herod. ii. 69, 148, Strabo xvii. p. 811, Diod. i. 84, 89); some of these animals being also worshipped throughout Egypt. A convenient list of the animals of Egypt, sacred and not sacred, is given in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* v. p. 116 sq. The following are among the references to the animal worship of Egypt in early Christian writers; *Clem. Hom.* vi. 23, x. 16

καὶ ὧν πάσχω λόγον οὐ ποιοῦμαι. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Θῦσον τοῖς θεοῖς. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ποίοις θεοῖς; τάχα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων κελεύεις με θῦσαι· βουδίῳ καὶ τράγῳ, ἴβιδι καὶ πιθήκῳ καὶ ἀσπίδι ἰοβόλῳ, ἢ λύκῳ καὶ κυνί, λέοντι καὶ κροκοδείλῳ, ἢ τῷ Περσικῷ πυρὶ ἢ θαλάσσης

δίῳ] P; βοΐ LV. τράγῳ, ἴβιδι] *hirco, ibidi* B; τράγω. ἴβι V; τράγω καὶ ἴβῃ P; τράγω ἢ ἴβῃ L; *hirco* A; *hirco et ibidi* C (ⲟⲩⲣⲭⲟⲩⲓ in C_m, but read ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲓ). 10 πιθήκῳ] *Vs*; πιθίκῳ L; πηθίκω P. ἀσπίδι] P; καὶ ἀσπίδι LV[C]A; *aut aspidi* [B]. ἢ λύκῳ] LP; *et lupo* C; *lupo* BA; om. V. κυνί] LP; κυνή V. 11 λέοντι] LPVC; om. BA. κροκοδείλῳ] LVCAB; κροκοδίλω καὶ κύκνω P. τῷ Περσικῷ πυρὶ] add. *quem adoravit heraclitus* (*heraclius* C_s, *eracledes* C_m). There is no trace of this addition in the other authorities; see the lower note. ἢ θαλάσσης ὕδατι] LPC_s (but om. ἢ) VAB; *aut aquae thalletis* (ⲑⲁⲗⲗⲏⲥ, i.e. of Thales) C_m where C_s has ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ. After ὕδατι add. *aut terrae aut cereris* B; add. *demetri terrae* A: txt LPVC.

10 ἴβιδι καὶ πιθήκῳ καὶ ἀσπίδι ἰοβόλῳ, ἢ λύκῳ καὶ κυνί, λέοντι καὶ κροκοδείλῳ, ἢ τῷ Περσικῷ πυρὶ ἢ θαλάσσης

(comp. *Clem. Recogn.* v. 20), Athenag. *Suppl.* 1, Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 10, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2 (pp. 34, 39), *Paed.* iii. 2 (p. 253), Tertull. *ad Nat.* ii. 8, *adv. Marc.* ii. 14, Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 20, vi. 80, Minuc. *Octav.* 28, Lactant. *Div. Inst.* v. 21, Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* iii. 4. 6 sq, iii. 11. 45 sq. See also *Orac. Sibyll.* Prooem. 60 sq, v. 73 sq, 278 sq. Celsus complained of the ridicule which the Christians threw on the animal worship of Egypt, Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 19 *καί φησί γε ἡμᾶς τῶν μὲν Αἰγυπτίων καταγελᾶν, καίτοι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ φαῦλα παρεχόντων αἰνίγματα κ.τ.λ.* It is strange that our martyrologist in his enumeration has omitted the scoff at the 'cats and weasels,' with which other early writers barb their invective against this animal worship (e.g. *αἴλουροι καὶ γαλαῖ*, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2, p. 39).

βουδίῳ] On the form see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 86 sq.

11. τῷ Περσικῷ πυρὶ] See Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 5 (p. 56), Firm. Matern. 5. As the introduction of Heraclitus' name appears only in the Coptic versions, and can be explained by the corruption in the Memphitic of ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲏⲥ into ⲑⲁⲗⲗⲏⲥ in the next clause, which introduced the name of Thales and thus suggested the introduction of Heraclitus also, it should probably be rejected. Yet curiously enough we have the same connexion in Arnob. *adv. Nat.* ii. 9, 10 'Qui cunctarum rerum originem ignem esse dicit aut aquam, non Thaleti aut Heraclito credit?...Vidit enim Heraclitus res ignium conversionibus fieri, concretione aquarum Thales,' Lactant. *Div. Inst.* ii. 10 'Heraclitus ex igne nata esse omnia dixit, Thales Milesius ex aqua', Tertull. *adv. Marc.* i. 13 'ut Thales aquam, ut Heraclitus ignem'; comp. *de Anim.* 5, Justin. *Coh. ad Gent.* 3 (p. 4), Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 5 (p. 55 sq). The Memphitic scribe has confused the name of two philosophers together, Heraclitus and Heraclides. How easy such a confusion would be, appears from Tertull. *de Anim.* 9 'Non ut aer...etsi hoc Aenesidemo visum est et Anaximeni, puto secundum quosdam et Heraclito, nec ut lumen, etsi hoc placuit Pontico Heraclidi.' This Heraclides

ὕδατι, ἢ χθονίῳ Πλούτωνι ἢ Ἑρμῇ κλέπτῃ; Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Εἶπόν σοι ὅτι θῦσον. ταῦτα γάρ σε λέγοντα οὐδὲν ὀνήσει. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Εἶπόν σοι [ὅτι] οὐ θύω, οὐδὲ ἀφίσταμαι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου, ὃς ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὃς ἔχει πάσης σαρκὸς ἐξουσίαν, τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ βασιλέως παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ καὶ νοητοῦ. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Τί γάρ [σε] κωλύει κἀκεῖνον, εἴπερ ἔστιν, θεὸν σέβειν καὶ τούτους οὓς κοινῇ πάντες ὁμολογοῦμεν; Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ἡ φυσικὴ διάγνωσις, ὅταν ᾖ καθαρά, οὐ συγκρίνει τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τὸ ψεῦδος, τῷ φωτὶ τὸ σκότος, τῷ γλυκεῖ τὸ πικρόν. τοῖς γὰρ

1 χθονίῳ] LPCA; ἐπιχθονίῳ V (which gives a wrong sense); om. B: see the lower note. Πλούτωνι] LPAB; πλάτωνι V; ππατωι (?) C_s; *montibus* C_m (πιτωσ). Ἑρμῇ] LV; ἑρμεῖ P. 2 ὅτι θῦσον] L; θῦσον V; *quod sacrifica* (i.e. θῦσον or ὅτι θῦσον) CA; ἵνα ἐπιθύσῃς P; om. B. ταῦτα γάρ σε λέγοντα] PV; *etenim ista dicere te* A; *quia ista multiloquia* B; *haec verba enim quae dicis* C; ὅσα γὰρ ἂν λέγῃς L. 3 ὀνήσει] ὀνήσῃ P; σε ὀνίνησι L; ὀφελήσει (sic) V. There is a future in CAB. Εἶπόν σοι] LVCAB; om. P. ὅτι] LB; om. PV; dub. CA. 4 τοῦ Θεοῦ] PV; θεοῦ L. 5 τὴν θάλασσαν] VC_mAB; præf. καὶ C_sLP, and so Dressel without any reason. 6 ὃς ἔχει...ἐξουσίαν] here, CAB; after παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ [καὶ νοητοῦ], LPV. τοῦ Θεοῦ] τὸν θεὸν LPV. If this be the original reading, the writer must have forgotten the beginning of his sentence. 7 καὶ βασιλέως] καὶ βασιλέα LP; τοῦ βασιλέως V; *regis* (om. καὶ) C_s; def. C_m. The conjunction appears in AB. αἰσθητοῦ καὶ νοητοῦ] LVABC_s; αἰσθητοῦ (om. καὶ νοητοῦ) P; *invisibilium* C_m (obviously defective here). 8 σε] LVCAB; om. P. 9 θεὸν] V[B]; θεὸς LPCA, but, though so highly supported, this is not the reading required by the sense. 11 τῷ φωτὶ] PV; præf. οὐδὲ L; præf. *et* [A][B]; præf. *aut* C. And so again with τῷ

is mentioned also Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 5 (p. 58), Hippol. *Haer.* x. 7, Minuc. *Octav.* 19.

1. ἢ χθονίῳ κ.τ.λ.] The insertion in the Armenian and Latin may be explained by a repetition of syllables, so as to read ἢ χθονὶ ἢ χθονίῳ κ.τ.λ., or by a corruption of ἢ χθονίῳ into ἢ χθονὶ ἢ κ.τ.λ. When the mention of Earth as an object of worship was once introduced, the explanation 'Demeter (Ceres)' would follow. Previous editors have acquiesced in ἐπιχθονίῳ: but ἐπιχθόνιος, meaning *terricola*, is no epithet of Pluto, though it might be of Plato.

4. ἐποίησεν κ.τ.λ.] From Exod. xx. 11.

6. τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν πνευμάτων] Num. xxvii. 16; see the note on Clem. Rom. 58 (64).

7. παντὸς κ.τ.λ.] See Ps-Ign.

ταῦτα μὴ διακρίνουσιν ἐπήρτηται τὸ οὐαί. τίς γὰρ
συμφώνησις Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίαρ, ἢ τίς μερὶς
πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου; τίς δὲ συγκατάθεσις ναῷ
Θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων;

V. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ἁπλώσαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας πληρώσατε αὐτὰς πυρός. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Οὔτε πῦρ καυστικὸν οὔτε θηρίων ὀδόντες οὔτε σκορπισμὸς ὀστέων οὔτε ἁλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, οὐχ αἱ τοῦ διαβόλου κολάσεις, μεταστήσουσίν με τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπης. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Πάπυρον ἐλαίῳ βάψαντες καὶ μαλάξαντες, ἐξάψαντες τὰς πλευρὰς αὐτοῦ φλέ-

γλυκεῖ. 12 τῷ γλυκεῖ τὸ πικρόν] VAB; τὸ γλυκεῖ τὸ πικρόν P; τῷ γλυκεῖ τῷ πικρῷ L; *dulce amaro* C (but it transposes also, *lucem tenebris*). 13 διακρίνουσιν] LP; διακρίνουσι Vs. 14 Χριστῷ] PVB; χριστοῦ L. Both readings occur in 2 Cor. vi. 15, but χριστοῦ is correct. Βελίαρ] LVCA; βελίαν P; *belial* B. All three readings occur in 2 Cor. vi. 15, but Βελίαρ is correct. 15 ἀπίστου] LPCAB (as in 2 Cor. vi. 15); ἀπίστων V. ναῷ] LPCAB; ναῶν V. 16 μετὰ εἰδώλων] LPAB (with 2 Cor. vi. 16); καὶ εἰδώλοις V; dub. C. 17 τὰς χεῖρας] LP; χεῖρας V. 18 πληρώσατε] LP; πλήσατε V. αὐτὰς] LP; om. V. 19 καυστικὸν] LP; τὸ καυστικὸν V. σκορπισμὸς] VC[B] (but CB have singulars in the other clauses); σκορπισμοὶ LP (with *Rom.* 5); def. A. 20 ὀστέων] txt L; add. οὐ (οὔτε P, οὐδὲ C?) συγκοπαὶ (συγκοπὴ C) μελῶν PVC (from *Rom.* 5); def. A. In B the clauses stand *neque dissipatio membrorum neque confractio ossium.* οὔτε ἁλεσμοὶ...σώματος] LPVCB (but CB have ἁλεσμός); om. A. οὐχ αἱ τοῦ διαβόλου κολάσεις] LPVAB (with minor variations in AB); om. C. 21 μεταστήσουσιν] PVC; *separabit* A; πείσωσιν ἀποστῆναι L; *poterit me separare* B (from Vulg. of Rom. viii. 39). τῆς] PV; ἀπὸ τῆς L. πρὸς] PV; εἰς L. 23 καὶ μαλάξαντες, ἐξάψαντες] L; καὶ μαλάξαντες ἐξάψατε καὶ P; καὶ ἅψαντες VA; *incendentes* B; om. C.

Philipp. 5 ὁ...πᾶσαν αἰσθητὴν καὶ νοητὴν φύσιν κατασκευάσας.

8. κἀκεῖνον κ.τ.λ.] This was a compromise which the heathen apologists constantly put forward in the declining years of polytheism; see e.g. Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* iv. 20, 26, where this father replies at length to the 'sophism' that Θεὸς οὐκ ἂν μονάρχης κυρίως ἐκλήθη, εἰ μὴ θεῶν ἦρχε.

13. τὸ οὐαί] So Dionys. Corinth. in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 οἷς τὸ οὐαὶ κεῖται.

τίς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Cor. vi. 15, 16, a passage which is also quoted in Ps-Ign. *Ephes.* 16.

18. Οὔτε πῦρ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted from *Rom.* 5.

22. ἐλαίῳ κ.τ.λ.] Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 4 λίνοις ἐλαίῳ δεδευμένοις τὼ πόδε αὐτοῦ καλύψαντες πῦρ ὑφῆπτον κ.τ.λ.

ξατε. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Δοκεῖς μοι, βασιλεῦ, ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι Θεὸς ἐν ἐμοὶ ζῶν ἐστιν, ὃς καὶ δύναμιν ἐπιχορηγεῖ μοι καὶ στερροποιεῖ τὴν ψυχήν μου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἷός τε ἤμην φέρειν σου τὰς βασάνους. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Σιδήρεος τάχα τις εἶ καὶ ἀπεσκληκώς· ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἐνεδίδους λοιπόν, τοῖς μώλωψιν ἀλγυνόμενος, θῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Οὐχ ὡς μὴ αἰσθανόμενος, βασιλεῦ, τῶν βασάνων φέρω καὶ καρτερῶ ταύτας, ἀλλ' ἐλπίδι τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν εὐνοίας ἐπικουφιζούσης μου τὰς ὀδύνας· οὔτε γὰρ πῦρ φλέγον οὔτε ὕδωρ ἐπικλύζον σβέσαι ποτὲ δυνήσεται τὴν πρὸς Θεόν μου ἀγάπην. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ἐνέγκαντες πῦρ καὶ ἁπλώσαντες εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος τὴν ἀνθρακίαν, στήσατε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Ἰγνάτιον, ἵνα κἂν οὕτως πεισθῇ εἶξαί μοι καὶ

2 Θεὸς] LP; ὁ θεὸς V. ζῶν] LPCA; *vita* (ζωή) B; om. V. ἐπιχορηγεῖ μοι] LP (ἐπιχωρηγεῖ P); μοι ἐπιχορηγεῖ V. 3 στερροποιεῖ] P; στεροποιεῖ L; στερρὰν ποιεῖ V; *confortat* BA; *facit...novam* C. μου] here, LP; before τὴν ψυχήν, V. οὐ] LP; οὔτε V. 4 σιδήρεος] σιδηραῖος P; σιδηροῦς L; σιδήριος V. 5 ἀπεσκληκώς] V; ἀπεσκλικώς L; ἀπεσκληρυκώς P. ἐνεδίδους] LP; ἐνεδίδους V. For these parallel forms see Veitch *Greek Verbs* s. v. διδόω, δίδωμι. 6 μώλωψιν] P; μώλοψιν LV. θῦσαι] PV; καὶ ἔθυες LA; dub. C; al. B. 8 ταύτας] here, P; after φέρω, L; ταῦτα here, V. ἐλπίδι...ἀγαθῶν] LP (but ἐπειδὴ for ἐλπίδι P); ἐλπίδι τῶν ἀγαθῶν after εὐνοίας, V. The word μελλόντων is represented in CAB. 9 τῆς] LP; ὡς τῆς V; al. ABC. 10 μου] LV[B]; μοι P; om. [A]; al. C. φλέγον] PV; κατάφλεγον L. οὔτε sec.] PV; οὐχ L. The versions have a conjunction, but in such a case they have no weight. 12 μου ἀγάπην] LP[A][B]; ἀγάπην (om. μου) V. 14 τὸν Ἰγνάτιον] here,

3. στερροποιεῖ] The word occurs Polyb. v. 24. 9, and elsewhere.

4. Σιδήρεος] Euseb. *Laud. Const.* 16 § 11 τίς οὕτω σιδήριος τὴν ψυχήν; For the form see Steph. *Thes.* s. v. p. 224 (ed. Hase et Dind.), Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 208. I have adopted it here, because it explains the readings of all the MSS.

5. ἀπεσκληκώς] '*hardened, obdurate*,' as e.g. Chrysost. *de Sacerd.* vi. 1 (*Op.* I. p. 422) ἦν μὴ πολλῇ τῇ τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐστηρότητι ἀπεσκληκυῖα τύχῃ [ἡ ψυχή]. So Hesych. ἀπεσκληκώς· ἀναισθήτως ἔχων. Hence πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν...ἀπεσκληκότως ἔχει, Synes. *Epist.* 138, p. 275 (see Lobeck *Phryn.* 119). In its primary physical sense it is not uncommon; e.g. Euseb. *H.E.* ix. 8 οἱ μὲν ἀπεσκληκότες ὥσπερ εἴδωλα νεκρὰ ὧδε κἀκεῖσε ψυχορραγοῦντες.

θῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Τὸ καυστικὸν τοῦ πυρός σου εἰς ὑπόμνησίν με ἄγει τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἀσβέστου πυρός, καίτοι πρόσκαιρον ὄν. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Οἶμαι γοητείᾳ σέ τινι καταφρονεῖν τῶν βασάνων· ἢ γὰρ ἂν εἴξαις ἡμῖν τοσαῦτα παρ' ἡμῶν αἰκισθείς. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Οἱ δαίμονας ἀποστρεφόμενοι ὡς ἀποστάτας Θεοῦ καὶ εἴδωλα βδελυσσόμενοι πῶς ἂν εἶεν γόητες, εἰπέ [μοι]. ὑμεῖς γὰρ μᾶλλον οἱ ταῦτα σεβόμενοι τοῖς τοιούτοις λοιδορήμασιν ὑπόκεισθε· ἡμῖν δὲ νενομοθέτηται ΦΑΡΜΑΚΟΥΣ μὴ ἐᾶν ζῆν μηδὲ ΕΠΑΟΙΔΟΥΣ μηδὲ ΚΛΗΔΟΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ΤΩΝ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΑ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΒΙΒΛΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑΚΑΙΕΙΝ εἰώθαμεν ὡς ἐπιρρήτους. οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἐγὼ γόης, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ προσ-

LV; after στήσατε, P. κἂν] LPC; καὶ V; *vel* B; *saltem* A. πεισθῇ εἴξαι] PV; πεισθεὶς ἥξει L; *credat et...consentiat* B; πεισθῇ (om. εἴξαι) C; al. A. Perhaps we should read πεισθεὶς εἴξαι. μοι] LBC$_s$; μου P; om. VC$_m$; al. A. 15 θῦσαι] PV; θύσει L. 16 τοῦ...πυρός] LP; ἐκείνου τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ αἰωνίου καὶ ἀσβέστου V; *ignis (veri) aeterni et inextinguibilis* C; *verissimi ignis* [B]; *inextinguibilis ignis* [A] (the sentence being greatly altered). 18 γοητείᾳ σέ τινι] P, and so app. C; *quod incantator es et* A; γοητείας ἐστὶ V; *hoc maleficiorum esse* B; γοητείαν εἶναι τό L. ἢ γὰρ] ἡ γὰρ V; ἢ γὰρ P; ἔπει L. 19 εἴξαις] PV; ἥξας L. 21 εἴδωλα] PV; εἴδολα L. 22 μοι] LVC; om. PB; def. A. ταῦτα] here, PL; after μᾶλλον, V. 23 λοιδορήμασιν] LPC[A]B; ληρωδήμασιν V. 24 ἐᾶν] PV; ἐὰν L. 25 κληδονιζομένους] V; κλιδωνιζόμενους L; κλιδονιζομένους P. 27 ἐπιρρήτους] L; ἐπαράτους P; ἀπορρήτους V; *corruptores* A; *quos et audire execramur* B (apparently a combination of ἀπορρήτους and ἐπαράτους); def. C. οἱ] LP; om. V.

16. τοῦ αἰωνίου κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Polyc.* 11 ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος· Πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς τὸ πρὸς ὥραν καιόμενον κ.τ.λ.

23. λοιδορήμασιν] The sense seems to require this word here; but in Suidas s.v. Λεόντιος the word ληρωδήματα occurs without any v.l., and in Anast. Sin. *Hodeg.* 8 (p. 60) τὸ πολυθρύλλητόν σου ληρώδημα seems certainly to be right.

24. φαρμακοὺς κ.τ.λ.] Deut. xviii. 10 sq οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται ἐν σοὶ...κληδονιζόμενος καὶ οἰωνιζόμενος, φαρμακός, ἐπάδων ἐπαοιδήν κ.τ.λ.; comp. Exod. xxii. 18 φαρμακοὺς οὐ περιποιήσετε.

25. τῶν τὰ κ.τ.λ.] See Acts xix. 19, whence the words are borrowed.

27. ἐπιρρήτους] '*infamous*'; as Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 5 ἐπίρρητά τινα γυναικάρια ἐξ ἀγορᾶς κ.τ.λ., *V. C.* iii. 55 ἄρρητοί τε καὶ ἐπίρρητοι πράξεις (comp. *L. C.* 8). The word occurs in this sense as early as Xen. *Oecon.* 4. 2 ἆ γε βαναυσικαὶ καλούμεναι [τέχ-

κυνοῦντες τοῖς δαίμοσιν. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Νὴ τοὺς θεούς, Ἰγνάτιε, ἀπέκαμον εἰς σὲ λοιπόν, καὶ ἀπορῶ ποίαις χρήσομαί σοι βασάνοις πρὸς τὸ πεῖσαί σε εἶξαι τοῖς προσταττομένοις σοι. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Μὴ κάμνε, βασιλεῦ, ἀλλ' ἢ πυρὶ παραδίδου ἢ ξίφει τέμνε ἢ βυθῷ ἔκριπτε ἢ θηρίοις ἐκδίδου, ἵνα πεισθῇς ὅτι τούτων ἡμῖν οὐδὲν δεινὸν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπην.

VI. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Τίνα ἐλπίδα ἐκδέχῃ, Ἰγνάτιε, τούτοις ἐναποθνήσκων οἷς πάσχων ὑπομένεις, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν καὶ τὸν Κύριον [ἡμῶν] Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀγνοοῦσιν καὶ τὰ ἡτοιμασμένα τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν ἀγαθά· ὅθεν ἐνταῦθα μόνον λογίζονται τὴν ὕπαρξιν αὐτῶν εἶναι ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων, οὐδὲν δὲ κρεῖττον μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν φαντάζονται. ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ γινώσκοντες τὴν

1 *νὴ τοὺς θεούς*] P; *ματοὺς* (for *μὰ τους*) *θεοὺς* L; *per deos* CAB: *τοὺς θεοὺς* V. 2 *εἰς σὲ λοιπόν, καὶ*] P; *εἰς σὲ καὶ λοιπὸν* V; *λοιπὸν εἰς σὲ καὶ* L; *εἰς σὲ καὶ* (om. *λοιπὸν*) A; *εἰς σὲ* C; al. B. 3 *σοι βασάνοις*] P; *βασάνοις κατὰ σοῦ* L; *βασάνοις* V; al. B; def. C. *εἶξαι*] PV; *ἤξαι* L. 4 *σοι*] V; *σε* P; om. L. 6 *ἔκριπτε*] LP; *ἐπίρριπτε* V. 7 *πρὸς Θεὸν*] PV; *εἰς τὸν θεὸν* L; *dei* BA; *in deum* C_s; *in christum meum* C_m. *ἀγάπην*] PVAB; *ἡμῶν ἀγάπην* L. 8 *ἐκδέχῃ*] LP; *ἐκδέχει* V. 9 *ἔχω*] LVB[C]; *ἔχων* P; def. A. 10 *τὸν ἐπὶ.....Κύριον ἡμῶν* Ἰ. Χ.] LPB (but P om. *ἡμῶν*); *deum qui super omnia et logon ejus* (add. *viventem* C_m) *jesum* (add. *christum* C_m) *dominum nostrum* C; *deum* A; *τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων κύριον ἡμῶν* I. X. V. 11 *ἀγνοοῦσιν*] LP; *ἀγνοοῦσι* V. 12 *τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν*] LPAB; om. V; al. C. 13 *μό-*

ναι] *καὶ ἐπίρρητοί εἰσι* 'have an ill name.' In Pollux iii. 139, v. 159, vi. 127, its synonyms are *ἐπιβόητος, ἐπίμεμπτος, ἐπονείδιστος, ἐπίψογος*. This reading is to be preferred here, both as being the most difficult and as explaining all the others.

5. *ἢ πυρὶ κ.τ.λ.*] See Euseb. *H.E.* viii. 14 *ἀνατλάντες πῦρ καὶ σίδηρον καὶ προσηλώσεις θῆράς τε ἀγρίους καὶ θαλάττης βυθοὺς ἀποτομάς τε μελῶν καὶ καυτῆρας κ.τ.λ.*, of the sufferers under Diocletian.

25. *ὁσημέραι κ.τ.λ.*] Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* i. 3. 10 sq *εἰσέτι τε νῦν αὔξει καὶ ἐπιδίδωσι...ἥ τε...ἐκκλησία...δοξαζομένη τε ὁσημέραι καὶ εἰς ἅπαντας τὸ νοερὸν καὶ ἔνθεον φῶς...ἀπαστράπτουσα κ.τ.λ.*

26. *κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ.*] Euseb. *Ep. ad Caesar.* 10 (*Op.* II. 1544, Migne) *δυνάμει πάντα ὄντος ἀεί τε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος.* Our

εὐσέβειαν ἴσμεν ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀναστάντες ἀΐδιον ζωὴν ἕξομεν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀνελλιπῆ καὶ ἀδιάδοχον, ἧς ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ καταλύσας ὑμῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν διδάξω ὑμᾶς σωφρονεῖν καὶ μὴ διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων δόγμασιν. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Καὶ τίς δύναται, βασιλεῦ, οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ καταλῦσαι· κἂν [γὰρ] ἐπιχειρήσῃ τις, οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτῷ ὑπάρξει ἢ τὸ θεομάχον εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ χριστιανισμὸς οὐ μόνον οὐ καταλυθήσεται ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ὁσημέραι δυνάμει Χριστοῦ εἰς αὔξησιν ἐπιδώσει καὶ μέγεθος· κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχων προκόψει, λαμπρότητος ὁμοῦ καὶ σεμνότητος ἐκλάμπων μαρμαρυγάς· πλησθήσεται γὰρ ἡ σύμπασα τοῦ γνῶναι τὸν Κύριον, ὡς ὕδωρ πολὺ κατα-

νον] here, LP[C_s][B] (where the sentence is altogether mistranslated); after εἶναι, V; om. A; def. C_m. καί] PV; om. L[C]; dub. A; al. B. 14 ζώων] PV[A]; om. L (but the parchment is torn); al. BC. κρεῖττον] LA; *bonum* C; πλέον PV; def. B. ἐνθένδε] LV; ἐντεῦθεν P. 17 ἀνελλιπῆ] LV; ἀνεκλειπῆ P. 19 τὴν αἵρεσιν] PVC; τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν θρησκείαν L; *cultum et haeresin* A; def. B. 22 οἰκοδομὴν θεοῦ] LP; θεοῦ οἰκοδομὴν V. γὰρ] LVA; om. PC; def. B. 23 πλέον αὐτῷ] LP; αὐτῷ πλέον V. ὑπάρξει] LP; ὑπάρχει V[A]; def. B. There is a future in C. 25 ἀνθρώπων] LP; τῶν ἀνθρώπων V. 26 ἐπιδώσει] PVC(?)A (but a pres. tense); om. L; def. B. τὸ αὐτὸ] LP; τὰ αὐτὰ V. 27 προκόψει] LPCA; προκοπὴν V; def. B. 28 ἐκλάμπων] LP; ἐκλάμπουσα V. ἡ σύμπασα] P (with Is. xi. 9 LXX); ἡ σύμπασα γῆ L; σύμπασα ἡ γῆ V; def. B. The word *terra* appears in CA.

author is very Eusebian in his language in this passage, as elsewhere. Probably καὶ has been omitted before κατὰ in our text, as frequently; see *Clement of Rome* p. 448, *Appendix*.

28. μαρμαρυγάς] Euseb. *Laud. Const.* I § 1 φῶς δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπαστράπτον ἀρρήτοις ἀκτίνων μαρμαρυγαῖς, § 2 τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μαρμαρυγαῖς (comp. 12 § 12), *Epist. ad Const.* (*Op.* II. 1545, Migne) τῆς τοσαύτης ἀξίας τε καὶ δόξης τὰς ἀποστιλβούσας καὶ ἀπαστραπτούσας μαρμαρυγάς, *Vit. Const.* iii. 10.

πλησθήσεται γὰρ] From Is. xi. 9 ἐνεπλήσθη κ.τ.λ.

29. κατακαλύψαι] For this optative of hypothesis comp. Deut. xxxii. 11 ὡς ἀετὸς σκεπάσαι νοσσιὰν αὐτοῦ. It seems to be commoner with ὡσεί, Num. xxii. 4, Deut. xxviii. 29, etc. See Thiersch *de Pent. Vers. Alex.* p. 101. For its use in classical writers see Jelf § 426, Kühner II. p. 191 sq.

καλύψαι θαλάσσας. *οὐ καλῶς δέ, βασιλεῦ, αἵρεσιν ἀποκαλεῖς τὸν χριστιανισμόν· πολὺ γὰρ αἵρεσις χριστιανισμοῦ κεχώρισται. χριστιανισμὸς δὲ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος Θεοῦ ἐπίγνωσίς ἐστιν καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μυήσεως, συνεπομένων καὶ τῶν τῆς πολιτείας καλῶν τῇ ἀδιαψεύστῳ θρησκείᾳ. τίνας δὲ ἡμῶν ἔγνως στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον ἀγαπῶντας, οὐχὶ δὲ ὑποτασσομένους ἄρχουσιν, ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ὑποταγή, ὁμονοοῦντας εἰρηνικῶς ἐν τοῖς φιλικοῖς, πᾶσιν ἀποτίννυντας τὰς ὀφειλάς, τῷ*

1 δέ] LPA; γὰρ V; om. C; def. B. 3 κεχώρισται] A description of heresy follows in C, which is not found in the other authorities. δὲ] LPC; γὰρ VA; al. B. ὄντως ὄντος] P; ὄντος ὄντως V; *existentis in veritate* C; *veri* [B]A; ὄντος L. 5 οἰκονομίας] LCA; ἐπιδημίας PV; *conversationem* B. μυήσεως] LP; *mysteriorum doctrinae bonae* A; μωυσέως V; *moyses* B (see the lower note); al. C. 6 συνεπομένων] PV; ἑπομένῳ L. τῶν τῆς] LP; τῆς τῶν V. 7 ἀδιαψεύστῳ θρησκείᾳ] LP; αδιαψευστα θρισκεία (sic) V. There is a lacuna from this point to nearly the end of the chapter in C_m. τίνας] LP; τίνα VAB; *quemnam* C_s. 8 ἀγαπῶντας] L; ἀγαπᾶν PV. οὐχὶ δὲ] LV; ἀλλ' οὐχ P. 9 ἐν οἷς] LP (as in *Ps-Antioch.* 11); *ubi* B; *quatenus* A; οἷς V; al. C_s. ὁμονοοῦντας] P; ὁμονοοῦντες LV. εἰρηνικῶς] PV; εἰρινικῶς L. 10 φιλικοῖς] LPBA; φυλάκοις V; al. C_s. The sentence is rendered loosely *et consensus noster est in pace et amore vivere erga nos invicem* in A, but Zahn's conj. ζῆν καὶ φιλικῶς for ἐν τοῖς φιλικοῖς is not needed. πᾶσιν] here, P; καὶ πᾶσιν here, L; πᾶσι after ἀποτείνοντας, V. The conjunction is omitted in [B][C_s].

1. *οὐ καλῶς δὲ κ.τ.λ.*] This mode of speaking would hardly be intelligible to Trajan or his contemporaries. The word *αἵρεσις* was neutral, like our 'persuasion,' and had not necessarily any depreciatory sense. More than two centuries later Constantine in Eusebius (*H. E.* x. 5. 21) expresses his displeasure at those who are making schisms by separating from 'the Catholic heresy' (*τῆς αἱρέσεως τῆς καθολικῆς ἀποδιΐστασθαι*).

5. *μυήσεως*] '*initiation*,' i.e. instruction in His Gospel and admission to His Church. In *Apost. Const.* vii. 42 *μύησις* is used of baptism, not without a reference to the previous catechetical instruction; and so *οἱ μυούμενοι, οἱ μεμυημένοι, ἰδ.* vi. 15, vii. 22 *ὁ εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον μυούμενος*, vii. 38 *οἱ κατὰ Χριστὸν μεμυημένοι*, viii. 8, while *οἱ ἀμύητοι* are 'the unbaptized' vii. 25. Of baptism also it is used Sozom. *H. E.* i. 3 *ἀμυήτοις μὲν μύησιν κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῖς δὲ μεμυημένοις τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἁμαρτεῖν*, and in other writers. No sense can be extracted from the reading Μωυσέως, which is retained by previous editors.

7. *ἔγνως*] On the difference in meaning of *γινώσκειν* with the infin. ('to judge') and with the part. ('to

τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον, τῷ τὸν φόβον τὸν φόβον, τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος, τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμήν, σπεύδοντας μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλειν ἢ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους; δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν μὴ μόνον τὸν πλησίον ἀγαπᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εὐεργετεῖν καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἀγαπᾶν καὶ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ἡμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων. τί δέ σοι προσέκρουσεν τὸ τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ κήρυγμα, ἐξότε ἤρξατο, εἰπέ. ἆρα μή τι νεώτερον συμβέβηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν; οὐχὶ δὲ ἡ πολυαρχία εἰς

ἀποτίννυντας] ἀποτίννυντες P; ἀποτιννύοντες L; ἀποτείνοντας V. τῷ] LP[A]BC$_s$ (as in Rom. xiii. 7); τοῖς V. So in all the four places. 11 τῷ τὸν φόβον τὸν φόβον] here, LV (but V has τοῖς) B; after τὰς ὀφειλάς, P; after τὸ τέλος, AC$_s$ (with Rom. xiii. 7). 12 τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος] LV (but V has τοῖς) ABC$_s$; om. P. 13 σπεύδοντας] PV; σπεύδοντες L. μηδὲν] PVABC$_s$; om. L. ἢ] PV; εἰ μὴ L (with Rom. xiii. 8). 14 Κυρίου ἡμῶν] txt PB; add. *ihsoũ xristoũ* LV; *christo* C$_s$; *domino* A. 15 τὸν πλησίον] PVBC$_s$; τοὺς πλησίον LA. τὸν ἐχθρὸν] PBC$_s$; τῶν ἐχθρῶν V; τοὺς ἐχθροὺς LA. 16 εὐεργετεῖν...ἀγαπᾶν] LPB; καὶ εὐεργετεῖν (or εὐποιεῖν) τοὺς μισοῦντας AC$_s$; εὐποιεῖν καὶ εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς μισοῦντας ἡμᾶς V. εὔχεσθαι] PV; προσεύχεσθαι L. 18 δέ] PV; γάρ L[B]; om. AC$_s$. προσέκρουσεν] LP; προσέκρουσε V. τοῦ] LP; om. V. 19 ἐξότε] P; ἐξότου LV. εἰπέ] txt PVBA; add. μοι LC$_s$. συμβέβηκεν] PV; συνέβη L. 20 ἐπὶ] PV; περὶ LB. Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν] PV[B]; ἀρχὴν ῥωμαίων L. δὲ] txt LP; add. καὶ V; add. *potius* B; al. C$_s$.

perceive, discover') see Kühner II. p. 629 sq. The reading here however is doubtful.

8. *ὑποτασσομένους κ.τ.λ.*] Comp. Ps-Ign. *Antioch.* 11, from which the words appear to be taken; see p. 380.

10. *πᾶσιν τὰς ὀφειλὰς κ.τ.λ.*] From Rom. xiii. 7, 8.

15. *μὴ μόνον κ.τ.λ.*] See Matt. v. 43, 44, Luke vi. 27, 28.

20. *οὐχὶ δέ κ.τ.λ.*] The argument is used by Melito *Fragm.* 1 *ἐπανθήσασα δὲ [ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία] τοῖς σοῖς ἔθνεσι κατὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου τοῦ σοῦ προγόνου μεγάλην ἀρχήν, ἐγενήθη μάλιστα τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ αἴσιον ἀγαθόν. ἔκτοτε γὰρ εἰς μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων ηὐξήθη κράτος κ.τ.λ.*, preserved by Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 26. See also Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 30 *πλῆθος εἰρήνης γέγονεν ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ, εὐτρεπίζοντος τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη, ἵν' ὑπὸ ἕνα γένηται τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα, καὶ μὴ διὰ τὸ προφάσει τῶν πολλῶν βασιλειῶν ἄμικτον τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα κ.τ.λ....καὶ σαφές γε ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου βασιλείαν ὁ Ἰησοῦς γεγέννηται, τοῦ, ἵν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω, ὁμαλίσαντος διὰ μιᾶς βασιλείας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς.* The argument is dwelt on elsewhere by Eusebius, *Theoph.* ii. 65 sq, iii. 1, 2, v. 52,

μοναρχίαν μετέπεσεν; καὶ Αὔγουστος ὁ σὸς πρόγονος, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ ἐτέχθη ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ πρώην Θεὸς Λόγος καὶ ἄνθρωπος δι' ἡμᾶς, μονονουχὶ αἰῶνα ὅλον ἐβασίλευσεν, πεντήκοντα ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς καὶ ἑπτὰ πρὸς μησὶν ἄλλοις ἓξ κρατήσας τῆς 5
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, καὶ μοναρχήσας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ; οὐ πᾶν φῦλον αὐτῷ ὑπετάγη, καὶ ἡ προτέρα ἀμιξία τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν μῖσος διελύθη ἐκ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιδημίας;

VII. Ἡ σύγκλητος εἶπεν· Ναὶ, ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, 10

3 καὶ] LPB (but with a v. l.); ὧν V; al. A; al. C_s. 4 ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς] PV; ὅλους ἐνιαυτοὺς L. 5 ἑπτὰ] LPVBC_s; *sex* A. ἓξ] *sex* A; ἑπτὰ PB[C_s]; om. LV. 6 Ῥωμαίων] LP; τῶν ῥωμαίων V. 7 καὶ ἡ κ.τ.λ.] C_m resumes here. προτέρα] LP; πρότερον V. 8 τῶν ἐθνῶν] here, LV (written ἐθῶν in V); before ἀμιξία, P; al. C. τὸ] txt PV[B]A[C]; add. πρότερον L. αὐτῶν] LP; om. V. 11 εἶπας] V; *dixisti* CAB; φῄς LP. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο] LVCA; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο (sic) P; *sed illud* B. 13 εἶπεν] txt LPVA; add. *et quid fecit incongruum* B; *et*

Praep. Ev. i. 4, v. 1, *Dem. Ev.* iii. 7. 30 sq, *Laud. Const.* 16; see also his *Comm. in Ps.* quoted below in the note on οἱ ἡμέτεροι λόγοι. Comp. Dante *Monarch.* i. 16 (17).

4. πεντήκοντα κ.τ.λ.] Reckoned from the death of Julius Cæsar, as in Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2. 2 ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ πεντήκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη, πρὸς οἷς μῆνες ἓξ ἡμεραῖν δυοῖν πλείονες, τούτου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἔτη συνῆρξεν Ἀντώνιος. Theophilus (*ad Autol.* iii. 27) reckons it 56 years, 4 months, 1 day; Tertullian (*adv. Jud.* 1) says 56 years. Eusebius in the *Ecclesiastical History* (i. 9) makes it 57 years; but in the *Chronicon* (II. p. 138, Schoene) 56 years and 6 months. This last is also the reckoning in the *Chron. Pasch.* p. 360 (ed. Bonn.). See the next note. It was actually 57 years, 5 months, and 5 days; see Clinton *Fast. Hell.* III. p. 280 (276). Dion Cass. (lvi. 30) gives the duration of his sole sovereignty, μοναρχήσας ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ἐνίκησε τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη δεκατριῶν ἡμερῶν δέοντα. The whole term of power might be said to extend over μονονουχὶ αἰῶνα ὅλον: for αἰών corresponds to the Latin *saeculum*, which was used loosely, sometimes denoting a generation or a third of a century, sometimes the period of a man's life, sometimes a longer recurring interval such as the 110 years of the secular games. Jerome on Ezek. xxvii. 36 εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (*Op.* v. p. 324) says, '*usque in saeculum*, unius saeculi tempus ostendit, quod juxta aetatem hominis annorum septuaginta circulo supputatur.'

5. ἑπτὰ] This reading is retained in accordance with the preponderance of authorities. But the adoption of ἓξ with the Armenian would bring our author into exact accordance with Euseb. *Chron.* l. c. and *Chron.*

ὡς εἶπας, Ἰγνάτιε. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἀγανακτοῦμεν, ὅτι τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς θρησκείαν κατέλυσεν. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ὦ λαμπρὰ γερουσία, ὥσπερ τὰ ἀλογώτερα τῶν ἐθνῶν καθυπέταξεν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ἣν οἱ ἡμέτεροι
15 λόγοι ΣΙΔΗΡΑΝ ΡΑΒΔΟΝ ἀποκαλοῦσιν, οὕτως καὶ τὰ τυραννικὰ τῆς πονηρίας πνεύματα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπήλασεν, ἕνα καὶ μόνον καταγγείλας τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πικρᾶς αὐτῶν δουλείας ἀπήλλαξεν, αἱμοβόρων καὶ ἀνηλεῶν ὄντων αὐτῶν. οὐ
20 τῷ θανάτῳ τῶν φιλτάτων ὑμῶν ἐνετρυφῶσαν; οὐκ

quid malum accidit C. 14 καθυπέταξεν] P; καθυπέταξε V; ὑπέταξε L. 15 τὰ τυραννικὰ τῆς πονηρίας πνεύματα] LPB; *vim malorum et insanorum daemonum* A; *spiritus erroris, qui daemones sunt, tyranni existentes etc* [C]; τὰ πονηρὰ here, and πνεύματα after ἐξήλασε, V. 16 ἐξ] LP; ἀπὸ τῶν V. ἀπήλασεν] P; ἀπήλασε L; ἐξήλασε V. 19 ἀνηλεῶν] LPCA(?)B; ἀνιλέων V. ὄντων αὐτῶν] LV; αὐτῶν ὄντων P. 20 ἐνετρυφῶσαν] so LPV: see the lower note.

Pasch. l. c., with whom he is likely to have agreed.

ἐξ] I have followed the Armenian here, as it agrees with both Josephus and Eusebius. The Greek and Latin texts seem to have altered the number of months to conform to the number of units in the years (ἑπτά). The presence of the word ἄλλοις shows that some number had a place here.

14. οἱ ἡμέτεροι λόγοι] Ps. ii. 9 ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, which was interpreted as foretelling the Roman domination: see esp. Euseb. (*Op.* v. p. 89, Migne) *ad loc.* ῥάβδον δὲ σιδηρᾶν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν εἶναί φησιν, ἐπικρατεστέραν γενομένην μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφάνειαν· ἐξ ἐκείνου γὰρ τῶν κατ' ἔθνη πολυαρχιῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ χώρας ἐθναρχιῶν καταλυθεισῶν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐμονάρχησε βασιλεία κ.τ.λ. So too [Adamant.] *Dial.* i. (Orig. *Op.* I. p. 818). In Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* i. 7 (p. 134) and Origen *Sel. in Psalm.* ii. 3 (*Op.* II. p. 542) it is differently interpreted.

19. αἱμοβόρων] See the note on *Mart. Ant.* 2 ὠμοβόροις.

20. ἐνετρυφῶσαν] The 'Alexandrian' form of the 3rd pers. imperf. for ἐνετρύφων; comp. Bekker *Anecd.* p. 91 ἐλέγοσαν, ἐγράφοσαν, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσι, where Lycophr. *Alexandr.* 21 ἐσχάζοσαν is quoted. So John xv. 22, 24, εἴχοσαν, Rom. iii. 13 ἐδολιοῦσαν (from the LXX). For this form, which is more common in the aorist, see Kühner I. p. 531 sq, Winer § xiii. p. 91 (Moulton). The correctness of the reading here is assured by the consistent accentuation in the MSS, as well as by the imperfects in the parallel clauses. Dressel substituted ἐνετρυφῆσαν, for which Zahn (correcting the false accent) writes ἐνετρύφησαν.

ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ὑμᾶς ἐμίαινον; οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖν ὑμᾶς ἠνάγκαζον γυμνοὺς θεατρίζοντες, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν γυμνὰς ὡς ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πομπεύοντες, αἵμασιν κοινοῦντες τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὸν καθαρὸν ἀέρα ἀκαθαρσίαις

1 ὑμᾶς pri.] here, PV; after ἐμφυλίοις, L. 3 πομπεύοντες] LPB (?); πομπεύονταs VA (?); al. C. αἵμασιν] PV (αἵμασι) A (*sanguine*) BC_m; def. C_s; om. L. κοινοῦντες] PV; κυνοῦντες L. 4 τὸν καθαρὸν ἀέρα] LPV; *communem aërem* B; *aërem* C_m; def. C_s; *omnium animas semper* (ἀεὶ for ἀέρα) A.

1. ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις κ.τ.λ.] Euseb. *Laud. Const.* 9 § 2 αἵμασι καὶ φόνοις ἐμφυλίοις τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπλήρουν χώρας, *ib.* 13 § 7 τοὺς αὐτῶν οἴκους ἐμφυλίοις μολύνειν φόνοις, speaking of the same thing.

5. Σκύθας] The people of the Tauric Chersonese; see Strabo vii. 4 (p. 308) τὴν Ταυρικὴν καὶ Σκυθικὴν λεγομένην χερρόνησον, and again οἱ Ταῦροι, Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος. Comp. Tertull. *Scorp.* 7 'Sed enim Scytharum Dianam...hominum victima placari apud saeculum licuit,' Athan. *c. Graec.* 25 (*Op.* I. p. 19) Σκύθαι γὰρ οἱ καλούμενοι Ταυρεῖοι τῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς παρθένῳ καλουμένῃ κ.τ.λ.

7. τὴν τῷ Κρόνῳ κ.τ.λ.] Cronos was the Molech of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, to whom they constantly offered human victims. An occasion is recorded (Diod. Sic. xx. 14, Pescenius Festus in Lactant. *Div. Inst.* i. 21), when two hundred persons were sacrificed by the Carthaginians, while three hundred more offered themselves voluntarily for sacrifice. References to human victims immolated to Saturn are frequent in the apologists; e.g. Justin *Apol.* ii. 12 (p. 50), Tertull. *Apol.* 9, Minuc. *Octav.* 30, Lactant. *Div. Inst.* l. c., Euseb. *Laud. Const.* 13, Athan. *c. Graec.* 25. But this particular sacrifice to Saturn by the Romans (ὑμεῖς) is not explained by any other passage which I have come across. It may have something to do with the usage in primeval Latium mentioned by Varro as reported in Macrobius *Sat.* i. 7. 31, 'cumque diu humanis capitibus Ditem et virorum victimis Saturnum placare se crederent propter oraculum in quo erat, καὶ κεφαλὰς Αἴδῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα, Herculem ferunt...suasisse illorum posteris ut faustis sacrificiis infausta mutarent, inferentes Diti non hominum capita sed oscilla...et aras Saturnias non mactando viro sed accensis luminibus excolentes, quia non solum virum sed et lumina φῶτα significat, inde mos per Saturnalia missitandis cereis coepit' (comp. i. 11. 48). But the apologists are silent about the sacrifice of this damsel. On the other hand they repeatedly mention a human victim as offered in Rome itself to Jupiter Latiaris even in their own time; Justin l. c. (?), Tatian *ad Graec.* 29, Theoph. *ad Autol.* iii. 8, Tertull. *Apol.* 9, *Scorp.* 7, Minuc. *Octav.* l.c., Firm. Matern. 26, Lactant. l. c. Even this last writer speaks of the practice as still existing. Nor is the statement confined to Christian apologists. Porphyry also gives it as a well-known fact, *de Abst.* ii. 56 ἔτι γε νῦν τίς ἀγνοεῖ κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τῇ τοῦ Λατιαρίου Διὸς ἑορτῇ σφαζόμενον ἄνθρωπον. This passage of Porphyry is directly quoted by Eusebius *Praep.*

θολοῦντες; ἐρωτήσατε Σκύθας, εἰ μὴ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνθρώπους ἔθυον· πάντως γάρ, κἂν ὑμεῖς ἀρνῆσθε αἰσχυνόμενοι τὴν τῷ Κρόνῳ σφαττομένην παρθένον, Ἕλ-

ἀκαθαρσίαις] LVC$_m$B; ἀκαθαρσίας P; *immunditie* A; def. C$_s$. 5 θολοῦντες] PV; θωλοῦντες L. 6 κἂν] κὰν P; om. LVC; *quoque* (καὶ?) B; dub. A. (*fortasse...quidem*, for πάντως...κἂν?). ἀρνῆσθε] ἀρνεῖσθε LPV, and the indic. may be defended by the analogous use with ἐὰν, ὅταν. 7 Ἕλληνες] LPC; præf. καὶ V; præf. *sed et nunc etiam* A; add. *quoque* B.

Ev. iv. 16. 10, and is repeated word for word by him without any signs of quotation in *Laud. Const.* 13, *Theoph.* ii. 64, so that he adopts the statement as true for his own time. [The last passage of Eusebius stands in Lee's translation (p. 123) 'Whom has it escaped, that even to this time a man is sacrificed in the *Great City* (Megalopolis) at the feast of Jupiter Latiaris? For even up to this time, it was not only to Jupiter in Arcadia nor to Saturn at Carthage, that they all commonly sacrifice men' etc. Thus translated, Eusebius is made to assert that the sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris took place in the Arcadian Megalopolis. But of this extraordinary blunder he is quite innocent. The Syriac here freely translated 'to Jupiter' represents the Greek τοῖς Λυκαίοις 'at the Lycæa,' an Arcadian festival of Zeus. The reference to human sacrifices in Arcadia is quite a separate notice in Porphyry himself (*de Abst.* ii. 27), and is given as a separate quotation by Eusebius elsewhere (*Praep. Ev.* l. c.), though immediately after the mention of Jupiter Latiaris. Nor can we suppose that he intended to refer to the same sacrifice in the two successive sentences here. The confusion is Lee's own.] Somewhat later however Athanasius *c. Graec.* 25 (1. p. 19) writes οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν καλούμενον Λατιάριον Δία ἀνθρωποθυσίαις ἐθρήσκευον. The reason why we hear nothing else of it in classical writers seems to be explained by the language of Tertullian *Apol.* 9, 'Ecce in illa religiosissima urbe Aeneadarum piorum est Jupiter quidam, quem ludis suis humano produnt sanguine. Sed, bestiarii, inquitis. Hoc opinor minus quam hominis. An hoc turpius, quod mali hominis?' The victim was a criminal condemned to the wild beasts, and this was his mode of execution (comp. [Cyprian] *de Spect.* 5 'nonnunquam et homo fit hostia latrocinio sacerdotis' with the context). There is an interesting correspondence of Stanhope, Peel, and Macaulay, on this human sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris, in Earl Stanhope's *Miscellanies* p. 128 sq, but it does not go below the surface. Examples of human sacrifices in the earlier history of Rome are noticed by Minuc. *Octav.* l. c., 'ritus fuit... Romanis Graecum et Graecam, Gallum et Gallam, sacrificii loco viventes obruere.' Two soldiers of Julius Cæsar also, who had mutinied, were sacrificed ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας by the pontifices and the priest of Mars in the Campus Martius (Dion Cass. xliii. 24). Tatian also (l.c.) refers to the cultus of Diana near Rome as belonging to the same category. He must be referring to the goddess of Aricia, whose priest procured his office by the murder of his predecessor: see Preller *Röm. Mythol.* p. 278 sq.

ληνες ἐγκαυχῶνται ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀνθρωποθυσίαις, παρὰ βαρβάρων τὸ τοιοῦτον παραλαβόντες κακόν. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Νὴ τοὺς θεούς, ἐκπλήττομαί σε, Ἰγνάτιε, τῆς πολυμαθίας, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπαινῶ τῆς θρησκείας. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Καὶ τί κατέγνως τῆς θρησκείας ἡμῶν τῆς θείας; Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ὅτι τὸν δεσπότην ἥλιον οὐ προσκυνεῖτε, οὔτε τὸν οὐρανόν, οὔτε τὴν ἱερὰν σελήνην τὴν παντότροφον. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Καὶ τίς ἂν ἔλοιτο, βασιλεῦ, προσκυνεῖν ἥλιον τὸν ἐν σχήματι ὄντα, τὸν αἰσθήσει ὑποπίπτοντα, τὸν ἀποβάλλοντα καὶ πάλιν ἐκ πυρὸς ἀναλαμβάνοντα τὴν ἀποβληθεῖσαν θερμότητα, τὸν ἔκλειψιν ὑπομένοντα, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενόν ποτε ἀμεῖψαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν παρὰ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ ἐπιτάτ-

1 ἀνθρωποθυσίαις] LP; ἀνθρώπων θυσίαις V. 2 τὸ] LV; om. P. παραλαβόντες] LV; λαβόντες P. 3 σε] VC (?); σου LPA(?)B(?). The latter clause requires σε in the former. Ἰγνάτιε] here, PVC; after θεούς, LB; om. A. 4 πολυμαθίας] PV; πολυμαθείας L. 5 καὶ τί] PVCAB; τί (om. καὶ) L. 7 οὔτε sec.] LP; neque [C][A][B]; οὐ V. 8 παντότροφον] P; πάντροφον LV. 9 ἥλιον] P; τὸν ἥλιον LV. 10 αἰσθήσει] LP; ἐν αἰσθήσει V. τὸν ἀποβάλλοντα] LC[B]; καὶ ἀποβάλλοντα PV; def. A. After ἀποβάλλοντα L adds τὴν θέρμην. 12 ἔκλειψιν ὑπομένοντα] PB; ἐκλείψεις ὑπομένοντα L; ἐκλείψει οὐπομένοντα V (doubtless a corruption of ἐκλείψεις ὑπομένοντα); *cujus lumen deficit aliquando opus quod dicitur apud vos eclipsis* C; def. A. ποτὲ ἀμεῖψαι] PVC; *mutare* B; ἀνῦσαι (sic) ποτε L; def. A. 13 ἐπιτάττοντος] LP[B]; ἐπιτάξαντος V. 14 τελεῖν] here, LP; after δρόμον, V. 15 νέφεσιν] P; νέφεσι LsVs. ὡς]

1. Ἕλληνες] A large number of instances in Greece and elsewhere are collected in Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3 (p. 36) and in Porphyr. *de Abstin.* ii. 54 sq. These writers and others are quoted on this subject by Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* iv. 15 sq (comp. *Laud. Const.* 13, *Theoph.* ii. 53 sq). See Wachsmuth *Hell. Alterth.* II. 2. p. 224 sq, on these human sacrifices among the Greeks. They were put down generally (σχεδὸν...παρὰ πᾶσιν) in the reign of Hadrian; Porphyr. l. c., Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* iv. 15. 3, *Laud. Const.* 16 § 10, Lactant. *Div. Inst.* i. 21. See Renan *L'Église Chrétienne* p. 3.

9. ἐν σχήματι ὄντα] See *Clem. Hom.* xvi. 17, xvii. 3. 8. 9, for this phrase.

15. ὡς δέρριν κ.τ.λ.] Ps. ciii (civ). 2 ἐκτείνων τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡσεὶ δέρριν.

16. ὡς καμάραν κ.τ.λ.] Is. xl. 22 ὁ στήσας ὡς καμάραν τὸν οὐρανόν.

17. ὡς κύβον] Job xxxviii. 38 (LXX) κεκόλληκα δὲ αὐτὸν [i.e. τὸν οὐρανὸν] ὥσπερ λίθῳ κύβον (or λιθόκυβον); comp. *Ap. Const.* vii. 35 οἶδεν οὐρανὸς τὸν ἐπὶ μηδενὸς αὐτὸν καμαρώσαντα ὡς λίθῳ

τοντος αὐτῷ τελεῖν τὸν δρόμον; οὐρανὸς δὲ πῶς προσκυνητός, ὁ νέφεσιν καλυπτόμενος, ὃν ὡς ΔΕΡΡΙΝ ΕΖΕΤΕΙΝΕΝ ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ ὡς ΚΑΜΑΡΑΝ ΕΠΗΖΕΝ καὶ ὡς ΚΥΒΟΝ ἥδρασεν; ἢ σελήνην αὔξουσαν καὶ μειουμένην καὶ φθίνουσαν καὶ πάθεσιν ὑποκειμένην; ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ φῶς ἔχουσιν λαμπρόν, διὰ τοῦτο προσκυνεῖσθαι ὀφείλουσιν, οὐ πάντως ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος. εἰς φαῦσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς προσκύνησιν ἐδόθησαν· πεπαίνειν καὶ θερμαίνειν τοὺς καρποὺς προσετάχθησαν, λαμπρύνειν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ φωτίζειν τὴν νύκτα. καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες [δὲ] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ΕΙC ΣΗΜΕΙΑ ἐτάχθησαν ΚΑΙ ΕΙC ΚΑΙΡΟΥC καὶ εἰς τροπὰς καὶ τῶν τὴν θάλασσαν πλεόντων εἰς παραμυθίαν. οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων προσκυνη-

LP; ὡσεὶ V (from Ps. ciii (civ). 2). 16 δημιουργὸς] txt LVB; add. *ejus* C; add. τῶν ἁπάντων P; def. A. 17 κύβον] LPV; *cuppam* B; *fornicem* (**κηπε**; comp. Is. xl. 22) C_s; **ckhnh** C_m; def. A. ἥδρασεν] LV; ἕδρασεν P. σελήνην αὔξουσαν] LVCB (?); σελήνη ἡ αὔξουσα P (and so the nom. throughout); def. A. 18 φθίνουσαν καὶ] LP (but P φθίνουσα, see above) B; om. V; def. A. In C the whole sentence runs *lunam...quae diminuitur* (*deficit*) *et repletur et subjicitur passionibus, quae indiget saepe.* 19 λαμπρόν] here, LP; after ἀλλ' ὅτι, V. 23 τὴν νύκτα] txt PVCAB; add. οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι L. 24 δὲ] LCA; om. PVB. καὶ εἰς καιροὺς] PVC (the sentence being somewhat changed, and C_s having **καρπος** for **καιρος**) AB; om. L. 26 εἰς παραμυθίαν] here, P; before τῶν τὴν, L; παραμυθίαν (om. εἰς) here, V; *pro consolatione* B; al. C. The prepos. appears in A. οὐδὲν δὲ] PLC_s; ἀλλ' οὐθὲν V; *et nihil* A; *nihil itaque* (οὖν) BC_m.

κύβον (v. l. λιθόκυβον); Vitruv. v. Præf. 'Is (cubus), quum est jactus, quam in partem incubuit, dum est intactus, immotam habet stabilitatem.' The Coptic suggests ὡς σκηνήν (comp. Is. xl. 22), while the Latin points to some late Greek word signifying a 'vault' or 'dome'; see Hesych. κουπήϊον· καμάρα ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν γινομένη; Suid. κύβεθρον· θήκην μελισσῶν; and comp. Ducange *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.* s. vv. 'cufa, cupa, cuppa, cupla, cuppula, etc. See Lobeck *Pathol.* p. 242. αὔξουσαν κ.τ.λ.] See *Apost. Const.* vii. 34 ὁ γῆν ἑδράσας καὶ οὐρανὸν ἐκτείνας...οὐρανὸς δὲ ὡς καμάρα πεπηγμένος ἠγλάϊσται ἄστροις ἕνεκεν παραμυθίας, φῶς δὲ καὶ ἥλιος εἰς ἡμέρας καρπῶν γονῆς γεγένηνται, σελήνη δὲ εἰς καιρῶν τροπὴν αὔξουσα καὶ μειουμένη κ.τ.λ., Euseb. *Laud. Const.* I § 5 σελήνη τε ὑποχωροῦσα τὸ φέγγος ἡλίῳ, χρόνων τε περιόδοις μειουμένη καὶ πάλιν αὐξομένη κ.τ.λ.

24. εἰς σημεῖα κ.τ.λ.] See Gen. i. 14.

25. τροπὰς] Deut. xxxiii. 14 ἡλίου τροπῶν, Job xxxviii. 33 τροπὰς οὐρανοῦ: comp. James i. 17.

τόν, οὐχ ὕδωρ ὃ Ποσειδῶνα καλεῖτε, οὐ πῦρ ὃ Ἥφαιστον καλεῖτε, οὐκ ἀὴρ ὃν Ἥραν καλεῖτε, οὐ γῆ ἣν Δήμητρα καλεῖτε, οὐ καρποί· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα, κἂν πρὸς σύστασιν ἡμετέραν γέγονεν, ὅμως φθαρτά εἰσιν καὶ ἄψυχα.

VIII. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἄρα καλῶς ἔλεγον ἐν ἀρχαῖς, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἀναστατώσας τὴν ἀνατολὴν μὴ σέβεσθαι τοὺς θεούς; Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὅτι τὰ μὴ ὄντα προσκυνητὰ παραινοῦμεν μὴ σέβειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν, τὸν ζῶντα, τὸν ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ; μόνη γὰρ αὕτη ἀληθὴς θρησκεία κρατοῦσα καὶ ὁμολογουμένη, θείοις τε καὶ πνευματικοῖς δόγμασιν ἁβρυνομένη· ἡ δὲ καθ' ὑμᾶς διδασκαλία τοῦ ἑλληνισμοῦ ἄθεος

1 ὃ] LP; ὃν V. So in both places. Ποσειδῶνα] LV; ποσειδόνα P. Ἥφαιστον καλεῖτε] LPC (which uses the same word throughout), and so B attaches all the substantives to one verb *vocetur*; ἥφαιστον λέγετε V. The words are varied also in A, but the variations do not seem to follow V. 2 ἀὴρ] P; ἀέρα V. The clause οὐκ ἀὴρ ὃν Ἥραν καλεῖτε is omitted by L alone. Ἥραν καλεῖτε] PC; Ἥραν ὀνομάζετε V; def. L. For AB see the note on Ἥφαιστον καλεῖτε above. γῆ] P; γῆν LV. 3 καρποί] P; καρπούς LV. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα] P; ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα LV. 4 πρὸς σύστασιν ἡμετέραν γέγονεν, ὅμως] PB (*usum* for σύστασιν); εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡμετέραν γεγένηνται, ὅμως L; κἂν ᾖ πρὸς σύστασιν ἡμετέραν, ἀλλ' ὅμως V; *quamquam ad victum nobis ordinata sunt, sed* A; *etiam si* (ΚΑΙ C_m) *creavit ea ad sustinendum vitam nostram* C. εἰσιν] LP; εἰσι V. 6 οὐκ ἄρα] οὐκ ἄρα LP; οὐ V; *non* C (add. ΟΤΙ C_s) AB. ἔλεγον] PV; εἴρηκα L. ἐν ἀρχαῖς] PV; *in initio* B; ἐξ ἀρχῆς LC (?) *primo* A. 7 μὴ] PV; τοῦ μὴ L. 11 καὶ τὸν] LPCAB; τὸν (om. καὶ) V. υἱὸν αὐτοῦ] PV; αὐτοῦ υἱὸν L; *filium ejus* (add. *dominum nostrum* C_m) *jesum christum*

2. ὃν Ἥραν κ.τ.λ.] *Clem. Hom.* vi. 8 ὁ ἀὴρ...ὃν ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἥραν. See also to the same effect Athenag. *Suppl.* 22, Tatian. *ad Graec.* 21, Tertull. *adv. Marc.* i. 13, Arnob. iii. 30, etc.; in which passages also the rationalising accounts of the other deities are dealt with. This explanation is attributed in the first place to Empedocles, but it was afterwards taken up by the Stoics and by the Neoplatonists; Plut. *Mor.* p. 877 (quoted by Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* xiv. 14. 6), Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 26, Athenag. l. c., Porphyry in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* iii. 11. 1 sq, etc. In Tertullian's time it was no longer confined to philosophers, but 'Ipsa quoque vulgaris superstitio communis idololatriae...ad interpretationem natura-

πολυθεΐα, εὐανάτρεπτος, ἄστατος, περιφερομένη, ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ βεβαιώσει ἑστηκυῖα· ἡ γὰρ ΑΝΕΞΕΛΕΓΚΤΟΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ ΠΛΑΝΑΤΑΙ. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν παντοίων ψευδολογιῶν πεπληρωμένη, ποτὲ μὲν λέγουσα δώδεκα εἶναι τοὺς καθόλου τοῦ κόσμου θεούς, πάλιν δὲ πλείονας ὑπειληφυῖα; Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Οὐκέτι σου φέρω τὴν ἀλαζονείαν· δεινῶς γὰρ ἡμῶν κατακερτομεῖς, στωμυλίᾳ λόγων νικᾶν ἡμᾶς θέλων. θῦσον οὖν· ἀρκεῖ γάρ [σοι], ὅσα κατερητόρευσας ἡμῶν. εἰ δὲ μή γε, πάλιν σε αἰκισάμενος ὕστερον θηρίοις παραδώσω. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Μέχρι πότε ἀπειλεῖς, καὶ οὐ πληροῖς ἃ ἐπαγγέλλῃ; ἐγὼ γὰρ Χριστιανός εἰμι καὶ οὐ θύω πονηροῖς δαίμοσιν, ἀλλὰ προσκυνῶ τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου [ἡμῶν] Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸν ΦΩΤΙΣΑΝΤΑ ΜΟΙ ΦΩΣ

C. Add. καὶ τὸ ἅγιον (add. αὐτοῦ V) πνεῦμα LPVA; om. CB. 12 μόνη γὰρ αὕτη] LP; αὕτη γὰρ μόνη V. ἀληθὴς] LV; ἀληθινὴ P. καὶ ὁμολογουμένη] PVC[A]; ἐφ' οἷς ὁμολογοῦμεν L, and so app. [B]. 15 ἄστατος] LPC(?)BA(?); ἀστάτως V. περιφερομένη] PV; præf. τῆδε κακεῖσε (sic) L; add. *ab omnibus partibus* A; al. BC. 16 ἑστηκυῖα] PV; ἑστικυῖα L. ἀνεξέλεγκτος] LP: ἀνεξέλεκτος V. 17 ἔστιν] P; ἔστι LsVs. 18 ψευδολογιῶν] ψευδολόγων P; *falsiloquio* B; ψεύδων λόγων L; λόγων ψεύδων V; dub. AC. πεπληρωμένη] LB[C]; πεπλανημένη PV; al. A. 19 πάλιν δὲ] VBA; πότε δὲ καὶ L. The whole clause πάλιν δὲ...ὑπειληφυῖα is much amplified in C, and wholly omitted in P. A long interpolation appears in C at this point. 21 ἀλαζονείαν] P; ἀλαζονίαν LV. στωμυλίᾳ] V; στομυλίᾳ LP. 22 σοι] LVCmAB; om. PCs. 23 κατερητόρευσας] LP; κατερρητόρευσας Vs. γε] LV; om. P. 24 θηρίοις] LPA; add. σε VB[C]. παραδώσω] LVCA(?)B; παραβαλῶ P. 25 Μέχρι] LP; ἕως V. πληροῖς] LPCAB; ποιεῖς V. 28 ἡμῶν] LPAB; *nostri* Cs; *mei* Cm; om. V. μοι] LP; με VB; dub. AC.

lium refugit, et dedecus suum ingenio obumbrat, figurans Jovem in substantiam fervidam et Junonem eius in aëream, secundum sonum Graecorum vocabulorum, etc.' (l.c.).

14. ἄθεος πολυθεΐα] Comp. Euseb. *Laud. Const.* 3 ἀκριβῶς γὰρ ἄθεον τὸ πολύθεον, and see the note on *Trall.* 3 τοὺς ἀθέους.

16. ἡ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From the LXX of Prov. x. 17.

23. κατερητόρευσας] '*deluged us with your rhetoric.*' The word is used by late classical writers, as Plutarch and Lucian.

28. τὸν φωτίσαντα] Hos. x. 12 φωτίσατε ἑαυτοῖς φῶς γνώσεως.

ΓΝΩΣΕΩΣ, *τὸν ἀνοίξαντά μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς* ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΩΝ *αὐτοῦ· τοῦτον σέβω καὶ τιμῶ· αὐτὸς γὰρ Θεός ἐστιν καὶ Κύριος καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ* ΜΟΝΟΣ ΔΥΝΑΣΤΗΣ.

IX. *Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Κραβαττοπυρίαις σε ἀναιρῶ, εἰ μὴ μετανοήσῃς. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Καλόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡ ἐκ κακῶν μετάνοια, ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ὑπόδικος· ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω γὰρ χρὴ τρέχειν ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ χείρονα. εὐσεβείας ἄμεινον οὐδέν. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Τοῖς ὄνυξιν τὸν νῶτον αὐτοῦ καταξάνατε λέγοντες αὐτῷ· πείσθητι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, καὶ θῦσον τοῖς θεοῖς κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς συγκλήτου. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ*

2 *θαυμασίων*] LV; *θαυμάτων* P. *τοῦτον σέβω καὶ τιμῶ*] LP[C]B[A]; *αὐτὸν γὰρ τιμῶ καὶ σέβω* V. 3 *αὐτὸς γὰρ*] VC$_m$B; *οὗτος γὰρ* L; *ὅτι οὗτος* P; *hic* (om. *γὰρ*) C$_s$; dub. A. *ἐστιν*] P; *ἐστι* LsVs. 4 *καὶ μόνος δυνάστης*] *et solus potens* AB; *et potens* (ΔΥΝΑΣΤΗΣ C$_s$, ΤΥΝΑΤΟΣ C$_m$) *solus* C; *ὁ μακάριος καὶ μόνος δυνάστης* LPV (taken from 1 Tim. vi. 15). 5 *Κραβαττοπυρίαις*] L; *κραββατοπυρίαις* P; *κραβατοπυρίαις* V. *ἀναιρῶ εἰ*] V; *ἀνελῶ ἐὰν* LP. There is a future in CB, a present in A. 7 *ὑπόδικος*] LP; add. *ἐστιν* V. 8 *χρὴ*] here, PV; after *ἡμᾶς*, L. *οὐκ*] LV; *ἀλλ' οὐκ* P. 9 *εὐσεβείας ἄμεινον οὐδέν*] LPCAB (but *εὐσεβείας δὲ* LC$_s$; *εὐσεβείαις γὰρ* PB); om. V. *Τοῖς ὄνυξιν*] P; *τοῖς ὄνυξι* LsVs; *ungulis* B; *ferreis ungulis* [A]; om. C. 10 *τὸν νῶτον αὐτοῦ*] here, PV; before *τοῖς ὄνυξι*, L. *καταξάνατε λέγοντες*] LPB; *καταξέσαντες λέγετε* V; dub. CA. 15 *παρανομεῖν*] LP; add. *με* V.

1. *τὸν ἀνοίξαντα κ.τ.λ.*] Ps. cxviii (cxix). 18 *ἀποκάλυψον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου καὶ κατανοήσω τὰ θαυμάσια ἐκ τοῦ νόμου σου.*

4. *μόνος δυνάστης*] From 1 Tim. vi. 15. The versions might seem rather to suggest *δυνατός* as the word here; but, inasmuch as the Coptic frequently substitutes one Greek form for another, and the Latin translates *δυνάστης* by 'potens' in 1 Tim. l. c., I have preferred the latter word as more likely to have suggested the interpolation *μακάριος καὶ*, which must be rejected.

5. *Κραβαττοπυρίαις*] '*gridirons.*' No other example of the word is given. For *κράβαττος* see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 62. As regards the orthography, I have adopted the form which has the highest support in the MSS of the N. T. and is confirmed by the quantity of the Latin '*grabātus.*'

6. *Καλόν, κ.τ.λ.*] See *Mart. Polyc.* 11, which is closely followed here.

9. *Τοῖς ὄνυξιν*] '*claws.*' We find this instrument of torture at least as early as Tertull. *Apol.* 12 'Ungulis deraditis latera Christianorum' (see Oehler's note, and comp. § 30), Cyprian *Ep.* 10 (p. 491 Hartel) 'laniantes ungulas,' *ib.* 20 (p. 532) 'in poena ungularum fortiter est confessus,' and elsewhere.

Θεοῦ φοβοῦμαι τὸ λέγον· Οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι πλὴν ἐμοῦ καὶ Ὁ θυσιάζων θεοῖς ἑτέροις ἐξολοθρευθήσεται. συγκλήτου δὲ καὶ βασιλέως παρανομεῖν κελευόντων οὐκ ἀκούω· οὐ λήψῃ γὰρ πρόσωπον δυνάστου, οἱ νόμοι διαγορεύουσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἔσῃ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπὶ κακίᾳ. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ὄξος σὺν ἁλσὶν καταχέατε αὐτοῦ τῶν πληγῶν. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Πάντα τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁμολογίας μοι γινόμενα οἰστὰ ὡς μισθῶν εἶναι πρόξενα· οὐκ ἄξια γὰρ τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Φεῖσαι σαυτοῦ λοιπόν, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ εἶξον τοῖς προσταττομένοις

16 ἀκούω] LPAB; ἀκούσω VC. λήψῃ] LP; λείψει V. 17 οἱ νόμοι] LP; *lex nostra* (*leges nostrae*) A; οἱ θεῖοι νόμοι V; *lex* (*leges*) *dei* C. The recurrence of similar letters οιθειοι would explain the insertion or omission of θεῖοι. διαγορεύουσιν] PV; διαγορεύουσι L. 18 ἁλσὶν] P; ἁλσὶ V; ἅλατι L. 19 καταχέατε] LP; καταχέετε V. τῶν πληγῶν] PV; ταῖς πληγαῖς L. 20 τὰ] LPCAB; ταῦτα V. μοι] here, LP; after πάντα, V. 21 οἰστὰ ὡς μισθῶν] οἰστὰ ὡς μισθὸν ἀγαθῶν μοι P; οἴσω ὡς μισθῶν L; *congregantur mihi in mercedes* C; ἴσθι ὡς μισθῶν V; *scio quia merces* (οἶδα ὡς μισθὸν?) B; *scio quod...mercedis* (οἶδα ὡς μισθῶν?) A. 23 ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι] LP; ἀποκαλυφθῆναι V (with Rom. viii. 18). σαυτοῦ] LP; σεαυτοῦ V. 24 ἄνθρωπε] written ανε, LP; ἄνερ V.

13. Οὐκ ἔσονται κ.τ.λ.] Exod. xx. 3, and Exod. xxii. 20.

16. οὐ λήψῃ κ.τ.λ.] Levit. xix. 15 οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον πτωχοῦ οὐδὲ θαυμάσεις πρόσωπον δυνάστου: comp. Ecclus. iv. 27 μὴ λάβῃς πρόσωπον δυνάστου.

17. οὐκ ἔσῃ κ.τ.λ.] Exod. xxiii. 2, but πλειόνων changed into πολλῶν.

18. Ὄξος κ.τ.λ.] Our hagiologist may have taken this from Euseb. *H.E.* viii. 6 ὄξος λοιπὸν ἤδη τῶν ὀστέων ὑποφαινομένων αὐτοῦ σὺν καὶ ἅλατι φύραντες κατὰ τῶν διασαπέντων τοῦ σώματος μερῶν ἐνέχεον, an incident in the persecution of Diocletian.

21. πρόξενα] With a genitive of the thing provided; comp. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* iv. 3 πρόξενος τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ ἑρμαίου, Alciphr. *Ep.* iii. 72 πρόξενον εἶναι τῆς κοινωνίας, Schol. on Arist. *Nub.* 243 τὰ δύσπεπτα τῶν σιτίων νόσων πρόξενα γίνεται. In Æsch. *Suppl.* 809 τάδε φροίμια πρόξενα πόνων, the word is a conjectural emendation; and it is discredited by the fact that all the other examples of this use are late. On the other hand the occurrence of the verb προξενεῖν in this metaphorical sense is much earlier and more frequent.

οὐκ ἄξια κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. viii. 18.

σοι, ἐπεὶ χείροσιν κατά σου χρήσομαι βασάνοις. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ; θλῖψις ἢ στενοχωρία ἢ διωγμὸς ἢ λιμὸς ἢ γυμνότης ἢ κίνδυνος ἢ μάχαιρα; πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε ζωὴ οὔτε θάνατος ἐκστῆσαί με τῆς εὐσεβείας δυνήσεται, θαρροῦντα τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Οἵῃ νικῆσαί με τῇ καρτερίᾳ; φιλόνικον γὰρ ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Οὐκ οἶομαι, ἀλλὰ πιστεύω ὅτι ἐνίκησα καὶ νικήσω, ἵνα γνῷς ὁπόσον μεταξὺ εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀσεβείας. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Λαβόντες αὐτὸν καὶ περιθέντες αὐτῷ σίδηρα, ἐν ξύλῳ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλισάμενοι βάλετε αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐσωτέραν φυλακήν, καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ὅλως ἐπὶ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ὁράτω· καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας ἄρτον μὴ φαγέτω καὶ ὕδωρ μὴ πιέτω, ὅπως

1 σοι] LV; σου P. ἐπεὶ] PVB; *sin minus* A; ἵνα μὴ L, and so app. C. χείροσιν] P; χείροσι LV. κατά σου] here, LP; after *χρήσομαι*, V. χρήσομαι] PV; χρήσωμαι L. 3 Χριστοῦ] PVA; θεοῦ LBC. There is the same v. l. in Rom. viii. 36. ἢ διωγμὸς] here, PVBA (with Rom. viii. 36); after λιμός, L; om. C. 4 γὰρ] PVB (with Rom. viii. 38); δὲ LC; om. A. 5 ἐκστῆσαι] PV; ἀποστῆσαι L. In Rom. viii. 39 it is χωρίσαι. 6 δυνήσεται] LP; δυνηθήσεται V. θαρροῦντα] LP; θαρρήσαντα V. 7 οἵῃ] P; οἷει LV. φιλόνικον] V; *victoriae amans* C_m; *victoriosum* C_s; φιλόνεικον LP; *tolerabile* B; def. A. 8 οἶομαι] V; οἶμαι LP. 9 πιστεύω] txt LPABC$_s$; add. *in veritate* C_m; add. τῷ θεῷ V. ἐνίκησα] PVAB; καὶ ἐνίκησα L; *in victoria vici* (as if νικῶν ἐνίκησα) C. καὶ] txt VCAB; add. πάλιν LP. γνῷς] LPAB; *sciam* C_s; πεισθῇς V; def. C_m. 10 εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀσεβείας] VABC$_s$; ἀσεβείας καὶ εὐσεβείας LP; def. C_m. 11 σίδηρα] txt LP; add. καὶ V. ἐν ξύλῳ] here, P; ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ (after αὐτοῦ) L; εἰς τὸ ξύλον (after ἀσφαλισάμενοι) V. 13 ἐσωτέραν] PV; ἐσοτέραν L. 14 ὁράτω] PV; ὁράτο L. 15 καὶ ὕδωρ μὴ πιέτω] LPC (but C_m transposes this clause with the former) AB; om. V. ὅπως] LP; ἵνα V. 16 τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας] txt VAB; add. καὶ [ins. τὰς L] τρεῖς νυκτὰς LP; *haec* C. παραβληθεὶς]

2. Τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει κ.τ.λ.] Rom. viii. 35, 38.

7. φιλόνικον] This word, rather than φιλόνεικον, is suggested by the context, as in Arist. *Rhet.* i. 11 καὶ τὸ νικᾶν ἡδύ, οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλονίκοις ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν (comp. i. 6, 10). Otherwise φιλόνεικος is a much commoner word.

11. ἐν ξύλῳ κ.τ.λ.] The language is taken from Acts xvi. 24.

18. ἀποφάσεως αὐτοῦ] '*sentence against him.*' For ἀπόφασις see *Mart. Ant.* 2.

μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας θηρίοις παραβληθεὶς οὕτως τοῦ ζῆν ὑπεξέλθῃ. ἡ σύγκλητος εἶπεν· Καὶ ἡμεῖς σύμψηφοι τῆς ἀποφάσεως αὐτοῦ γινόμεθα· πάντας γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐνύβρισεν μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, μὴ εἴξας θῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλ' εἶναι χριστιανὸς διεβεβαιώσατο. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς τῇ πολλῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητι ἠξίωσέν με κοινωνὸν τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ μάρτυρα τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ ἀληθῆ καὶ πιστόν.

X. Τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Τραϊανὸς προσκαλεσάμενος τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν ἔπαρχον πρόεισιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον, συνδραμόντος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων· ἤκουσαν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Συρίας μέλλει θηριομαχεῖν· καὶ προστάττει τὸν ἅγιον Ἰγνάτιον εἰσαχθῆναι.

P; παραδοθεὶς L; βληθεὶς V. οὕτως] LP; οὕτω V. τοῦ ζῆν] LV; τὸ ζῆν P. 17 ὑπεξέλθῃ] V; ὑπεξέλθοι P; ὑποξέλθοι L. 18 ἀποφάσεως αὐτοῦ] PC; *hujus sententiae* B; *huic verbo* A; τῆς κατ' (κατὰ V) αὐτοῦ ἀποφάσεως LV. γινόμεθα] here, PV; after σύμψηφοι, L. 19 ἐνύβρισεν] LP; ἐνύβρισε V. μετὰ] txt PVCAB; add. καὶ L. εἴξας] PV; ἤξας L. 20 εἶναι] here, LV; after χριστιανὸς, P. διεβεβαιώσατο] P; διαβεβαιωσάμενος L; διαβεβαιούμενος V; *confirmans* B; dub. CA (whether they had a part. or finite verb). 21 ὁ Θεὸς] LVCAB; κύριος (κ̄ς) P. 22 αὐτοῦ] here, PV; after ἀγαθότητι, L. 23 ἠξίωσεν] P; ἠξίωσε V; κατηξίωσε L. 24 ἀληθῆ] LV; ἀληθινὸν P. 26 Τῇ] P; καὶ τῇ LCA; τῇ δὲ VB. ὁ] LP; om. V. 27 καὶ τὸν ἔπαρχον] PV; *et praefectum* BC$_s$; *et praefectos* C$_m$ (III for III); καὶ τὸν ὕπαρχον L; om. A: see the same v. l. ἔπαρχοι, ὕπαρχοι, in Clem. Rom. 37. ἐπὶ] LV; εἰς P. 28 τῶν] LP; om. V. 30 προστάττει τὸν ἅγιον Ἰγνάτιον εἰσαχθῆναι] LP; *et sedens pro tribunali jussit adduci sanctum ignatium* B; *mandatum dedit ducere in tribunal ignatium* [A]; καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εἰσαχθῆναι αὐτὸν V; *et jussu regis* (*jubente rege*) *induxerunt sanctum ignatium* C.

21. **Εὐλογητὸς κ.τ.λ.**] From 1 Pet. i. 3.

23. **κοινωνὸν κ.τ.λ.**] See 2 Cor. i. 7; comp. Phil. iii. 10.

27. **τὸν ἔπαρχον**] '*the prefect*,' i.e. the 'praefectus urbi,' the highest official under the emperor. The term used absolutely would naturally refer to the city prefect, though Dion calls him πολίαρχος, so as to keep ἔπαρχος for the 'praefectus praetorio'; see Mommsen *Staatsrecht* II. p. 1013.

29. **ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Συρίας**] The expression is taken from Ign. *Rom.* 2.

ὡς δὲ ἐθεάσατο, ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἐγὼ θαυμάζω ὅτι ζῇς μετὰ τοσαύτας αἰκίας καὶ τοσαύτην λιμόν. ἀλλὰ κἂν νῦν πείσθητί μοι, ὅπως καὶ τῶν προκειμένων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῇς· καὶ ἡμᾶς ἕξεις φίλους. Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Ἔοικάς μοι μορφὴν μὲν ἔχειν ἀνθρώπου, τρόπους δὲ ἀλώπεκος σαίνοντος μὲν τῇ κέρκῳ ἐπιβουλεύοντος δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ, φιλανθρώπου ῥήματα πλαττόμενος καὶ βουλευόμενος μηδὲν ὑγιές. ἄκουε γοῦν λοιπὸν μετὰ παρρησίας, ὡς οὐδείς μοι λόγος ἐστὶν τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ ἐπικήρου βίου διὰ Ἰησοῦν ὃν ποθῶ· ἄπειμι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἄρτος γάρ ἐστιν ἀθανασίας καὶ πόμα ζωῆς αἰωνίου. ὅλος αὐτοῦ εἰμὶ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτέτακά μου τὴν διάνοιαν· καὶ ὑπερορῶ σου τὰ βασανιστήρια, καὶ τῆς δόξης σου διαπτύω. Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ ἀλαζὼν καὶ ὑπερόπτης

1 ἐθεάσατο] P; add. αὐτὸν LV. ἔφη] PVCB; add. ὁ Τραϊανὸς L[A]. 2 ζῇς] PV; ζεῖς L. ἀλλὰ κἂν] LPCAB; καὶ V. 3 νῦν] LVCAB; γοῦν P. 4 ἡμᾶς] txt PC; add. τοῦ λοιποῦ LVA; al. B. ἕξεις φίλους] LP; φίλους ἕξεις V. 5 τρόπους] PV; τρόπον L; *mores* BA; al. C. 6 ἀλώπεκος] LP; ἀλωποῦ V. σαίνοντος] LPAB; σείοντος V; al. C: see the lower note. 8 λοιπὸν] LPC$^{1}_{s}$; *jam* B; *nunc* C$_{m}$; om. VA. 9 ἐστὶν] LPCAB; ἔσται V. τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ ἐπικήρου βίου] PVCB (but *temporalis* B, possibly reading ἐπικαίρου for ἐπικήρου); τοῦ θανάτου L. A translates *ego mortis deinceps curam non gero et non vitam hanc curo,* as if the translator had both readings before him. βίου] txt PB; add. τούτου V[C][A]; al. L. 10 ποθῶ] LPA(?)B; ποθῶν V; dub. C. ἄπειμι] LV; ἀπίημι P. ἄρτος] LPCB; σῖτος V; al. A. 15 ἐστὶν] here, LP; ἐστι (after ἀλαζών) V. προσδήσαντες αὐτὸν] LCB; om. PV. Add. τῷ πάλῳ L; om. PVCB. 16 ἐάσατε] LV, and so app. CB (*laxate*); ἐλάσατε P. 17 ἐάθη] L; *dimissae sunt* B; ἐθεάθη V; ἦλθεν P, and so perhaps C (which translates *quum autem vidit beatus* [add. *ignatius* C$_{m}$] *feras duas* [*leones duo* C$_{m}$] *venientes super ipsum*). The reading ἦλθεν seems to be an

6. ἀλώπεκος] This reading is required; since the adjective ἀλωποῦ ('fox-like') would be out of place. For ἀλωπὸς see the note on Ps-Ign. *Antioch.* 6.

σαίνοντος] The dative decides the reading, for this is the common construction with σαίνειν, e.g. σαίνειν οὐρῇ Hom. *Od.* xvii. 302, σαίνειν κέρκῳ Arist. *Eq.* 1031. On the other hand σείοντος would seem to require the accusative.

9. τοῦ θνητοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Euseb. *H.E.* i. 2 τουτονὶ τὸν θνητὸν καὶ ἐπίκηρον βίον, *Laud. Const.* 4 § 5 τὰ θνητὰ καὶ ἐπίκηρα.

10. ἄρτος γάρ ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Ign. *Rom.* 7, which has probably suggested this language.

13. τῆς δόξης] The construction

15 ἐστίν, προσδήσαντες αὐτὸν δύο λέοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν
ἐάσατε, ὅπως μηδὲ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ὑπολείπωνται. ὡς
δὲ ἐάθη τὰ θηρία, θεασάμενος ὁ μακάριος ἔφη πρὸς τὸν
δῆμον· Ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, οἱ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀγῶνος θεαταί, οὐ
φαύλης ἕνεκά τινος πράξεως ἢ μομφῆς ταῦτα πάσχω,
20 ἀλλ' ἕνεκα εὐσεβείας· σῖτος γάρ εἰμι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ δι'
ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα ἄρτος καθαρὸς γένωμαι.
ἀκούων δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τραϊανὸς μεγάλως ἐξεπλήττετο
λέγων· Μεγάλη ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν εἰς [τὸν] Χριστὸν ἐλπι-
ζόντων· τίς [γὰρ] Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων ὑπέμεινεν τοι-
25 αῦτα παθεῖν ἕνεκα θεοῦ ἰδίου, οἷα οὗτος ὑπὲρ οὗ πεπί-
στευκεν πάσχει; Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης
δυνάμεώς ἐστι τὸ στέγειν τοιαῦτα, προθυμίας δὲ μόνης

emendation of ελθη which was corrupted from εαθη. Add. ἐπ' αὐτὸν L[C]B; om. PV. θεασάμενος] P; add. αὐτὰ V; add. ταῦτα L. 18 οἱ] LP; om. V. τοῦ] LP; om. V. 19 ἕνεκά τινος] LP; τινὸς ἕνεκα V. πράξεως ἢ μομφῆς] L; *opera et...damnum* [A]; πράξεως B (translating φαύλης πράξεως *pravitatem*); *actionem* (πρᾶξις)...*quam feci* C; μομφῆς V; μορφῆς P. 21 γένωμαι] LP; γίνωμαι V. 22 ἀκούων] PV; ἀκούσας L. 23 τῶν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐλπιζόντων] LP (but om. τὸν L); *eorum qui credunt in christum* C_m (but ܗܝܡܢ, though properly meaning πιστεύειν, is sometimes used to translate ἐλπίζειν, e.g. Ps. xc (xci). 4, just as ἐλπίζειν is frequently translated 'trust' in the E. V.); *in christum credentium* B; τῶν χριστιανῶν VC_s. 24 γὰρ] LPV; om. CB. ὑπέμεινεν] P; ὑπέμενεν V; ὑπέμεινεν ἄν L. τοιαῦτα] PV; τοσαῦτα LB; *hos labores* (*cruciatus*) C. 25 πεπίστευκεν] LP; πεπίστευκε V. 27 τὸ στέγειν τοιαῦτα] L; τὸ στέγειν ταῦτα C_s (ܫܪܟ, as in 1 Cor. ix. 12) *tanta toleravi* B; τὸ στέργειν τὰ τοιαῦτα V; ταῦτα (simply) P. The sentence is translated in C_m as if οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεώς ἐστι προθυμία μόνη καὶ πίστις κ.τ.λ.

προσπτύειν τινός occurs in Ælian *H. A.* iv. 22, where it is altered by the editors. The word belongs to the category of verbs denoting depreciation and contempt; comp. Kühner II. p. 326 sq.

17. ἐάθη] for εἰάθη. The irregularity with respect to the augment is not a serious objection to the adoption of this reading.

20. σῖτος γάρ εἰμι] Ultimately from *Rom.* 4; but it is here taken from Iren. v. 28. 4, as quoted by Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36. See above, p. 377 sq.

27. στέγειν] '*to sustain*'; see the note on 1 Thess. iii. 1. The confusion between στέγειν and στέργειν appears in MSS elsewhere; see Steph. *Thes.* s. v. στέγω p. 690 (Hase et Dind.). Here στέγειν is better adapted to the sense.

καὶ πίστεως ἐφελκομένης εἰς ὁμοήθειαν Χριστοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ἔδραμον ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ λέοντες καὶ ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν προσπεσόντες ἀπέπνιξαν μόνον, οὐκ ἔθιγον δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν σαρκῶν, ἵνα τὸ λείψανον

1 εἰς ὁμοήθειαν Χριστοῦ] εἰς βοήθειαν χριστοῦ P; εἰς βοήθειαν χριστὸν LVC$_s$. The sentence is translated *fide attrahente et adjutorio* (v. l. *auxilio*) *christi* in B, and *fides quae attrahit nobis christum adjutorem* (βοηθόν) in C$_m$. See the lower note. 2 αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος] LP; εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ V. ἐπ'] LP; πρὸς V. αὐτὸν] At this point C$_s$ breaks off, two pages being lost. οἱ λέοντες] here, LV; after ἔδραμον, P. καὶ ἐξ ἑκατέρων...ἐν ᾗ] PVCB (minor variations in these authorities are given in the following notes); καὶ ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μηρῶν σπαράξαντες κατέδοντο αὐτοῦ ὡς παραυτὰ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου πληροῦσθαι τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ἐπιθυμία δικαίου δεκτή· ἵνα ὥσπερ ἔγραφεν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ὁ ἅγιος μηδενὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπαχθεὶς (sic) εὑρεθείη διὰ τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ λειψάνου· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν αὐτοῦ αἴτησιν μόνα τὰ τραχύτερα τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ὀστέων περιελείφθη. ἄτινα φυλακτήριον διετηροῦντο τῇ ῥωμαίων μεγαλοπόλει ἐν ᾗ κ.τ.λ. L. This substitution is taken

1. εἰς ὁμοήθειαν] i.e. '*drawn to conformity with* (the sufferings of) *Christ*,' in accordance with his own wish *Rom.* 6 ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου. I have been led to this conjectural reading by the fact that Ignatius twice uses ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ in the sense of 'conformity with God,' *Magn.* 6, *Polyc.* 1, and that in the latter passage the Greek MS substitutes βοήθειαν for ὁμοήθειαν. Moreover ἐφελκομένης εἰς βοήθειαν Χριστὸν is awkward alike in expression and in order, while important authorities have Χριστοῦ.

2. ἔδραμον κ.τ.λ.] On the relation of this account to the divergent story of the Antiochene Acts, see above, pp. 372 sq, 431 sq. The MS L has interpolated from the latter here and below, p. 538, l. 3.

5. φυλακτήριον] '*a preservative, an amulet*'; comp. e.g. Plut. *Mor.* p. 378 τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος φυλακτήριον ὃ περιάπτεσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν αὐτήν, Dioscor. v. 158 (159) φυλακτηρίου δὲ περιάμματι αὐτῷ αἱ γυναῖκες χρῶνται, *ib.* 159 (160) φυλακτήρια...μηρῷ περιαπτόμενα, Euseb. *L. C.* 9 § 8 ὥσπερ τι φόβητρον καὶ κακῶν ἀμυντήριον...τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς καθόλου βασιλείας φυλακτήριον, *V. C.* i. 40, ii. 9, iii. 1. The presence of the saint's bones was to guard the city from harm. The word φυλακτήριον always has an active sense (e.g. Plut. *Mor.* p. 820 τιμῆς φυλακτήριον, *ib.* 821 φυλακτήριον...ταῖς πόλεσι), so that there can be no doubt about its meaning here. The 'phylacteries' mentioned in the Gospel (Matt. xxiii. 5) seem to have been so called originally, because in pursuance of a literal fulfilment of the Mosaic precept they were designed to preserve the law in memory (Exod. xiii. 10 φυλάξεσθε τὸν νόμον, Deut. vi. 2 φυλάσσεσθε πάντα τὰ δικαιώματα, 3 φύλαξαι ποιεῖν, 17 φυλάσσων φυλάξῃ τὰς ἐντολὰς κ.τ.λ.; comp. the explanation in Justin *Dial.* 46); but the word and the mode of wearing them would at a later date suggest no other idea but that of amulets to protect the wearer. On φυλακτήριον see also *Colossians* p. 69.

7. ἐτελειώθη] The name of One-

5 αὐτοῦ εἴη φυλακτήριον τῇ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλοπόλει, ἐν ᾗ καὶ Πέτρος ἐσταυρώθη καὶ Παῦλος ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ Ὀνήσιμος ἐτελειώθη.

XI. Ὁ δὲ Τραϊανὸς ἐξαναστὰς ἐν θαυμασμῷ ἦν ἐκπληττόμενος. ἦκει δὲ αὐτῷ γράμματα παρὰ Πλινίου

substantially from *Mart. Ant.* 6. For A see p. 372 sq. 3 μερῶν] PVCB; μηρῶν L. ἀπέπνιξαν] P; add. αὐτὸν V[C][B]; al. L. 4 δὲ] PC; *et* B; om. V; al. L. 5 εἴη] PCB; ἦν V; al. L. μεγαλοπόλει] LPCB; πόλει V. 6 ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν] PV; τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη L. 7 ἐτελειώθη] PV; *lapidatus* B; τῇ τῶν σκελῶν κλάσει τὸ τέλος ἐδέξατο L; om. C. Add. ἐν δόξῃ χριστοῦ LPV; om. CB. 8 ἐξαναστὰς...ἐκπληττόμενος] PV; ἐξανέστη θαυμάζων ἅμα καὶ ἐκπληττόμενος L; *exsurgens admiratione perculsus discessit* B; *surrexit...existens in magna admiratione, etiam autem* (ἔτι δὲ) *perculso* (πλήσσειν) *eo et admirante etc.* C (as if ἔτι ἐκπληττομένῳ δὲ ἦκει κ.τ.λ.). 9 αὐτῷ] txt LP[C]B; add. καὶ V. Πλινίου] VB; *pilinio* (πιλιπιος) C; παιωνίου L; πεονίου P.

simus occurs twice in the *Menæa*. On Feb. 15 he is commemorated alone. Here he is called a slave Φιλήμονος ἀνδρὸς Ῥωμαίου πρὸς ὃν γράφει ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος; he is arraigned before Tertullus 'the prefect of the country'; and he is sent to Puteoli and there put to death by having his legs broken. This is also the story in the Metaphrast. On Nov. 22 again the *Menæa* commemorate 'the holy Apostle Philemon and those with him, Apphia, Archippus, and Onesimus.' They are here related to have suffered at Colossæ; they are brought before Androcles the governor of Ephesus, and after undergoing other tortures are stoned to death. Though no special details are given about Onesimus, he is not dissociated from the others in the list. The Latin Martyrologies make Feb. 16 (not Feb. 15) the day of his commemoration; and they represent him as put to death by stoning, not however at Puteoli, but at Rome. They celebrate Philemon and Apphia alone on Nov. 22; but, like the *Menæa*, they represent them as stoned to death at Colossæ. These facts will explain the glosses which have been substituted for ἐτελειώθη.

9. ἦκει δὲ αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.] The whole of this account is taken from Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 33, whose language our author follows in the main, forgetting even to change the oblique narration (πρὸς ἃ τὸν Τραϊανὸν κ.τ.λ.). But, though the account is taken from the *History* of Eusebius, the sequence of events is suggested by the *Chronicle* of the same author; see above, p. 449. At the same time the notices relating to Ignatius are our martyrologist's own insertions in order to connect the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan with the fate of the martyr. Eusebius himself does not derive his information direct from Pliny, but from a Greek translation of Tertullian *Apol.* 2, which he quotes. His knowledge is so entirely derived at second hand, that he does not even know the name of the province which Pliny governed, *Chron.* II. p.

Σεκούνδου ἡγεμόνος, κινηθέντος ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν γενομένων μαρτύρων καὶ ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀνῃροῦντο, ἅμα δὲ ἐν ταὐτῷ μηνύοντος μηδὲν ἀνόσιον μηδὲ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττειν αὐτούς, πλὴν τό γε ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ διεγειρομένους τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν· [ὑπὲρ τούτου δίκην ὑπέχειν]· τὸ δὲ μοιχεύειν καὶ φονεύειν καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτοις ἀθέμιτα πλημμελήματα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπαγορεύειν, πάντα τε πράττειν ἀκολούθως

1 ἡγεμόνος] LP; ἡγεμῶνος V. κινηθέντος] PVB (comp. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 33); νικηθέντος L; al. C. 2 γενομένων] PV; γινομένων L. καὶ ὅπως] LC; ὅπως P; ὡς ἀτρώτως V; om. B. ἀνῃροῦντο] P; ἀδίκως ἀναιροῦντο L; ἀναιρεθέντων VB; *dant se sponte* (*ipsos*) *ad mortem sine timore pro fide etc.* C. 3 ταὐτῷ] LP Euseb.; τῷ αὐτῷ V. μηνύοντος] καὶ μηνύοντος L; μηνύοντα PV; al. C; def. B. 4 παρὰ τοὺς νόμους] PV Euseb.; παράνομον L; *contrarium legibus* B. τό γε] Euseb.; τὸ LP; τοῦ γε V. 5 ἕῳ] LP Euseb.; ἑῴᾳ V. διεγειρομένους] LVB Euseb.; διατηρουμένους P; al. C. Add. καὶ V; om. LP. τὸν Χριστὸν] PV Euseb.; χριστὸν L. τοῦ Θεοῦ δίκην] V; θεοῦ δίκην Euseb.; *sicut deum* C; τοῦ θεοῦ (om. δίκην) PB (app., for it has *caussa christi dei hymnos canebant*); τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ L. ὑμνεῖν] CB Euseb.; προσκυνεῖν LPV. Perhaps we should read προσυμνεῖν. 6 ὑπὲρ] LP; καὶ ὑπὲρ V; def. CB, which omit the clause ὑπὲρ...ὑπέχειν, wanting also in Euseb. τούτου] V; add. μόνου LP. 7 ἀθέμιτα] V; ἀθέμητα LP. 8 τε] PCB Euseb.; δὲ V. The words τε πράττειν ἀκολούθως are omitted in L. ἀκολούθως] V[C][B] Euseb.; καὶ ἀκολούθως P;

162 'Plinius Secundus cuiusdam provinciae praeses.'

Πλινίου Σεκούνδου] This refers to the celebrated letter, Plin. *Epist.* x. 97. The date of Pliny's Bithynian government was variously placed by older critics from A.D. 103 or 104 (Tillemont, Clinton) onward. But a recently discovered inscription (*C. I. L.* III. 777) has decided the time within narrow limits; see Mommsen in *Hermes* III. p. 55 sq. It appears from the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan (Plin. *Epist.* x. 81; comp. 51, 68, 70) that Calpurnius Macer was governor of the neighbouring province, Mœsia Inferior, at the same time that Pliny held office in Bithynia; and the inscription just referred to, belonging to this province and bearing the date A.D. 112, mentions him as proprætor. As the length of the tenure of such offices was from two to three years at the outside, a closely approximate date is ascertained. Arguing on this basis and following the sequence of the letters, Mommsen concludes that the correspondence extends from about Sept. 111 to Jan. 113; so that the letter relating to the Christians will have been written in the autumn or winter of 112 from Amisus or the neighbourhood. On the impossibility of reconciling this date with the other indications of time given

[τοῖς νόμοις]. πρὸς ἃ τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἐπ' ἐννοίας λα-
10 βόντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον [καὶ ἅγιον] Ἰγνάτιον (ἦν
γὰρ πρόμαχος τῶν λοιπῶν μαρτυρῶν), δόγμα τοιοῦτον
τεθεικέναι, τὸ χριστιανῶν φῦλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μέν,
ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ λείψανον τοῦ μακαρίου
Ἰγνατίου ἐκέλευσεν τοῖς θέλουσιν πρὸς ταφὴν ἀνελέσθαι
15 ἀκωλύτως ἔχειν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀδελφοί, οἷς

def. L. 9 τοῖς νόμοις] B Euseb.; om. PVC; def. L. πρὸς ἃ τὸν] LP Euseb. (see also BC in the next note); πρὸς αὐτὸν V. ἐπ' ἐννοίας] P; ἐπ' ἐννοίᾳ V; ἔννοιαν L. The renderings of this sentence in the versions are *traianus vero his auditis poenitens de his quae in beatum et sanctum ignatium ingesserat* B (as if it had read μετανοίᾳ λαβόντα); *haec autem quum cognovit traianus ex epistolis plinii et consideravit apologias beati ignatii* C (which implies some part of ἔννοια). 10 τὰ κατὰ] LV, and so prob. CB (see the last note); om. P (by homœoteleuton). καὶ ἅγιον] LPVB; om. C. Ἰγνάτιον] txt LP; add. προβάντα V; dub. CB. 12 τεθεικέναι] LP; τεθηκέναι V. χριστιανῶν] V Euseb.; τῶν χριστιανῶν LP. μὴ] B Euseb.; om. LPVC: see the next note. 13 ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι] Euseb.; *si quis tamen incideret puniretur* B; ἐμπεσὸν δὲ μὴ κολάζεσθαι P; εὑρεθὲν δὲ μὴ κολάζεσθαι LC; εὑρεθὲν δὲ μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι V. τὸ δὲ λείψανον] C_s resumes here. τοῦ μακαρίου] VC; *sancti* B; τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου LP. 14 ἐκέλευσεν] P; ἐκέλευσε LV*s*. θέλουσιν] P; θέλουσι V; ἐθέλουσι L. πρὸς ταφὴν ἀνελέσθαι] LP; *tollere ad sepeliendum* B; *sepelire* C; πρὸς ταφὴν (om. ἀνελέσθαι) V. 15 ἀκωλύτως] PV; ἀκολύτως L.

by our martyrologist, see above, p. 377. See more fully I. p. 50 sq.

5. τοῦ Θεοῦ δίκην] '*after the manner of God*,' '*as God*,' according to the classical usage of δίκην. But this use seems to have puzzled a later age, so that δίκην is struck out in some texts. The correctness of the reading δίκην is verified by the text of Eusebius. The Latin of Tertullian (*Apol.* 2), from which this is ultimately derived, stands in the authorities generally 'ad canendum Christo *et* Deo,' which Oehler retains and attempts to defend, but the emendation '*ut* Deo' for '*et* Deo' is certain; for (1) Pliny's own words are 'carmenque Christo *quasi* Deo dicere'; (2) The Greek translation of Tertullian, as quoted by Eusebius, is τὸν Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν; (3) The natural order otherwise would be not 'Christo et Deo,' but 'Deo et Christo.'

12. μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μέν] The various readings show that our author originally copied Eusebius, but that his text was subsequently corrupted by successive stages. The μὴ was first displaced and transferred to the second clause, so that the sentence then ran ἐκζητεῖσθαι μὲν ἐμπεσὸν δὲ μὴ κολάζεσθαι; but this was felt to be absurd, and it was emended by substituting first εὑρεθὲν for ἐμπεσὸν, and then ἀναιρεῖσθαι for κολάζεσθαι. The μὴ is omitted in the Armenian *Chronicon* (II. p. 162).

καὶ ἐπεστάλκει ὥστε μὴ παραιτησαμένους αὐτὸν τῆς μαρτυρίας τῆς ποθουμένης ἀποστερῆσαι ἐλπίδος, λαβόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἀπέθεντο [ἐν τόπῳ] ἔνθα ἦν ἐξὸν ἀθροιζομένους αἰνεῖν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τελειώσει τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος 5
Ἰγνατίου· ΜΝΗΜΗ ΓΑΡ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΤ' ΕΓΚΩΜΙΩΝ.

XII. Οἶδεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μαρτύριον καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὁ Λουγδούνου ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει λέγων οὕτως· ΕΙΡΗΚΕΝ ΤΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΘΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ 10
ΘΗΡΙΑ, ΟΤΙ ΣΙΤΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙ' ΟΔΟΝΤΩΝ ΘΗΡΙΩΝ ΑΛΗΘΟΜΑΙ, ΙΝΑ ΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ ΑΡΤΟΣ ΓΕΝΩΜΑΙ.

1 ἐπεστάλκει] V; *commendaverat* B; ἐπέσταλκεν L; ἀπεστάλκει P; *scripsit* C. ὥστε] PV; ὡς L (see the note on ἀποστερῆσαι). παραιτησαμένους] V; παρητησαμένους P; παραιτησάμενοι L. The rendering in C is *quod si prohibueritis me mori in christum, privabitis me spe ad quam respicio* (but C_s is mutilated). αὐτὸν] LV; αὐτῶν P. τῆς μαρτυρίας τῆς ποθουμένης] LP; τῆς ποθουμένης μαρτυρίας V. 2 ἀποστερῆσαι] ἀποστερήσει V; ἀποστερεῖσθαι P; ἀποστερήσειε L. ἐλπίδος] here, PV; before ἀποστερήσειε, L. 3 τὸ σῶμα] PVC; *reliquias sancti* [A]; τὰ περιλειφθέντα τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων L; see above, p. 534, l. 2. ἐν τόπῳ] VA (?); om. LPB; dub. C. The recurrence of similar letters -ΕΠΤΟΕΠΤΟΠΩ might have led to the omission. ἦν ἐξὸν] PVB; *accidebat* A; κατέμενον ἐξ ὧν L (obviously corrupt). C translates *ubi solebant congregari etc.* 4 ἀθροιζομένους] LVCAB; ὁρθριζομένους P. καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ] C; *et filium ejus unigenitum* A; καὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἰησοῦν χριστὸν LPV; *et dominum nostrum jesum christum filium ejus* B. Add. καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα LPVA; *in spiritu sancto* [B]; om. C. 5 ἁγίου] txt LPCAB; add. καὶ μακαρίου V. καὶ] txt LPCAB; add. μακαρίου V. 6 δικαίου] LPC; δικαίων VA; al. B. ἐγκωμίων] PA; add. γίνεται LV; add. *est* [C]; al. B. 7 δὲ] PVCB Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36; om. L[A]. αὐτοῦ] here, L Euseb.; after μαρτύριον, P; in both places, V. καὶ] LPAB Euseb.; om. V[C]. Εἰρηναῖος] PV; εἰρινᾶος L; ὁ εἰρηναῖος Euseb. 8 Λουγδούνου] V; λουγδώνου P; λουγδόνου L[C]; *laudon* A; *lugdunensis* B; def. Euseb. καὶ] PVB Euseb.; om. C (?); ὃς καὶ L (ὃς being a repetition of the preceding syllable); *sed et* A. 9 Εἴρηκεν] PL; εἴρηκε V_S; *dixit* CA; ὡς εἶπε Euseb.; *sicut... ait* B. 10 πρὸς Θεὸν] Euseb.; πρὸς θεοῦ V; *secundum deum* B; εἰς θεὸν LP; *in christum* C_s; *quae ducit in christum* C_m; *dei* A. κατακριθεὶς πρὸς θηρία]

6. μνήμη γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. x. 7.

7. Οἶδεν δὲ κ.τ.λ.] The whole of this chapter, containing the testimonies of Irenæus and Polycarp, is taken from Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 36.

καὶ Πολύκαρπος δέ, ἐπίσκοπος ὢν τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ παροικίας, τούτων μέμνηται Φιλιππησίοις γράφων· Παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, ἣν εἴδετε κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις Ἰγνατίῳ καὶ Ῥούφῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πεπιστευκόσιν, ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον, ἀλλ' ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ· καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶν παρὰ Κυρίῳ, ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον· οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα Χριστὸν καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐπόθησαν. καὶ

LPBA Euseb.; παραδοθεὶς εἰς θηρία V; (*morti*) *damnatus ut daretur feris* C. 11 τοῦ Θεοῦ] LP; θεοῦ Euseb.; *dei* CBA; τοῦ θεοῦ μου V. 13 δέ] PV[C]B Euseb.; om. LA. ἐπίσκοπος ὤν] LPC; ὁ ἐπίσκοπος V; *episcopus* A[B]; def. Euseb. ἐν Σμύρνῃ] LPC; σμυρναίων V; *smyrniarum* (sic) B; *smyrnaeorum urbis* A; def. Euseb. 14 τούτων] VC; τούτων αὐτῶν Euseb.; τοῦτο P; τούτου (not however here, but before καὶ πολύκαρπος) L; *talia* A; *ejus* B. μέμνηται Φιλιππησίοις γράφων] LP (both however writing φιλιππισίοις); *commemorat et dicit...in epistola quam philippensibus scripsit* A; *meminit scribens philippensibus* (*philippis*), *dicens ita* C; *meminit...philippensibus scribens ac dicens* B; μέμνηται ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ πρὸς φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολῇ φάσκων αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι Euseb.; μνημονεύει λέγων V. 15 οὖν πάντας] LBA Euseb. Polyc.; om. PVC. 16 εἴδετε] V; ἴδετε LP. 17 Ἰγνατίῳ] LV; ἰγνάτιον P. 18 Ῥούφῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ] LPVC (but om. καὶ ζωσίμῳ C$_a$) B Euseb.; ζωσίμῳ καὶ ῥούφῳ A Polyc. ἀλλὰ] LPCAB Euseb. Polyc.; om. V. 19 τοῖς pri.] PVCAB Euseb. Polyc.; om. L. ὑμῶν] LPCAB Euseb. Polyc.; ἡμῶν V. αὐτῷ] txt L Euseb. Polyc.; add. τῷ PV. καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πεπιστευκόσιν] P (but αὐτοῖς for αὐτῷ) V; *et omnibus illis qui crediderunt ex ipso* C; *et ceteris qui cum eo crediderunt* B; καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις πεπεισμένους Euseb. Polyc. A; om. L. The reading of our martyrologist seems to be an emendation of a corrupt text of Eusebius, πεπιστευκόσιν being obtained from πεπεισμένους. 21 ἔδραμον] txt CB Euseb. Polyc.; add. οὐδὲ (οὐδὲ L) εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασαν LPVA (from Phil. ii. 16). ἀλλ'] Ps^{V}s; ἀλλὰ L. 22 εἰσὶν] PV; εἰσὶ L. 24 ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα] LP Euseb.; αἰῶνα ἠγάπησαν V. 25 Χριστὸν] PVCAB; om. Euseb.; add. τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ L. ἀναστάντα] txt PVCA; præf. δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Euseb. Polyc.; præf. *a deo* B; præf. τῇ τριτῃ ἡμέρᾳ L.

μετὰ βραχέα δέ· τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλας, ὅσας εἴχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν, [ἐπιστολὰς] ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· αἵτινες ὑποτεταγμέναι εἰσὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ· ἐξ ὧν μεγάλα ὠφεληθήσεσθε· περιέχουσι γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν τὴν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν.

Τοῦτο Ἰγνατίου τὸ μαρτύριον· διαδέχεται δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκοπὴν Ἥρων. καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μνήμη τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ γενναίου μάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου μηνὶ Πανέμῳ νεομηνίᾳ.

1 δέ] V[C]; om. LP; al. B Euseb.; def. A. 2 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ] LV Euseb.; παρ' αὐτοῦ P. 3 ἐπιστολὰς] LPV; om. BC Euseb.; al. A. ἐπέμψαμεν] LPBA Euseb. Polyc.; ἔπεμψα VC. 4 ὑποτεταγμέναι εἰσί] L Euseb. (with v. l. εἰσὶν); εἰσιν ὑποτεταγμέναι PV. 5 ταύτῃ] LV; αὕτη (sic) P. μεγάλα] L Euseb.; μεγάλως PV. περιέχουσι] LVB Euseb. Polyc.; παρέχουσι P; *eruduiunt...super* C; def. A. 6 Κύριον ἡμῶν] txt BC_s Euseb. Polyc. (the two latter adding ἀνήκουσαν); add. *ἰησοῦν χριστόν* LPVC_m; def. A. 8 Τοῦτο] LPC; τοιοῦτον γὰρ V; al. AB. διαδέχεται δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν] PV Euseb.; μετὰ δὲ (om. δὲ C) τὴν αὐτοῦ τελείωσιν διαδέχεται LC (at least C_m, but the text is corrupted in C_s); *excepit* A; def. B. 9 Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκοπὴν] PVA Euseb.; *episcopatum urbis antiochiae* C; ἐπισκοπὴν ἀντιοχέων L; def. B. Ἥρων] V; *heron* A; ἥρων (sic) P; ηρων C_m; ϱηρωπ C_s; εἵρων L; ἥρως Euseb.; def. B. 11 μηνὶ Πανέμῳ νεομηνίᾳ] P (but, as usual, without any ι subscript); *primo mensis qui vocatur secundum romanos panemus, secundum aegyptios autem septimo epiphi* C_m; *primo mensis qui vocatur panemus qui est epiphi secundum linguam aegyptiorum* C_s; *kalendis februarii* [B] (but one MS adds *sed translatio corporis eius non minori obsequio decimo sexto kalendas januarii colitur*); *in hrotitz mensis die primo* (*qui dies initium est*) [*secundum graecos Decembr.* 20] A; μηνὶ δεκεμβρίῳ κ' V; μηνὶ δεκεμβρίῳ εἰκάδι· ἐνεχθέντων δὲ ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ τῶν τιμίων αὐτοῦ λειψάνων μηνὶ ἰανουαρίῳ εἰκάδι ἐννάτῃ L. Add. *in christo jesu domino nostro* C; add. ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν L; add. χάριτι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ᾧ ἡ δόξα κ.τ.λ. V; add. *praestante domino nostro jesu christo, qui vivit etc.* [B].

8. διαδέχεται δὲ κ.τ.λ.] This sentence also is from Eusebius l.c.

9. καὶ ἔστιν κ.τ.λ.] This is doubtless the original reading of our Acts. The day of Ignatius is given according to the Egyptian calendar as Panemus (i.e. July) 1st: see above, p. 423. In different recensions it is altered according to the usages of different churches. In LV the day is Dec. 20 according to the later Greek usage (see above, p. 422 sq), to which L adds Jan. 29 as the day of the translation of the reliques from Rome to Antioch; while in B it becomes Feb. 1 after the Latin calendar (see above, p. 428), where again at least one MS adds Dec. 17 as the day of the translation according to the Latin calendar.

TRANSLATIONS.

1. EPISTLES OF S. IGNATIUS.

2. ACTS OF MARTYRDOM.

   (1) *ANTIOCHENE ACTS.*

   (2) *ROMAN ACTS.*

EPISTLES OF S. IGNATIUS.

I.

TO THE EPHESIANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, unto her which hath been blessed in greatness through the plenitude of God the Father; which hath been foreordained before the ages to be for ever unto abiding and unchangeable glory, united and elect in a true passion, by the will of the Father and of Jesus Christ our God; even unto the church which is in Ephesus [of Asia], worthy of all felicitation: abundant greeting in Christ Jesus and in blameless joy.

1. While I welcomed in God [your] well-beloved name, which ye bear by natural right [in an upright and virtuous mind] by faith and love in Christ Jesus our Saviour—being imitators of God, and having your hearts kindled in the blood of God, ye have perfectly fulfilled your congenial work—for when ye heard that I was on my way from Syria, in bonds for the sake of the common Name and hope, and was hoping through your prayers to succeed in fighting with wild beasts in Rome, that by so succeeding I might have power to be a disciple, ye were eager to visit me:—seeing then that in God's name I have received your whole multitude in the person of Onesimus, whose love passeth utterance and who is moreover your bishop [in the flesh]—and I pray that ye may love him according to

Jesus Christ and that ye all may be like him; for blessed is He that granted unto you according to your deserving to have such a bishop:—

2. But as touching my fellow-servant Burrhus, who by the will of God is your deacon blessed in all things, I pray that he may remain with me to the honour of yourselves and of your bishop. Yea, and Crocus also, who is worthy of God and of you, whom I received as an ensample of the love which ye bear me, hath relieved me in all ways—even so may the Father of Jesus Christ refresh him—together with Onesimus and Burrhus and Euplus and Fronto; in whom I saw you all with the eyes of love. May I have joy of you always, if so be I am worthy of it. It is therefore meet for you in every way to glorify Jesus Christ who glorified you; that being perfectly joined together in one submission, submitting yourselves to your bishop and presbytery, ye may be sanctified in all things.

3. I do not command you, as though I were somewhat. For even though I am in bonds for the Name's sake, I am not yet perfected in Jesus Christ. [For] now am I beginning to be a disciple; and I speak to you as to my school-fellows. For I ought to be trained by you for the contest in faith, in admonition, in endurance, in long-suffering. But, since love doth not suffer me to be silent concerning you, therefore was I forward to exhort you, that ye run in harmony with the mind of God: for Jesus Christ also, our inseparable life, is the mind of the Father, even as the bishops that are settled in the farthest parts of the earth are in the mind of Jesus Christ.

4. So then it becometh you to run in harmony with the mind of the bishop; which thing also ye do. For your honourable presbytery, which is worthy of God, is attuned to the bishop, even as its strings to a lyre. Therefore in your concord and harmonious love Jesus Christ is sung. And do ye, each and all, form yourselves into a chorus, that being harmonious in concord and taking the key note of God ye may in unison sing with one voice through Jesus Christ unto the Father,

that He may both hear you and acknowledge you by your good deeds to be members of His Son. It is therefore profitable for you to be in blameless unity, that ye may also be partakers of God always.

5. For if I in a short time had such converse with your bishop, which was not after the manner of men but in the Spirit, how much more do I congratulate you who are closely joined with him as the Church is with Jesus Christ and as Jesus Christ is with the Father, that all things may be harmonious in unity. Let no man be deceived. If any one be not within the precinct of the altar, he lacketh the bread [of God]. For, if the prayer of one and another hath so great force, how much more that of the bishop and of the whole Church. Whosoever therefore cometh not to the congregation, he doth thereby show his pride and hath separated himself; for it is written, *God resisteth the proud.* Let us therefore be careful not to resist the bishop, that by our submission we may give ourselves to God.

6. And in proportion as a man seeth that his bishop is silent, let him fear him the more. For every one whom the Master of the household sendeth to be steward over His own house, we ought so to receive as Him that sent him. Plainly therefore we ought to regard the bishop as the Lord Himself. Now Onesimus of his own accord highly praiseth your orderly conduct in God, for that ye all live according to truth, and that no heresy hath a home among you: nay, ye do not so much as listen to any one, if he speak of aught else save concerning Jesus Christ in truth.

7. For some are wont of malicious guile to hawk about the Name, while they do certain other things unworthy of God. These men ye ought to shun, as wild-beasts; for they are mad dogs, biting by stealth; against whom ye ought to be on your guard, for they are hard to heal. There is one only physician, of flesh and of spirit, generate and ingenerate, God in man, true Life in death, Son of Mary and Son of God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord.

8. Let no one therefore deceive you, as indeed ye are not deceived, seeing that ye belong wholly to God. For when no lust is established in you, which hath power to torment you, then truly ye live after God. I devote myself for you, and I dedicate myself as an offering for the church of you Ephesians which is famous unto all the ages. They that are of the flesh cannot do the things of the Spirit, neither can they that are of the Spirit do the things of the flesh; even as faith cannot do the things of unfaithfulness, neither unfaithfulness the things of faith. Nay, even those things which ye do after the flesh are spiritual; for ye do all things in Jesus Christ.

9. But I have learned that certain persons passed through you from yonder, bringing evil doctrine; whom ye suffered not to sow seed in you, for ye stopped your ears, so that ye might not receive the seed sown by them; forasmuch as ye are stones of a temple, which were prepared beforehand for a building of God the Father, being hoisted up to the heights through the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the Cross, and using for a rope the Holy Spirit; while your faith is your windlass, and love is the way that leadeth up to God. So then ye are all companions in the way, carrying your God and your shrine, your Christ and your holy things, being arrayed from head to foot in the commandments of Jesus Christ. And I too, taking part in the festivity, am permitted by letter to bear you company and to rejoice with you, that ye set not your love on anything after the common life of men, but only on God.

10. And pray ye also without ceasing for the rest of mankind (for there is in them a hope of repentance), that they may find God. Therefore permit them to take lessons at least from your works. Against their outbursts of wrath be ye meek; against their proud words be ye humble; against their railings set ye your prayers; against their errors be ye stedfast in the faith; against their fierceness be ye gentle. And be not zealous to imitate them by requital. Let us show ourselves their brothers by our forbearance; but let us be zealous to be

imitators of the Lord, vying with each other who shall suffer the greater wrong, who shall be defrauded, who shall be set at nought; that no herb of the devil be found in you: but in all purity and temperance abide ye in Christ Jesus, with your flesh and with your spirit.

11. These are the last times. Henceforth let us have reverence; let us fear the long suffering of God, lest it turn into a judgment against us. For either let us fear the wrath which is to come or let us love the grace which now is—the one or the other; provided only that we be found in Christ Jesus unto true life. Let nothing glitter in your eyes apart from Him, in whom I carry about my bonds, my spiritual pearls in which I would fain rise again through your prayer, whereof may it be my lot to be always a partaker, that I may be found in the company of those Christians of Ephesus who moreover were ever of one mind with the Apostles in the power of Jesus Christ.

12. I know who I am and to whom I write. I am a convict, ye have received mercy: I am in peril, ye are established. Ye are the high-road of those that are on their way to die unto God. Ye are associates in the mysteries with Paul, who was sanctified, who obtained a good report, who is worthy of all felicitation; in whose foot-steps I would fain be found treading, when I shall attain unto God; who in every letter maketh mention of you in Christ Jesus.

13. Do your diligence therefore to meet together more frequently for thanksgiving to God and for His glory. For when ye meet together frequently, the powers of Satan are cast down; and his mischief cometh to nought in the concord of your faith. There is nothing better than peace, in which all warfare of things in heaven and things on earth is abolished.

14. None of these things is hidden from you, if ye be perfect in your faith and love toward Jesus Christ, for these are the beginning and end of life—faith is the beginning and love is the end—and the two being found in unity are God, while all things

else follow in their train unto true nobility. No man professing faith sinneth, and no man possessing love hateth. *The tree is manifest from its fruit;* so they that profess to be Christ's shall be seen through their actions. For the Work is not a thing of profession now, but is seen then when one is found in the power of faith unto the end.

15. It is better to keep silence and to be, than to talk and not to be. It is a fine thing to teach, if the speaker practise. Now there is one teacher, who *spake and it came to pass*: yea and even the things which He hath done in silence are worthy of the Father. He that truly possesseth the word of Jesus is able also to hearken unto His silence, that he may be perfect; that through his speech he may act and through his silence he may be known. Nothing is hidden from the Lord, but even our secrets are nigh unto Him. Let us therefore do all things as knowing that He dwelleth in us, to the end that we may be His temples and He Himself may be in us as our God. This is so, and it will also be made clear in our sight from the love which we rightly bear towards Him.

16. Be not deceived, my brethren. Corrupters of houses *shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* If then they which do these things after the flesh are put to death, how much more if a man through evil doctrine corrupt the faith of God for which Jesus Christ was crucified. Such a man, having defiled himself, shall go into the unquenchable fire; and in like manner also shall he that hearkeneth unto him.

17. For this cause the Lord received ointment on His head, that He might breathe incorruption upon the Church. Be not anointed with the ill odour of the teaching of the prince of this world, lest he lead you captive and rob you of the life which is set before you. And wherefore do we not all walk prudently, receiving the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ? Why perish we in our folly, not knowing the gift of grace which the Lord hath truly sent?

18. My spirit is made an offscouring for the Cross, which is

a stumbling-block to them that are unbelievers, but to us salvation and life eternal. *Where is the wise? Where is the disputer?* Where is the boasting of them that are called prudent? For our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary according to a dispensation, of the seed of David but also of the Holy Ghost; and He was born and was baptized that by His passion He might cleanse water.

19. And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing and likewise also the death of the Lord—three mysteries to be cried aloud—the which were wrought in the silence of God. How then were they made manifest to the ages? A star shone forth in the heaven above all the stars; and its light was unutterable, and its strangeness caused amazement; and all the rest of the constellations with the sun and moon formed themselves into a chorus about the star; but the star itself far outshone them all; and there was perplexity to know whence came this strange appearance which was so unlike them. From that time forward every sorcery and every spell was dissolved, the ignorance of wickedness vanished away, the ancient kingdom was pulled down, when God appeared in the likeness of man unto *newness of* everlasting *life;* and that which had been perfected in the counsels of God began to take effect. Thence all things were perturbed, because the abolishing of death was taken in hand.

20. If Jesus Christ should count me worthy through your prayer, and it should be the Divine will, in my second tract, which I intend to write to you, I will further set before you the dispensation whereof I have begun to speak, relating to the new man Jesus Christ, which consisteth in faith towards Him and in love towards Him, in His passion and resurrection, especially if the Lord should reveal aught to me. Assemble yourselves together in common, every one of you severally, man by man, in grace, in one faith and one Jesus Christ, who after the flesh was of David's race, who is Son of Man and Son of God, to the end that ye may obey the bishop and the presbytery without

distraction of mind; breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality and the antidote that we should not die but live for ever in Jesus Christ.

21. I am devoted to you and to those whom for the honour of God ye sent to Smyrna; whence also I write unto you with thanksgiving to the Lord, having love for Polycarp as I have for you also. Remember me, even as I would that Jesus Christ may also remember you. Pray for the church which is in Syria, whence I am led a prisoner to Rome—I who am the very last of the faithful there; according as I was counted worthy to be found unto the honour of God. Fare ye well in God the Father and in Jesus Christ our common hope.

2.

TO THE MAGNESIANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, unto her which hath been blessed through the grace of God the Father in Christ Jesus our Saviour, in whom I salute the church which is in Magnesia on the Mæander, and I wish her abundant greeting in God the Father and in Jesus Christ.

1. When I learned the exceeding good order of your love in the ways of God, I was gladdened and I determined to address you in the faith of Jesus Christ. For being counted worthy to bear a most godly name, in these bonds, which I carry about, I sing the praise of the churches; and I pray that there may be in them union of the flesh and of the spirit which are Jesus Christ's, our never-failing life—an union of faith and of love which is preferred before all things, and—what is more than all—an union with Jesus and with the Father; in whom if we endure patiently all the despite of the prince of this world and escape therefrom, we shall attain unto God.

2. Forasmuch then as I was permitted to see you in the

person of Damas your godly bishop and your worthy presbyters Bassus and Apollonius and my fellow-servant the deacon Zotion, of whom I would fain have joy, for that he is subject to the bishop as unto the grace of God and to the presbytery as unto the law of Jesus Christ:—

3. Yea, and it becometh you also not to presume upon the youth of your bishop, but according to the power of God the Father to render unto him all reverence, even as I have learned that the holy presbyters also have not taken advantage of his outwardly youthful estate, but give place to him as to one prudent in God; yet not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, even to the Bishop of all. For the honour therefore of Him that desired you, it is meet that ye should be obedient without dissimulation. For a man doth not so much deceive this bishop who is seen, as cheat that other who is invisible; and in such a case he must reckon not with flesh but with God who knoweth the hidden things.

4. It is therefore meet that we not only be called Christians, but also be such; even as some persons have the bishop's name on their lips, but in everything act apart from him. Such men appear to me not to keep a good conscience, forasmuch as they do not assemble themselves together lawfully according to commandment.

5. Seeing then that all things have an end, and these two—life and death—are set before us together, and each man shall go to his own place; for just as there are two coinages, the one of God and the other of the world, and each of them hath its proper stamp impressed upon it, the unbelievers the stamp of this world, but the faithful in love the stamp of God the Father through Jesus Christ, through whom unless of our own free choice we accept to die unto His passion, His life is not in us:—

6. Seeing then that in the aforementioned persons I beheld your whole people in faith and embraced them, I advise you, be ye zealous to do all things in godly concord, the bishop presiding after the likeness of God and the presbyters after

the likeness of the council of the Apostles, with the deacons also who are most dear to me, having been entrusted with the diaconate of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before the worlds and appeared at the end of time. Therefore do ye all study conformity to God and pay reverence one to another; and let no man regard his neighbour after the flesh, but love ye one another in Jesus Christ always. Let there be nothing among you which shall have power to divide you, but be ye united with the bishop and with them that preside over you as an ensample and a lesson of incorruptibility.

7. Therefore as the Lord did nothing without the Father, [being united with Him], either by Himself or by the Apostles, so neither do ye anything without the bishop and the presbyters. And attempt not to think anything right for yourselves apart from others: but let there be one prayer in common, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love and in joy unblameable, which is Jesus Christ, than whom there is nothing better. Hasten to come together all of you, as to one temple, even God; as to one altar, even to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from One Father and is with One and departed unto One.

8. Be not seduced by strange doctrines nor by antiquated fables, which are profitless. For if even unto this day we live after the manner of Judaism, we avow that we have not received grace: for the divine prophets lived after Christ Jesus. For this cause also they were persecuted, being inspired by His grace to the end that they which are disobedient might be fully persuaded that there is one God who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ His Son, who is His Word that proceeded from silence, who in all things was well-pleasing unto Him that sent Him.

9. If then those who had walked in ancient practices attained unto newness of hope, no longer observing sabbaths but fashioning their lives after the Lord's day, on which our life also arose through Him and through His death which some men deny—a mystery whereby we attained unto belief, and for this cause we endure patiently, that we may be found disciples of

Jesus Christ our only teacher—if this be so, how shall we be able to live apart from Him? seeing that even the prophets, being His disciples, were expecting Him as their teacher through the Spirit. And for this cause He whom they rightly awaited, when He came, raised them from the dead.

10. Therefore let us not be insensible to His goodness. For if He should imitate us according to our deeds, we are lost. For this cause, seeing that we are become His disciples, let us learn to live as beseemeth Christianity. For whoso is called by another name besides this, is not of God. Therefore put away the vile leaven which hath waxed stale and sour, and betake yourselves to the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be ye salted in Him, that none among you grow putrid, seeing that by your savour ye shall be proved. It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practise Judaism. For Christianity did not believe in Judaism, but Judaism in Christianity, wherein *every tongue* believed and *was gathered together* unto God.

11. Now these things I say, my dearly beloved, not because I have learned that any of you are so minded; but as being less than any of you, I would have you be on your guard betimes, that ye fall not into the snares of vain doctrine; but be ye fully persuaded concerning the birth and the passion and the resurrection, which took place in the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate; for these things were truly and certainly done by Jesus Christ our hope; from which hope may it not befal any of you to be turned aside.

12. Let me have joy of you in all things, if I be worthy. For even though I am in bonds, yet am I not comparable to one of you who are at liberty. I know that ye are not puffed up; for ye have Jesus Christ in yourselves. And, when I praise you, I know that ye only feel the more shame; as it is written *The righteous man is a self-accuser.*

13. Do your diligence therefore that ye be confirmed in the ordinances of the Lord and of the Apostles, that ye may *prosper in all things whatsoever ye do* in flesh and spirit, by faith and by

love, in the Son and Father and in the Spirit, in the beginning and in the end, with your revered bishop, and with the fitly wreathed spiritual circlet of your presbytery, and with the deacons who walk after God. Be obedient to the bishop and to one another, as Jesus Christ was to the Father [according to the flesh], and as the Apostles were to Christ and to the Father, that there may be union both of flesh and of spirit.

14. Knowing that ye are full of God, I have exhorted you briefly. Remember me in your prayers, that I may attain unto God; and remember also the church which is in Syria, whereof I am not worthy to be called a member. For I have need of your united prayer and love in God, that it may be granted to the church which is in Syria to be refreshed by the dew of your fervent supplication.

15. The Ephesians from Smyrna salute you, from whence also I write to you. They are here with me for the glory of God, as also are ye; and they have comforted me in all things, together with Polycarp bishop of the Smyrnæans. Yea, and all the other churches salute you in the honour of Jesus Christ. Fare ye well in godly concord, and possess ye a stedfast spirit, which is Jesus Christ.

3.

TO THE TRALLIANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, unto her that is beloved by God the Father of Jesus Christ; to the holy church which is in Tralles of Asia, elect and worthy of God, having peace in flesh and spirit through the passion of Jesus Christ, who is our hope through our resurrection unto Him; which church also I salute in the Divine plenitude after the apostolic fashion, and I wish her abundant greeting.

1. I have learned that ye have a mind unblameable and

stedfast in patience, not from habit, but by nature, according as Polybius your bishop informed me, who by the will of God and of Jesus Christ visited me in Smyrna; and so greatly did he rejoice with me in my bonds in Christ Jesus, that in him I beheld the whole multitude of you. Having therefore received your godly benevolence at his hands, I gave glory, forasmuch as I had found you to be imitators of God, even as I had learned.

2. For when ye are obedient to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, it is evident to me that ye are living not after men but after Jesus Christ, who died for us, that believing on His death ye might escape death. It is therefore necessary, even as your wont is, that ye should do nothing without the bishop; but be ye obedient also to the presbytery, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our hope; for if we live in Him, we shall also be found in Him. And those likewise who are deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ must please all men in all ways. For they are not deacons of meats and drinks but servants of the Church of God. It is right therefore that they should beware of blame as of fire.

3. In like manner let all men respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as they should respect the bishop as being a type of the Father and the presbyters as the council of God and as the college of Apostles. Apart from these there is not even the name of a church. And I am persuaded that ye are so minded as touching these matters: for I received the ensample of your love, and I have it with me, in the person of your bishop, whose very demeanour is a great lesson, while his gentleness is power—a man to whom I think even the godless pay reverence. Seeing that I love you I thus spare you, though I might write more sharply on his behalf: but I did not think myself competent for this, that being a convict I should order you as though I were an Apostle.

4. I have many deep thoughts in God: but I take the measure of myself, lest I perish in my boasting. For now I

ought to be the more afraid and not to give heed to those that would puff me up: for they that say these things to me are a scourge to me. For though I desire to suffer, yet I know not whether I am worthy: for the envy of the devil is unseen indeed by many, but against me it wages the fiercer war. So then I crave gentleness, whereby the prince of this world is brought to nought.

5. Am I not able to write to you of heavenly things? But I fear lest I should cause you harm being babes. So bear with me, lest not being able to take them in, ye should be choked. For I myself also, albeit I am in bonds and can comprehend heavenly things and the arrays of the angels and the musterings of the principalities, things visible and things invisible—I myself am not yet by reason of this a disciple. For we lack many things, that God may not be lacking to us.

6. I exhort you therefore—yet not I, but the love of Jesus Christ—take ye only Christian food, and abstain from strange herbage, which is heresy: for these men do even mingle poison with Jesus Christ, imposing upon others by a show of honesty, like persons administering a deadly drug with honied wine, so that one who knoweth it not, fearing nothing, drinketh in death with a baneful delight.

7. Be ye therefore on your guard against such men. And this will surely be, if ye be not puffed up and if ye be inseparable from [God] Jesus Christ and from the bishop and from the ordinances of the Apostles. He that is within the sanctuary is clean; but he that is without the sanctuary is not clean, that is, he that doeth aught without the bishop and presbytery and deacons, this man is not clean in his conscience.

8. Not indeed that I have known of any such thing among you, but I keep watch over you betimes, as my beloved, for I foresee the snares of the devil. Do ye therefore arm yourselves with gentleness and recover yourselves in faith which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love which is the blood of Jesus Christ. Let none of you bear a grudge against his neigh-

bour. Give no occasion to the Gentiles, lest by reason of a few foolish men the godly multitude be blasphemed: for *Woe unto him through whom My name is vainly blasphemed before some.*

9. Be ye deaf therefore, when any man speaketh to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was the Son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and those on earth and those under the earth; who moreover was truly raised from the dead, His Father having raised Him, who in the like fashion will so raise us also who believe on Him—His Father, I say, will raise us—in Christ Jesus, apart from whom we have not true life.

10. But if it were as certain persons who are godless, that is unbelievers, say, that He suffered only in semblance, being themselves mere semblance, why am I in bonds? And why also do I desire to fight with wild beasts? So I die in vain. Truly then I lie against the Lord.

11. Shun ye therefore those vile offshoots that gender a deadly fruit, whereof if a man taste, forthwith he dieth. For these men are not the Father's planting: for if they had been, they would have been seen to be branches of the Cross, and their fruit imperishable—the Cross whereby He through His passion inviteth us, being His members. Now it cannot be that a head should be found without members, seeing that God promiseth union, and this union is Himself.

12. I salute you from Smyrna, together with the churches of God that are present with me; men who refreshed me in all ways both in flesh and in spirit. My bonds exhort you, which for Jesus Christ's sake I bear about, entreating that I may attain unto God; abide ye in your concord and in prayer one with another. For it becometh you severally, and more especially the presbyters, to cheer the soul of your bishop unto the honour of the Father [and to the honour] of Jesus Christ

and of the Apostles. I pray that ye may hearken unto me in love, lest I be for a testimony against you by having so written. And pray ye also for me who have need of your love in the mercy of God, that I may be vouchsafed the lot which I am eager to attain, to the end that I be not found reprobate.

13. The love of the Smyrnæans and Ephesians saluteth you. Remember in your prayers the church which is in Syria; whereof [also] I am not worthy to be called a member, being the very last of them. Fare ye well in Jesus Christ, submitting yourselves to the bishop as to the commandment, and likewise also to the presbytery; and each of you severally love one another with undivided heart. My spirit is offered up for you, not only now, but also when I shall attain unto God. For I am still in peril; but the Father is faithful in Jesus Christ to fulfil my petition and yours. May we be found unblameable in Him.

4.

TO THE ROMANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, unto her that hath found mercy in the bountifulness of the Father Most High and of Jesus Christ His only Son; to the church that is beloved and enlightened through the will of Him who willed all things that are, by faith and love towards Jesus Christ our God; even unto her that hath the presidency in the country of the region of the Romans, being worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy of felicitation, worthy of praise, worthy of success, worthy in purity, and having the presidency of love, walking in the law of Christ and bearing the Father's name; which church also I salute in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of the Father; unto them that in flesh and spirit are united

unto His every commandment, being filled with the grace of God without wavering, and filtered clear from every foreign stain; abundant greeting in Jesus Christ our God in blamelessness.

1. Forasmuch as in answer to my prayer to God it hath been granted me to see your godly countenances, so that I have obtained even more than I asked; for wearing bonds in Christ Jesus I hope to salute you, if it be the Divine will that I should be counted worthy to reach unto the end; for the beginning verily is well ordered, if so be I shall attain unto the goal, that I may receive mine inheritance without hindrance. For I dread your very love, lest it do me an injury; for it is easy for you to do what ye will, but for me it is difficult to attain unto God, unless ye shall spare me.

2. For I would not have you to be men-pleasers but to please God, as indeed ye do please Him. For neither shall I myself ever find an opportunity such as this to attain unto God, nor can ye, if ye be silent, win the credit of any nobler work. For, if ye be silent and leave me alone, I am a word of God; but if ye desire my flesh, then shall I be again a mere cry. [Nay] grant me nothing more than that I be poured out a libation to God, while there is still an altar ready; that forming yourselves into a chorus in love ye may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ, for that God hath vouchsafed that the bishop from Syria should be found in the West, having summoned him from the East. It is good to set from the world unto God, that I may rise unto Him.

3. Ye never grudged any one; ye were the instructors of others. And my desire is that those lessons shall hold good which as teachers ye enjoin. Only pray that I may have power within and without, so that I may not only say it but also desire it; that I may not only be called a Christian, but also be found one. For if I shall be found so, then can I also be called one, and be faithful then, when I am no more visible to the world. Nothing visible is good. For our God Jesus

Christ, being in the Father, is the more plainly visible. The Work is not of persuasiveness, but Christianity is a thing of might, whensoever it is hated by the world.

4. I write to all the churches, and I bid all men know, that of my own free will I die for God, unless ye should hinder me. I exhort you, be ye not an 'unseasonable kindness' to me. Let me be given to the wild beasts, for through them I can attain unto God. I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread [of Christ]. Rather entice the wild beasts, that they may become my sepulchre and may leave no part of my body behind, so that I may not, when I am fallen asleep, be burdensome to any one. Then shall I be truly a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not so much as see my body. Supplicate the Lord for me, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not enjoin you, as Peter and Paul did. They were Apostles, I am a convict; they were free, but I am a slave to this very hour. Yet if I shall suffer, then am I a freed-man of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise free in Him. Now I am learning in my bonds to put away every desire.

5. From Syria even unto Rome I fight with wild beasts, by land and sea, by night and by day, being bound amidst ten leopards, even a company of soldiers, who only wax worse when they are kindly treated. Howbeit through their wrong doings I become more completely a disciple; *yet am I not hereby justified.* May I have joy of the beasts that have been prepared for me; and I pray that I may find them prompt; nay I will entice them that they may devour me promptly, not as they have done to some, refusing to touch them through fear. Yea though of themselves they should not be willing while I am ready, I myself will force them to it. Bear with me. I know what is expedient for me. Now am I beginning to be a disciple. May naught of things visible and things invisible envy me; that I may attain unto Jesus Christ.

Come fire and cross and grapplings with wild beasts, [cuttings and manglings,] wrenching of bones, hacking of limbs, crushings of my whole body, come cruel tortures of the devil to assail me. Only be it mine to attain unto Jesus Christ.

6. The farthest bounds of the universe shall profit me nothing, neither the kingdoms of this world. It is good for me to die for Jesus Christ rather than to reign over the farthest bounds of the earth. Him I seek, who died on our behalf; Him I desire, who rose again [for our sake]. The pangs of a new birth are upon me. Bear with me, brethren. Do not hinder me from living; do not desire my death. Bestow not on the world one who desireth to be God's, neither allure him with material things. Suffer me to receive the pure light. When I am come thither, then shall I be a man. Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God. If any man hath Him within himself, let him understand what I desire, and let him have fellow-feeling with me, for he knoweth the things which straiten me.

7. The prince of this world would fain tear me in pieces and corrupt my mind to Godward. Let not any of you therefore who are near abet him. Rather stand ye on my side, that is on God's side. Speak not of Jesus Christ and withal desire the world. Let not envy have a home in you. Even though I myself, when I am with you, should beseech you, obey me not; but rather give credence to these things which I write to you. [For] I write to you in the midst of life, yet lusting after death. My lust hath been crucified, and there is no fire of material longing in me, but only water living †and speaking† in me, saying within me 'Come to the Father.' I have no delight in the food of corruption or in the delights of this life. I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Christ who was of the seed of David; and for a draught I desire His blood, which is love incorruptible.

8. I desire no longer to live after the manner of men; and this shall be, if ye desire it. Desire ye, that ye yourselves also

may be desired. In a brief letter I beseech you; believe me. And Jesus Christ shall make manifest unto you these things, that I speak the truth—Jesus Christ, the unerring mouth in whom the Father hath spoken [truly]. Entreat ye for me, that I may attain [through the Holy Spirit]. I write not unto you after the flesh, but after the mind of God. If I shall suffer, it was your desire; if I shall be rejected, it was your hatred.

9. Remember in your prayers the church which is in Syria, which hath God for its shepherd in my stead. Jesus Christ alone shall be its bishop—He and your love. But for myself I am ashamed to be called one of them; for neither am I worthy, being the very last of them and an untimely birth: but I have found mercy that I should be some one, if so be I shall attain unto God. My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the churches which received me in the name of Jesus Christ, not as a mere wayfarer: for even those churches which did not lie on my route after the flesh went before me from city to city.

10. Now I write these things to you from Smyrna by the hand of the Ephesians who are worthy of all felicitation. And Crocus also, a name very dear to me, is with me, with many others besides.

As touching those who went before me from Syria to Rome unto the glory of God, I believe that ye have received instructions; whom also apprise that I am near; for they all are worthy of God and of you, and it becometh you to refresh them in all things. These things I write to you on the 9th before the Kalends of September. Fare ye well unto the end in the patient waiting for Jesus Christ.

5.

TO THE PHILADELPHIANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to the church of God the Father and of Jesus Christ, which is in Philadelphia of Asia, which hath found mercy and is firmly established in the concord of God and rejoiceth in the passion of our Lord and in His resurrection without wavering, being fully assured in all mercy; which church I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ, that is eternal and abiding joy; more especially if they be at one with the bishop and the presbyters who are with him, and with the deacons that have been appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ, whom after His own will He confirmed and established by His Holy Spirit.

1. This your bishop I have found to hold the ministry which pertaineth to the common weal, not of himself or through men, nor yet for vain glory, but in the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. And I am amazed at his forbearance; whose silence is more powerful than others' speech. For he is attuned in harmony with the commandments, as a lyre with its strings. Wherefore my soul blesseth his godly mind, for I have found that it is virtuous and perfect—even the imperturbable and calm temper which he hath, while living in all godly forbearance.

2. As children therefore [of the light] of the truth, shun division and wrong doctrines; and where the shepherd is, there follow ye as sheep. For many specious wolves with baneful delights lead captive the runners in God's race; but, where ye are at one, they will find no place.

3. Abstain from noxious herbs, which are not the husbandry of Jesus Christ, because they are not the planting of the Father. Not that I have found division among you, but filtering. For

as many as are of God and of Jesus Christ, they are with the bishop; and as many as shall repent and enter into the unity of the Church, these also shall be of God, that they may be living after Jesus Christ. Be not deceived, my brethren. If any man followeth one that maketh a schism, *he doth not inherit the kingdom of God.* If any man walketh in strange doctrine, he hath no fellowship with the passion.

4. Be ye careful therefore to observe one eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup unto union in His blood; there is one altar, as there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow-servants), that whatsoever ye do, ye may do it after God.

5. My brethren, my heart overfloweth altogether in love towards you; and rejoicing above measure I watch over your safety; yet not I, but Jesus Christ, wearing whose bonds I am the more afraid, because I am not yet perfected. But your prayer will make me perfect [unto God], that I may attain unto the inheritance wherein I have found mercy, taking refuge in the Gospel as the flesh of Jesus and in the Apostles as the presbytery of the Church. Yea, and we love the prophets also, because they too pointed to the Gospel in their preaching and set their hope on Him and awaited Him; in whom also having faith they were saved in the unity of Jesus Christ, being worthy of all love and admiration as holy men, approved of Jesus Christ and numbered together in the Gospel of our common hope.

6. But if any one propound Judaism unto you, hear him not: for it is better to hear Christianity from a man who is circumcised than Judaism from one uncircumcised. But if either the one or the other speak not concerning Jesus Christ, I look on them as tombstones and graves of the dead, whereon are inscribed only the names of men. Shun ye therefore the wicked arts and plottings of the prince of this world, lest haply ye be crushed by his devices, and wax weak in your love. But assemble yourselves all together with undivided heart. And I

give thanks to my God, that I have a good conscience in my dealings with you, and no man can boast either in secret or openly, that I was burdensome to anyone in small things or in great. Yea and for all among whom I spoke, it is my prayer that they may not turn it into a testimony against themselves.

7. For even though certain persons desired to deceive me after the flesh, yet the spirit is not deceived, being from God; for it *knoweth whence it cometh and where it goeth,* and it searcheth out the hidden things. I cried out, when I was among you; I spake with a loud voice, with God's own voice, Give ye heed to the bishop and the presbytery and deacons. Howbeit there were those who suspected me of saying this, because I knew beforehand of the division of certain persons. But He in whom I am bound is my witness that I learned it not from flesh of man; it was the preaching of the Spirit who spake on this wise; Do nothing without the bishop; keep your flesh as a temple of God; cherish union; shun divisions; be imitators of Jesus Christ, as He Himself also was of His Father.

8. I therefore did my own part, as a man composed unto union. But where there is division and anger, there God abideth not. Now the Lord forgiveth all men when they repent, if repenting they return to the unity of God and to the council of the bishop. I have faith in the grace of Jesus Christ, who shall strike off every fetter from you; and I entreat you, Do ye nothing in a spirit of factiousness but after the teaching of Christ. For I heard certain persons saying, 'If I find it not in the charters, I believe it not in the Gospel.' And when I said to them 'It is written,' they answered me 'That is the question.' But as for me, my charter is Jesus Christ, the inviolable charter is His cross and His death and His resurrection, and faith through Him; wherein I desire to be justified through your prayers.

9. The priests likewise were good, but better is the High-priest to whom is committed the holy of holies; for to Him alone are committed the hidden things of God; He Himself

being the door of the Father, through which Abraham and Isaac and Jacob enter in, and the Prophets and the Apostles and the whole Church; all these things combine in the unity of God. But the Gospel hath a singular preeminence in the advent of the Saviour, even our Lord Jesus Christ, and His passion and resurrection. For the beloved Prophets in their preaching pointed to Him; but the Gospel is the completion of immortality. All things together are good, if ye believe through love.

10. Seeing that in answer to your prayer and to the tender sympathy which ye have in Christ Jesus, it hath been reported to me that the church which is in Antioch of Syria hath peace, it is, becoming for you, as a church of God, to appoint a deacon to go thither as God's ambassador, that he may congratulate them when they are assembled together, and may glorify the Name. Blessed in Jesus Christ is he that shall be counted worthy of such a ministration; and ye yourselves shall be glorified. Now if ye desire it, it is not impossible for you to do this for the name of God; even as the churches which are nearest have sent bishops, and others presbyters and deacons.

11. But as touching Philo the deacon from Cilicia, a man of good report, who now also ministereth to me in the word of God, together with Rhaius Agathopus, an elect one who followeth me from Syria, having bidden farewell to this present life; the same who also bear witness to you—and I myself thank God on your behalf, because ye received them, as I trust the Lord will receive you. But may those who treated them with dishonour be redeemed through the grace of Jesus Christ. The love of the brethren which are in Troas saluteth you; from whence also I write to you by the hand of Burrhus, who was sent with me by the Ephesians and Smyrnæans as a mark of honour. The Lord shall honour them, even Jesus Christ, on whom their hope is set in flesh and soul and spirit, by faith, by love, by concord. Fare ye well in Christ Jesus our common hope.

6.

TO THE SMYRNÆANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to the church of God the Father and of Jesus Christ the Beloved, which hath been mercifully endowed with every grace, being filled with faith and love and lacking in no grace, most reverend and bearing holy treasures; to the church which is in Smyrna of Asia, in a blameless spirit and in the word of God abundant greeting.

1. I give glory to Jesus Christ the God who bestowed such wisdom upon you; for I have perceived that ye are established in faith immovable, being as it were nailed on the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, in flesh and in spirit, and firmly grounded in love in the blood of Christ, fully persuaded as touching our Lord that He is truly of the race of David according to the flesh, but Son of God by the Divine will and power, truly born of a virgin and baptised by John that *all righteousness might be fulfilled* by Him, truly nailed up in the flesh for our sakes under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch (of which fruit are we—that is, of His most blessed passion); that *He might set up an ensign* unto all the ages through His resurrection, for His saints and faithful people, whether among Jews or among Gentiles, in one body of His Church.

2. For He suffered all these things for our sakes [that we might be saved]; and He suffered truly, as also He raised Himself truly; not as certain unbelievers say, that He suffered in semblance, being themselves mere semblance. And according as their opinions are, so shall it happen to them, for they are without body and demon-like.

3. For I know and believe that He was in the flesh even after the resurrection; and when He came to Peter and his

company, He said to them, *Lay hold and handle me, and see that I am not a demon without body.* And straightway they touched Him, and they believed, being joined unto His flesh and His blood. Wherefore also they despised death, nay they were found superior to death. And after His resurrection He [both] ate with them and drank with them as one in the flesh, though spiritually He was united with the Father.

4. But these things I warn you, dearly beloved, knowing that ye yourselves are so minded. Howbeit I watch over you betimes to protect you from wild beasts in human form—men whom not only should ye not receive, but, if it were possible, not so much as meet [them]; only pray ye for them, if haply they may repent. This indeed is difficult, but Jesus Christ, our true life, hath power over it. For if these things were done by our Lord in semblance, then am I also a prisoner in semblance. And why then have I delivered myself over to death, unto fire, unto sword, unto wild beasts? But near to the sword, near to God; in company with wild beasts, in company with God. Only let it be in the name of Jesus Christ, so that we may suffer together with Him. I endure all things, seeing that He Himself enableth me, who is perfect Man.

5. But certain persons ignorantly deny Him, or rather have been denied by Him, being advocates of death rather than of the truth; and they have not been persuaded by the prophecies nor by the law of Moses, nay nor even to this very hour by the Gospel, nor by the sufferings of each of us severally; for they are of the same mind also concerning us. For what profit is it [to me], if a man praiseth me, but blasphemeth my Lord, not confessing that He was a bearer of flesh? Yet he that affirmeth not this, doth thereby deny Him altogether, being himself a bearer of a corpse. But their names, being unbelievers, I have not thought fit to record in writing; nay, far be it from me even to remember them, until they repent and return to the passion, which is our resurrection.

6. Let no man be deceived. Even the heavenly beings

and the glory of the angels and the rulers visible and invisible, if they believe not in the blood of Christ [who is God], judgment awaiteth them also. *He that receiveth let him receive.* Let not office puff up any man; for faith and love are all in all, and nothing is preferred before them. But mark ye those who hold strange doctrine touching the grace of Jesus Christ which came to us, how that they are contrary to the mind of God. They have no care for love, none for the widow, none for the orphan, none for the afflicted, none for the prisoner, none for the hungry or thirsty. They abstain from eucharist (thanksgiving) and prayer, because they allow not that the eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which flesh suffered for our sins, and which the Father of His goodness raised up.

7. They therefore that gainsay the good gift of God perish by their questionings. But it were expedient for them to have love, that they may also rise again. It is therefore meet that ye should abstain from such, and not speak of them either privately or in public; but should give heed to the Prophets, and especially to the Gospel, wherein the passion is shown unto us and the resurrection is accomplished.

8. [But] shun divisions, as the beginning of evils. Do ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles; and to the deacons pay respect, as to God's commandment. Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be, there is the universal Church. It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love-feast; but whatsoever he shall approve, this is well-pleasing also to God; that everything which ye do may be sure and valid.

9. It is reasonable henceforth that we wake to soberness, while we have [still] time to repent and turn to God. It is good to recognise God and the bishop. He that honoureth the bishop

is honoured of God; he that doeth aught without the knowledge of the bishop rendereth service to the devil. May all things therefore abound unto you in grace, for ye are worthy. Ye refreshed me in all things, and Jesus Christ shall refresh you. In my absence and in my presence ye cherished me. May God recompense you; for whose sake if ye endure all things, ye shall attain unto Him.

10. Philo and Rhaius Agathopus, who followed me in the cause of God, ye did well to receive as ministers of [Christ] God; who also give thanks to the Lord for you, because ye refreshed them in every way. Nothing shall be lost to you. My spirit is devoted for you, as also are my bonds, which ye despised not, neither were ashamed of them. Nor shall He, who is perfect faithfulness, be ashamed of you, even Jesus Christ.

11. Your prayer sped forth unto the church which is in Antioch of Syria; whence coming a prisoner in most godly bonds I salute all men, though I am not worthy to belong to it, being the very last of them. By the Divine will was this vouchsafed to me, not of my own complicity, but by God's grace, which I pray may be given to me perfectly, that through your prayers I may attain unto God. Therefore that your work may be perfected both on earth and in heaven, it is meet that your church should appoint, for the honour of God, an ambassador of God that he may go as far as Syria and congratulate them because they are at peace, and have recovered their proper stature, and their proper bulk hath been restored to them. It seemed to me therefore a fitting thing that ye should send one of your own people with a letter, that he might join with them in giving glory for the calm which by God's will had overtaken them, and because they were already reaching a haven through your prayers. Seeing ye are perfect, let your counsels also be perfect; for if ye desire to do well, God is ready to grant the means.

12. The love of the brethren which are in Troas saluteth

you; from whence also I write to you by the hand of Burrhus, whom ye sent with me jointly with the Ephesians your brethren. He hath refreshed me in all ways. And I would that all imitated him, for he is an ensample of the ministry of God. The Divine grace shall requite him in all things. I salute your godly bishop and your venerable presbytery [and] my fellow-servants the deacons, and all of you severally and in a body, in the name of Jesus Christ, and in His flesh and blood, in His passion and resurrection, which was both carnal and spiritual, in the unity of God and of yourselves. Grace to you, mercy, peace, patience, always.

13. I salute the households of my brethren with their wives and children, and the virgins who are called widows. I bid you farewell in the power of the Father. Philo, who is with me, saluteth you. I salute the household of Gavia, and I pray that she may be grounded in faith and love both of flesh and of spirit. I salute Alce, a name very dear to me, and Daphnus the incomparable, and Eutecnus, and all by name. Fare ye well in the grace of God.

7.

TO POLYCARP.

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, unto Polycarp who is bishop of the church of the Smyrnæans or rather who hath for his bishop God the Father and Jesus Christ, abundant greeting.

1. Welcoming thy godly mind which is grounded as it were on an immovable rock, I give exceeding glory that it hath been vouchsafed me to see thy blameless face, whereof I would fain have joy in God. I exhort thee in the grace wherewith thou art clothed to press forward in thy course and to exhort all men that they may be saved. Vindicate thine office in all diligence of flesh and of spirit. Have a care for union, than which there

is nothing better. Bear all men, as the Lord also beareth thee. Suffer all men in love, as also thou doest. Give thyself to unceasing prayers. Ask for larger wisdom than thou hast. Be watchful, and keep thy spirit from slumbering, Speak to each man severally after the manner of God. Bear the maladies of all, as a perfect athlete. Where there is more toil, there is much gain.

2. If thou lovest good scholars, this is not thankworthy in thee. Rather bring the more pestilent to submission by gentleness. All wounds are not healed by the same salve. Allay sharp pains by fomentations. *Be thou prudent as the serpent* in all things *and guileless* always *as the dove.* Therefore art thou made of flesh and spirit, that thou mayest humour the things which appear before thine eyes; and as for the invisible things, pray thou that they may be revealed unto thee; that thou mayest be lacking in nothing, but mayest abound in every spiritual gift. The season requireth thee, as pilots require winds or as a storm-tossed mariner a haven, that it may attain unto God. Be sober, as God's athlete. The prize is incorruption and life eternal, concerning which thou also art persuaded. In all things I am devoted to thee—I and my bonds which thou didst cherish.

3. Let not those that seem to be plausible and yet teach strange doctrine dismay thee. Stand thou firm, as an anvil when it is smitten. It is the part of a great athlete to receive blows and be victorious. But especially must we for God's sake endure all things, that He also may endure us. Be thou more diligent than thou art. Mark the seasons. Await Him that is above every season, the Eternal, the Invisible, who became visible for our sake, the Impalpable, the Impassible, who suffered for our sake, who endured in all ways for our sake.

4. Let not widows be neglected. After the Lord be thou their protector. Let nothing be done without thy consent; neither do thou anything without the consent of God, as indeed thou doest not. Be stedfast. Let meetings be held more

frequently. Seek out all men by name. Despise not slaves, whether men or women. Yet let not these again be puffed up, but let them serve the more faithfully to the glory of God, that they may obtain a better freedom from God. Let them not desire to be set free at the public cost, lest they be found slaves of lust.

5. Flee evil arts, or rather hold thou discourse about these. Tell my sisters to love the Lord and to be content with their husbands in flesh and in spirit. In like manner also charge my brothers in the name of Jesus Christ to love their wives, *as the Lord loved the Church.* If any one is able to abide in chastity to the honour of the flesh of the Lord, let him so abide without boasting. If he boast, he is lost; and if it be known beyond the bishop, he is polluted. It becometh men and women too, when they marry, to unite themselves with the consent of the bishop, that the marriage may be after the Lord and not after concupiscence. Let all things be done to the honour of God.

6. Give ye heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you. I am devoted to those who are subject to the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons. May it be granted me to have my portion with them in the presence of God. Toil together one with another, struggle together, run together, suffer together, lie down together, rise up together, as God's stewards and assessors and ministers. Please the Captain in whose army ye serve, from whom also ye will receive your pay. Let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism abide with you as your shield; your faith as your helmet; your love as your spear; your patience as your body armour. Let your works be your deposits, that ye may receive your assets due to you. Be ye therefore long-suffering one with another in gentleness, as God is with you. May I have joy of you always.

7. Seeing that the church which is in Antioch of Syria hath peace, as it hath been reported to me, through your prayers, I myself also have been the more comforted since

God hath banished my care; if so be I may through suffering attain unto God, that I may be found a disciple through your intercession. It becometh thee, most blessed Polycarp, to call together a godly council and to elect some one among you who is very dear to you and zealous also, who shall be fit to bear the name of God's courier—to appoint him, I say, that he may go to Syria and glorify your zealous love unto the glory of God. A Christian hath no authority over himself, but giveth his time to God. This is God's work, and yours also, when ye shall complete it: for I trust in the Divine grace, that ye are ready for an act of well-doing which is meet for God. Knowing the fervour of your sincerity, I have exhorted you in a short letter.

8. Since I have not been able to write to all the churches, by reason of my sailing suddenly from Troas to Neapolis, as the Divine will enjoineth, thou shalt write to the churches in front, as one possessing the mind of God, to the intent that they also may do this same thing—let those who are able send messengers, and the rest letters by the persons who are sent by thee, that ye may be glorified by an ever memorable deed—for this is worthy of thee.

I salute all by name, and especially the wife of Epitropus with her whole household and her children's. I salute Attalus my beloved. I salute him that shall be appointed to go to Syria. Grace shall be with him always, and with Polycarp who sendeth him. I bid you farewell always in our God Jesus Christ, in whom abide ye in the unity and supervision of God. I salute Alce, a name very dear to me. Fare ye well in the Lord.

MARTYRDOM OF S. IGNATIUS.

I.

ANTIOCHENE ACTS.

1. NOT long after Trajan had succeeded to the empire of the Romans, Ignatius the disciple of the Apostle John, a man of apostolic character in all ways, governed the Church of the Antiochenes. He had with difficulty weathered the past storms of the many persecutions in the time of Domitian, and, like a good pilot, by the helm of prayer and fasting, by the assiduity of his teaching, and by his spiritual earnestness, had withstood the surge of the enemy's power, fearful lest he should lose any of the faint-hearted or over-simple. Thus while he rejoiced at the tranquillity of the Church, when the persecution abated for a while, he was vexed within himself, thinking that he had not yet attained true love towards Christ or the complete rank of a disciple: for he considered that the confession made by martyrdom would attach him more closely to the Lord. Therefore remaining a few years longer with the Church, and like a lamp of God illumining the mind of every one by his exposition of the scriptures, he attained the fulfilment of his prayer.

2. It so happened that after these things Trajan in the ninth year of his reign, being elated with his victory over the Scythians and Dacians and many other nations, and considering that the godly society of the Christians was still lacking to him to complete the subjection, unless they chose to submit to the service of the devils together with all the nations, threatened [to subject them to] persecution and would have compelled all those who were leading a pious life either to offer sacrifice

or to die. At that time therefore the brave soldier of Christ, being afraid for the Church of the Antiochenes, was taken of his own free will before Trajan who was staying at that moment in Antioch, making ready to march against Armenia and the Parthians.

And when he stood face to face with Trajan [the king]; *Who art thou*, said Trajan, *thou wretch of a devil, that art so ready to transgress our orders, whilst thou seducest others also, that they may come to a bad end?* Ignatius said; *No man calleth one that beareth God a wretch of a devil; for the devils stand aloof from the servants of God. But if, because I am troublesome to these, thou callest me a wretch toward the devils, I agree with thee: for having Christ a heavenly king, I confound the devices of these.* Trajan said; *And who is he that beareth God?* Ignatius answered, *He that hath Christ in his breast.* Trajan said; *Dost thou not think then that we too have gods in our heart, seeing that we employ them as allies against our enemies?* Ignatius said; *Thou art deceived, when thou callest the devils of the nations gods. For there is one God who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all things that are therein, and one Christ Jesus His only-begotten Son, whose friendship I would fain enjoy.* Trajan said; *Speakest thou of him that was crucified under Pontius Pilate?* Ignatius said; *I speak of Him that nailed on the cross sin and its author, and sentenced every malice of the devils to be trampled under foot of those that carry Him in their heart.* Trajan said; *Dost thou then carry Christ within thyself?* Ignatius said; *Yes, for it is written, 'I will dwell in them and will walk about in them.'* Trajan gave sentence; *It is our order that Ignatius who saith that he beareth about the crucified in himself shall be put in chains by the soldiers and taken to mighty Rome, there to be made food for wild beasts, as a spectacle and a diversion for the people.* The holy martyr, when he heard this sentence, shouted aloud with joy; *I thank Thee, Lord and Master, that Thou hast vouchsafed to honour me by perfecting my love towards Thee, in that Thou hast bound me with chains of iron to Thine Apostle Paul.* Having said this and having invested himself in his chains with gladness, after praying over the Church and commending it with tears to the Lord, like a choice ram the leader of a goodly flock, he was hurried away by the brutal cruelty of the soldiers to be carried off to Rome as food for bloodthirsty brutes.

3. So then with much eagerness and joy, in longing desire for the Lord's passion, he went down from Antioch to Seleucia, and from thence he set sail. And having put in at the city of the Smyrnæans after much stress of weather, he disembarked with much joy and hastened to see the holy Polycarp, bishop of the Smyrnæans, his fellow-student;

for in old times they had been disciples of John. And being entertained by him on landing, and having communicated with him his spiritual gifts, and glorying in his bonds, he entreated them to aid him in his purpose—asking this in the first place of every church collectively (for the cities and churches of Asia welcomed the saint through their bishops and presbyters and deacons, all men flocking to him, in the hope that they might receive a portion of some spiritual gift), but especially of the holy Polycarp, that by means of the wild beasts disappearing the sooner from the world, he might appear in the presence of Christ.

4. And these things he so spake and so testified, carrying his love towards Christ to such a pitch, as if he would storm heaven by his good confession and by the fervour of those who joined with him in prayer over his combat, while at the same time he recompensed those churches which came to meet him in the person of their rulers, by sending out letters of thanks to them shedding upon them the dew of spiritual grace with prayer and exhortation. Therefore when he saw that they all were kindly disposed towards him, being afraid lest haply the affection of the brotherhood might uproot his zeal for the Lord, when a goodly door of martyrdom was thus opened to him, he writes to the Church of the Romans in the words which are here subjoined.

[*Here follows the Epistle to the Romans.*]

5. Having therefore by his letter appeased, as he desired, those of the brethren in Rome who were averse, this done he set sail from Smyrna (for the Christ-bearer was hurried forward by the soldiers to be in time for the sports in the great city, that given to wild beasts in the sight of the Roman people he might by such a combat obtain the crown of righteousness); and thence he put in at Troas. Then departing thence he landed at Neapolis; and passing through Philippi he journeyed by land across Macedonia and the part of Epirus which lies by Epidamnus. And here on the sea coast he took ship and sailed across the Hadriatic sea, and thence entering the Tyrrhene and passing by islands and cities, the holy man when he came in view of Puteoli was eager himself to disembark, desiring to tread in the footsteps of the Apostle [Paul]; but forasmuch as a stiff breeze springing up prevented it, the ship being driven by a stern wind, he commended the love of the brethren in that place, and so sailed by. Thus in one single day and night, meeting with favourable winds, we ourselves were carried forward against our will, mourning over the separation which must soon come between ourselves and this righteous man; while he had his wish

fulfilled, for he was eager to depart from the world quickly, that he might hasten to join the Lord whom he loved. Wherefore, as he landed at the harbour of the Romans just when the unholy sports were drawing to a close, the soldiers were vexed at the slow pace, while the bishop gladly obeyed them as they hurried him forward.

6. So we set out thence at break of day, leaving the place called Portus; and, as the doings of the holy martyr had already been rumoured abroad, we were met by the brethren, who were filled at once with fear and with joy—with joy because they were vouchsafed this meeting with the God-bearer, with fear because so good a man was on his way to execution. And some of them he also charged to hold their peace, when in the fervour of their zeal they said that they would stay the people from seeking the death of the righteous man. For having recognised these at once by the Spirit and having saluted all of them, he asked them to show him genuine love, and discoursed at greater length than in his epistle, and persuaded them not to grudge one who was hastening to meet his Lord; and then, all the brethren falling on their knees, he made entreaty to the Son of God for the churches, for the staying of the persecution, and for the love of the brethren one to another, and was led away promptly to the amphitheatre. Then forthwith he was put into the arena in obedience to the previous orders of Cæsar, just as the sports were drawing to a close (for the day called the Thirteenth in the Roman tongue was, as they thought, a high day, on which they eagerly flocked together), whereupon he was thrown by these godless men to savage brutes, and so the desire of the holy martyr Ignatius was fulfilled forthwith (according to the saying of Scripture *The desire of the righteous man is acceptable*), that he might not be burdensome to any of the brethren by the collection of his reliques, according as he had already in his epistle expressed his desire that his own martyrdom might be. For only the tougher parts of his holy reliques were left, and these were carried back to Antioch and laid in a sarcophagus, being left to the holy Church a priceless treasure by the Divine grace manifested in the martyr.

7. Now these things happened on the 13th before the Kalends of January, when Sura, and Senecio for the second time, were consuls among the Romans.

Having with tears beheld these things with our own eyes, and having watched all night long in the house, and having often and again entreated the Lord with supplication on our knees to confirm the faith of us weak men after what had passed, when we had fallen asleep for a while, some of us suddenly beheld the blessed Ignatius standing by and

embracing us, while by others again he was seen praying over us, and by others dripping with sweat, as if he were come from a hard struggle and were standing at the Lord's side with much boldness and unutterable glory. And being filled with joy at this sight, and comparing the visions of our dreams, after singing hymns to God the giver of good things and lauding the holy man, we have signified unto you both the day and the time, that we may gather ourselves together at the season of the martyrdom and hold communion with the athlete and valiant martyr of Christ, who trampled the devil under foot and accomplished the race of his Christian devotion, in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom and with whom is the glory and the power unto the Father with the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

2.

ROMAN ACTS.

1. IN the ninth year of the reign of Trajan Cæsar, being the second year of the 223rd Olympiad, in the consulship of Atticus Surbanus and Marcellus, Ignatius who became bishop of Antioch the second in order after the Apostles (for he succeeded Euodius) was escorted under the strictest custody of guards from Syria to the city of the Romans on account of his testimony to Christ. Now his keepers were bodyguards of Trajan, ten in number, savage wretches with the tempers of wild beasts; and they conducted the blessed saint a prisoner through Asia and thence to Thrace and Rhegium by land and sea, illusing the holy man day and night, although in every city they were kindly treated by the brethren. Yet none of these things appeased their fury, but they crushed the saint with implacable and pitiless eyes, as he himself bears witness, saying in a passage in one of his epistles; *From Syria even unto Rome I fight with wild beasts,* [*conducted*] *by land and sea, bound amidst ten leopards, I mean a band of soldiers, who only grow worse, when they are kindly treated.*

2. Having set sail therefore from Rhegium they arrive in Rome; and they announced his coming to the emperor. Then the emperor commanded him to be brought before him in the presence of the Senate, and said to him; *Art thou that Ignatius who turned the city of the Antiochenes upside down, insomuch that it hath come to my ears*

that thou didst draw away all Syria from the religion of the Greeks to the religion of the Christians. Ignatius said; *Would, O king, that I were able to draw thee also away from thine idolatry, and bring thee to the God of the universe, and present thee a friend of Christ, and make thine empire more secure to thee.* Trajan said; *If thou desirest to confer a favour on me and to be reckoned among my friends, abandon this mind and sacrifice to the gods, and thou shalt be high-priest of mighty Zeus and shalt share my kingdom with me.* Ignatius said; *It is right to confer those favours only, O king, which do no harm to the soul, not those which condemn to eternal punishment. But thy promises, which thou didst promise to bestow on me, I judge worthy of no account. For neither do I serve gods of whom I have no knowledge, nor do I know who this Zeus of thine is, nor do I desire a worldly kingdom. 'For what shall it profit me, if I shall gain the whole world and forfeit mine own soul?'* Trajan said; *Thou seemest to me to be utterly devoid of sound sense; and therefore thou holdest my promises cheap. So then, if thou provokest me to displeasure, I will punish thee with every kind of torture, not only as disobedient but also as ungrateful, and as refusing to submit to the decree of the sacred senate and sacrifice [to the gods].* Ignatius said; *Do as seemeth fit to thee; for I offer no sacrifice. For neither fire nor cross nor rage of wild beasts nor loss of limbs shall induce me to fall away from the living God: for I love not the present world, but Christ who died and rose for me.*

3. The Senate said; *We know that the gods are immortal; but how sayest thou, Ignatius, that Christ died?* Ignatius said; *My Lord, though He died, died by reason of a dispensation, but rose again after three days; while your gods died as mortals and were not raised up. For instance Zeus is buried in Crete, and Æsculapius struck by a thunder-bolt in Cynosura; Aphrodite is buried in Paphos with Cinyras; Hercules is consumed by fire. For your gods deserved such punishments, since they were incontinent and evildoers and corruptors of men; whereas our Lord, even though He was crucified and died, yet showed His own power by rising from the dead and avenging Him on His murderers by your hands. And again; your gods were made by Him to pay the penalty as workers of iniquity; whereas our Lord was slain in the flesh by wicked men who could not bear His rebukes, after He had shown all beneficence but had met with ingratitude from unbelievers.* Trajan said; *I advise thee to shun death and cling to life.* Ignatius said; *Thou advisest me well, O king; for I flee from eternal death and take refuge in eternal life.* Trajan said; *And how many deaths are there?* Ignatius said; *Two; the one momentary, the other eternal. And so likewise there are two lives; the one for a brief space, the other eternal.* Trajan said; *Sacrifice to the gods and shun*

punishment; for thou art not better than the Senate. Ignatius said; *To what gods wouldest thou have me sacrifice? To him who was shut up in a cask thirteen months for adultery? Or to the blacksmith with the crippled feet? Or to him who failed in his divination and was defeated by a woman? Or to the man-woman who was torn to pieces by Titans? Or to those who built the walls of Ilium and were defrauded of their wages? Or to those goddesses who imitate the doings of men and forget the doings of women? I am ashamed to speak of gods who are sorcerers and violaters of boys and adulterers, changing themselves, as you say, into an eagle and a bull, and into gold, and into a swan and a dragon, not for any good purpose but for the subversion of others' wedlock—gods whom ye ought to loathe and not to worship as ye do. To these deities your wives pray, that they may preserve their chastity for you!* Trajan said; *I make myself an accomplice with thee in thy blasphemy towards the gods, because I do not torture thee.* Ignatius said; *I have told thee long ago, that I am ready for every torture and every kind of death, since I am eager to go to God.*

4. Trajan said; *If thou wilt not sacrifice, thou shalt repent of it. Therefore spare thyself, before thou come to harm.* Ignatius said; *Unless I had spared myself, I should have fulfilled thy commands.* Trajan said; *Torture his back with leaded thongs.* Ignatius said; *Thou hast intensified my longing for God, O king.* Trajan said; *Lacerate his sides with hooks and rub salt into his wounds.* Ignatius said; *My whole mind yearneth intensely towards God, and I make no account of what I suffer.* Trajan said; *Sacrifice to the gods.* Ignatius said; *To what gods? Perchance thou biddest me sacrifice to the gods of the Egyptians, to a calf and a goat, to an ibis and an ape and a venomous asp, or to a wolf and a dog, to a lion and a crocodile, or to the fire of the Persians, or to the water of the sea, or to infernal Pluto, or to Hermes the thief.* Trajan said; *I said unto thee, Sacrifice; for thou wilt get no good by talking thus.* Ignatius said; *I said unto thee, I do not sacrifice, neither forsake I the one only God, who made the heaven and the earth, the sea and all things that are therein, who hath power over all flesh; the God of spirits and King of everything sensible and intelligible.* Trajan said; *Why what hindereth thee from worshipping him as God, if he existeth, and these likewise whom we all acknowledge in common?* Ignatius said; *Natural discernment, when it is unclouded, doth not confound falsehood with truth, darkness with light, bitter with sweet. For woe threateneth such as make no distinction between these. For 'What agreement hath Christ with Belial? Or what portion hath a believer with an unbeliever? And what concord is there between a temple of God and idols?'*

5. Trajan said; *Open out his hands and fill them with fire.* Ignatius

said; *Neither fire that burneth nor teeth of wild beasts nor wrenching of bones nor manglings of my whole body, nay not the tortures of the devil, shall separate me from my love towards God.* Trajan said; *Dip paper in oil and steep it till it is soft; then set fire to it and burn his sides.* Ignatius said; *Thou seemest to me, O king, not to know that there is a God living within me, and He supplieth me with strength and hardeneth my soul; for otherwise I should not have been able to bear thy tortures.* Trajan said; *Thou art made of iron, methinks, and art quite callous; for else thou wouldest have yielded after all this, with the pain of thy wounds, and have sacrificed to the gods.* Ignatius said; *It is not because I do not feel the tortures, O king, that I sustain and endure them, but because in the hope of good things to come my affection towards God doth relieve my pains: for neither burning fire nor drenching water shall ever have power to quench my love towards God.* Trajan said; *Bring fire and spread live coals on the ground, and make Ignatius stand on them, that so at length he may be induced to submit to me and to sacrifice to the gods.* Ignatius said; *The burning of this fire of thine leadeth me to remembrance of the eternal and unquenchable fire, though this is but for a season.* Trajan said; *I suppose it is by some sorcery that thou despisest the tortures: for otherwise thou wouldest have submitted to us, after suffering so much at our hands.* Ignatius said; *Tell me, how can men who abandon demons, as being rebels against God, and abominate idols, be sorcerers? Surely ye who worship these are more justly open to such reproaches; but for us it is ordained by law that we suffer not wizards nor enchanters nor observers of omens to live; nay we are wont to burn even the books of those that practise curious arts, as infamous. Therefore it is not I that am a sorcerer, but ye, since ye worship the demons.* Trajan said; *By the gods, Ignatius, I am weary of thee by this time, and I am at a loss what tortures I shall apply to thee to induce thee to submit to the orders which are given thee.* Ignatius said; *Grow not weary, O king, but either put me into the fire, or hack me with the sword, or cast me into the deep, or throw me to wild beasts, that thou mayest be convinced that none of these things is terrible to us for the love we have to God.*

6. Trajan said; *What hope thou hast in prospect, Ignatius, that thou art dying in these sufferings which thou endurest, I cannot say.* Ignatius said; *They that are ignorant of the God who is over all and of the Lord Jesus Christ, are ignorant also of the good things that are prepared for the godly. Wherefore they consider that their existence is confined to this world only, even as that of brutes without reason; and they picture to themselves nothing better after their departure hence. But we who have knowledge of godliness are aware that after our departure hence we shall*

rise again and have an everlasting life in Christ, a life which shall never fail neither give place to another, and from which pain and grief and mourning have fled away. Trajan said; *I will destroy your heresy and will bring you to your senses and teach you not to fight obstinately against the decrees of the Romans.* Ignatius said; *And who is able, O king, to destroy God's building? [for] if a man shall attempt it, he will gain nothing but to wage war against God. For Christianity will not only not be destroyed by men, but will increase daily by the power of Christ in growth and magnitude. It will advance in the same manner and in the same course, flashing out coruscations alike of splendour and of awe: for 'The whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as much water covereth the seas.' But thou doest not well, O king, to call Christianity a heresy; for heresy is far apart from Christianity. Nay, Christianity is the full knowledge of the true and very God and of His only begotten Son and of His dispensation in the flesh and His teaching, this infallible religion being accompanied also by the virtues of our outward life. But what men among us hast thou known to love faction and war, and not to pay obedience to rulers whereinsoever obedience is free from peril, living peacefully and harmoniously in friendly intercourse, 'paying to all their due, tribute to whom tribute is due, fear to whom fear, customs to whom customs, honour to whom honour,' being careful to 'owe no man anything save to love one another'? For we have been taught by our Lord not only to 'love our neighbour' but also to 'do good to our enemy' and to 'love them that hate us' and to 'pray for them that evil intreat us and persecute us.' But say wherein the preaching of Christianity hath thwarted thee, since it began. Hath any strange disaster befallen the empire of the Romans? Nay, was not the rule of many exchanged for the rule of one? And did not Augustus thy ancestor, in whose time our Saviour was born of a virgin, and He who till then was God the Word became also man for our sakes, reign nearly a whole age, having for fifty-seven whole years and six months besides swayed the empire of the Romans and ruled alone, as none other did of those who went before him? Was not every tribe made subject to him, while the former separation of nations and their mutual hatred ceased from the time when our Saviour sojourned upon earth?*

7. The Senate said; *Yes, these things are so as thou hast said, Ignatius; but this it is which vexeth us, that he abolished the worship of the gods.* Ignatius said; *O illustrious Senate, just as He subjected the less intelligent nations to the rule of the Romans, which our oracles call 'a rod of iron,' so also He drove away from mankind the tyrannical spirits of evil, by proclaiming one only God, even Him that is over all. And not only this,*

but He wrought deliverance also from the cruel bondage under their blood-thirsty and pitiless rule. Did they not revel in the death of those dearest to you? Did they not embrue you with civil wars? Did they not compel you to behave unseemly, exposing you naked as a spectacle, and carrying your wives naked in procession as if they were prisoners of war, defiling the earth with bloodshed, and darkening the pure air with impurities? Ask the Scythians whether they did not sacrifice human beings to Artemis; for assuredly, though ye may deny for very shame the slaughter of a virgin to Cronos, the Greeks glory in such human sacrifices, having derived this wicked practice from barbarians. Trajan said; *By the gods, I admire thee, Ignatius, for thy much learning, even though I praise thee not for thy religion.* Ignatius said; *And what dost thou condemn in our divine religion?* Trajan said; *That ye worship not our lord the Sun, nor the Heaven, nor the holy Moon the common nurse of all.* Ignatius said; *And who would choose, O king, to worship the Sun which hath an outward shape, which falleth under the senses, which sheddeth and again replenisheth from fire the heat which it hath shed, which undergoeth eclipse, which can never change its own order against the mind of Him that ordered it to accomplish its course? And how should the heaven be worshipped, which is veiled with clouds, which the Creator 'stretched out as a hide' and 'fixed as a vault' and set firm as a cube? or the moon which waxeth and diminisheth and waneth and is subject to vicissitudes? But to say that because their light is bright men ought therefore to worship them is to say what is altogether untrue: for they were given for illumination to men and not for worship; they were appointed to mellow and warm the fruits, to brighten the day and to illumine the night. And the stars of the heaven too were appointed for signs and for seasons and for notes of time and to cheer and sustain the mariners. But none of these ought to be worshipped, neither water which ye call Poseidon, nor fire which ye call Hephæstos, nor air which ye call Here, nor earth which ye call Demeter, nor the fruits. For all these things, though they have been made for our sustenance, are yet perishable and lifeless.*

8. Trajan said; *Did I not then say rightly at the beginning, that thou art he who did turn the East upside down, forbidding it to reverence the gods?* Ignatius said; *And doth it vex thee, O king, that we advise men not to reverence things which ought not to be worshipped, but the true and living God, the maker of heaven and earth, and His only-begotten Son? for this is the only true religion, supreme and undisputed, taking delight in divine and spiritual doctrines. But the teaching of the Greek religion which prevaileth among you is an atheist polytheism, easily upset, unstable, veering about, and standing on no secure foundation: for*

'The instruction that is without reproof goeth astray.' For how is it not full of falsehoods of all kinds, when at one time it saith that the common gods of the universe are twelve in number, and then again supposeth them to be more? Trajan said; *I can no longer bear thine insolence, for thou revilest us shamefully, desiring to defeat us with thy glibness of speech. Therefore sacrifice; for thou hast said enough with all the fine words wherewith thou hast deluged us. If not, I will torture thee again and afterwards give thee to wild beasts.* Ignatius said; *How long dost thou threaten and not fulfil thy promises? For I am a Christian and I offer no sacrifice to wicked demons, but I worship the true God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who 'enlightened me with the light of knowledge,' and 'opened mine eyes to discern His marvellous things.' Him I reverence and honour: for He is God and Lord and King and 'only Potentate.'*

9. Trajan said; *I put thee to death on a gridiron, unless thou repentest.* Ignatius said; *Repentance from evil deeds is a noble thing, O king, but repentance from good deeds is criminal: for we ought to betake ourselves to a better course and not to a worse. Nothing is better than godliness.* Trajan said; *Lacerate his back with hooks, saying to him, Obey the emperor and sacrifice to the gods according to the decree of the senate.* Ignatius said; *I fear the decree of God which saith 'Thou shalt have none other gods but me,' and 'He that sacrificeth to other gods shall be put to death.' But when senate and king bid me transgress the laws, I do not listen to them: for 'Thou shalt not accept the person of a ruler,' so the laws distinctly say, and 'Thou shalt not consort with numbers to do evil.'* Trajan said; *Pour vinegar mixed with salt upon his wounds.* Ignatius said; *All things that befall me for confessing God must be borne that they may be the harbingers of rewards: for 'The sufferings of the present season are not worthy in comparison of the glory that shall be revealed.'* Trajan said; *Spare thyself, fellow, henceforth, and submit to the orders given thee; for, if not, I will employ worse tortures against thee.* Ignatius said; *'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation or distress or persecution or famine or nakedness or peril or sword? For I am persuaded that neither life nor death' shall be able to part me from godliness, being confident in the power of Christ.* Trajan said; *Thinkest thou to gain a victory over me by thine endurance? for man is a creature fond of victory.* Ignatius said; *I do not think but believe that I have prevailed and shall prevail, that thou mayest learn how wide is the gulf between godliness and ungodliness.* Trajan said; *Take him and put him in irons and, when ye have made his feet fast in the stocks, throw him into the inner prison, and let no person whatsoever see him in the*

dungeon. And for three days and three nights let him eat no bread and drink no water, that after the three days he may be cast to wild beasts and so depart from life. The Senate said; *We too give our assent to the sentence against him: for he insulted us all along with the emperor, in not consenting to sacrifice to the gods, but he persisted that he was a Christian.* Ignatius said; '*Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*' *who of His abundant goodness vouchsafed that I should be a partaker of the sufferings of His Christ and a true and faithful witness of His Godhead.*

10. On the third day Trajan, having summoned the Senate and the prefect, went forth into the amphitheatre, where also was a concourse of the Roman people; for they had heard that the bishop from Syria was to fight with wild beasts. And he ordered the holy Ignatius to be led in. And when he beheld him, he said to him; *I wonder that thou art alive after so many tortures and so long famine. But now at length obey me, that thou mayest escape from the miseries which lie in thy path, and thou shalt have us as thy friend.* Ignatius said; *Thou seemest to me to have the form of a man but the ways of a fox, which fawneth with its tail while it plotteth in its mind; for thou feignest the words of one kindly disposed, and yet thy counsels are not sound. So understand henceforth plainly, that I make no account of this mortal and frail life for Jesus' sake whom I desire. I go my way to Him; for He is the bread of immortality and the draught of eternal life. I am wholly His, and I yearn for Him in my mind; and I despise thy tortures, and I spit upon thy glory.* Trajan said; *Since he is insolent and contemptuous, bind him fast, and let two lions loose upon him, that they may not leave so much as a relique of him behind.* But when the wild beasts were let loose, the blessed saint beholding them said to the people; *Ye Romans, who are spectators of this contest, I suffer these things, not for any base action or any blameable thing, but for godliness. For I am the wheat of God, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread.* But Trajan, when he heard these things, was greatly astonished saying; *Great is the endurance of those who set their hope on Christ; [for] what Greek or barbarian ever endured for his own god such sufferings as this man endureth for him in whom he believeth?* Ignatius said; *It is no work of human power that I bear up against such sufferings, but of zeal and faith alone, which are drawn into conformity with Christ.* And when he had said these things, the lions rushed upon him, and attacking him from either side crushed him to death only, but did not touch his flesh, so that his reliques might be a protection to the great city of the

Romans, in which likewise Peter was crucified and Paul was beheaded and Onesimus was made perfect by martyrdom.

11. But Trajan rose up and was filled with wonder and amazement. Meanwhile letters reach him from Plinius Secundus the governor, who was troubled at the number of those that underwent martyrdom, seeing how they died for the faith. He also informed him at the same time that they did nothing impious or contrary to the laws; only they rose at daybreak and sang a hymn to Christ as God; [for this they underwent punishment;] but adultery and murder and horrible offences akin to these they were the first to forbid, and in all things their conduct was in accordance [with the laws]. Whereupon we are told that Trajan taking into consideration what had happened in the case of the blessed [and holy] Ignatius—for he led the van in the army of martyrs—issued a decree to the effect that the Christian people should not be sought out, but when accidentally found should be punished. And as regards the reliques of the blessed Ignatius he gave orders that those who wished to take them up and bury them should not be hindered. Then the brethren in Rome, to whom also he had written asking them not to sue for his deliverance from martyrdom, and thus rob him of his cherished hope, took his body and laid it apart in a place where they were permitted to assemble themselves together and praise God and His Christ for the perfecting of the holy bishop and martyr Ignatius; for *The memory of the righteous is commended.*

12. And Irenæus also, the bishop of Lyons, is aware of his martyrdom, and makes mention of his epistles in these words: *One of our own people, when condemned to wild beasts for his testimony towards God, hath said; I am the wheat of God and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread.* And Polycarp also, who was bishop of the brotherhood sojourning in Smyrna, makes mention of these things, when writing to the Philippians; *I exhort you all therefore to be obedient and to practise all endurance, such as ye saw with your own eyes not only in the blessed saints Ignatius and Rufus and Zosimus, but also in many others of your own people, and in Paul himself and those who believed together with him, how that all these ran not in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are gone to the place assigned to them in the presence of the Lord, whose sufferings also they shared. For they loved not the present world, but yearned after Christ who died and rose again for us.* And again after a short space; *The letters of Ignatius which were sent to us by him, and all others which we had in our keeping, we send to you, as ye enjoined; the which are subjoined to this letter. Where-*

from ye shall get great profit, for they contain faith and patient endurance which looketh to our Lord [*Jesus Christ*].

Such was the martyrdom of Ignatius; and his successor in the bishopric of Antioch was Hero. Now the commemoration of the brave martyr Ignatius, who was very dear to God, is in the month Panemus, on the first day of the month.

ADDENDA.

Additional MSS of the Antiochene Acts including the Epistle to the Romans.

THE Antiochene Acts of Martyrdom, which incorporate the Epistle to the Romans in its Middle (genuine) form, have been known hitherto only from a single MS, *Paris.* 1451 (see I. p. 75, II. p. 363). The recent researches of Prof. Rendel Harris, to whom I am deeply indebted, have revealed two other MSS in the libraries of the East. Unfortunately these MSS, like *Paris.* 1451, are comparatively late and belong to the same family; but it is a distinct gain to have a threefold cord of evidence for the Greek text, which has hitherto hung on a single thread.

(1) The first of these, designated A in the following collation, is 18 *S. Sab.* in the Library of the Patriarch at Jerusalem. An account is given of this library by Prof. Rendel Harris in *Haverford College Studies*, no. 1, p. 1 sq. It comprises three collections of books now gathered under one roof, namely those of (1) the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; (2) the Convent of Mar Saba near the Dead Sea; (3) the Convent of the Holy Cross about two miles from Jerusalem on the Jaffa road.

The MS in question belongs to the second of these. A photograph was procured from which the collation was taken. The Martyrdom of Ignatius is followed immediately by the Acts of the Cretan Martyrs, Theodulus, Saturninus, etc (Dec. 23). The MS seems to belong to the Xth century.

(2) The second of these MSS, designated B in the collation, is in the Library of the Monastery of Sinai (no. 519). It is briefly described in Gardthausen's Catalogue of the Sinai MSS thus;

Λόγοι πανηγυρικοί (m. Sept. Febr.) cod. membr. 38·5 × 38·9 centim., binis columnis, scr. saec. x, quamquam lineae summas litteras stringunt.

Incipit primo folio (manu rec. scr.) martyrio Symeonis Stylitae, ξένον καὶ παράδοξον (Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* x. p. 324, Harles). Ultimus titulus; in fol. σμθ (verso) Martyrium Martiniani (m. Febr. d. xiii). Codex in fine mutilus est.

This MS omits large portions of the Epistle to the Romans; but its omissions do not correspond either with those of the Curetonian Syriac or with those of the Metaphrast.

Vol. II. p. 477. ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ A] *μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου τοῦ θεοφόρου* A; *μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου ἰγνατίου τοῦ θεοφόρου* B. 2 *ἀποστόλου*] AB.

p. 478. 1 *ἐν*] *ην* A; *ἣν* B. *ἀποστολικός*] *ἀποστολικῶς* A. *ἐκυβέρνα*] *ἐκοιβέρνα* A; præf. *καὶ* AB. 2 *Ἀντιοχέων*] add. *ἐπιμελῶς* AB. *ὃς*] om. AB. *χειμῶνας*] *χειμόνας* A. *μόλις*] *μόλης* A. 3 *διωγμῶν*] *διογμῶν* A. *κυβερνήτης*] *κοιβερνίτης* A. *οἴακι*] *ὕακι* A. *νηστείας*] *νιστείας* A. 5 *τῇ συνεχείᾳ*] præf. *καὶ* AB. *τῷ τόνῳ τῷ πνευματικῷ*] A; om. B. 6 *τῆς ἀντικειμένης ἀντεῖχεν δυνάμεως*] *τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἀντεῖχεν* (*ἀντῆχεν* A) AB. 7 *ὀλιγοψύχων*] *ὀλιγωψύχων* A. *ἀκεραιοτέρων ἀποβάλῃ*] *ἀκαιρεωτέρου ἀποβάλει* A.

p. 479. 8 *τοιγαροῦν*] *τοιγὰρ οὖν* A. *ηὐφραίνετο*] *ηὐφρένετο* A. *ἐπὶ τῷ*] *ἐπὶ τὸ* A. 9 *λωφήσαντος*] *λοφίσαντος* A. *διωγμοῦ*] *διογμοῦ* A. 10 *ἤσχαλλεν*] *ἤσχαλεν* A. *τῆς ὄντως*] AB. 11 *ἐφαψάμενος*] A; *ὑφαψάμενος* B. *τελείας*] *τελίας* A. *τοῦ*] A; add. *αὐτοῦ* B. 12 *μαρτυρίου*] *μαρτοιρίου* A. *γινομένην*] AB. 13 *πλεόν*] AB. *προσοικειοῦσαν*] *πρὸς οἰκείωσιν* AB.

p. 480. 1 *ἔτι παραμένων*] *ἔτη παρὰ μένον* A. *καὶ*] AB. 3 *γραφῶν*] *θείων γραφῶν* AB. *ἐπετύγχανεν*] A; *ἐπετύγχανε γὰρ* B. 5 *γὰρ*] AB. *ἐννάτῳ*] AB. *ἔτει*] B; *ἔτη* A. 6 *τῇ νίκῃ τῇ*] B; *τὴν νίκην τῆς* A. 7 *Δακῶν*] AB. *ἑτέρων πολλῶν*] AB. *νομίσαντος*] B; add. *αὐτοῦ* A. 9 *σύστημα*] *σύστιμα* A. *εἰ μὴ*] præf. *καὶ* AB. *τῶν δαιμόνων*] AB.

p. 481. 10 *ἔλοιτο λατρείαν*] B; *ἔλιτο λατρίαν* A. 11 *διωγμὸν ὑπομένειν ἀπειλήσαντος*] B; *διογμῶν ὑπομένην ἀπολήσαντος* A. *πάντας*] præf. *ὁ φόβος* AB. 12 *τοὺς εὐσεβῶς ζῶντας*] AB. 13 *φοβηθεὶς*] *φοβειθὴς* A. 14 *γενναίος*] *γενναίως* A. *στρατιώτης*] AB. 16 *σπουδάζοντα*] A; *σπουδάζοντι* B. 18 *τοῦ βασιλέως*] AB. *κακοδαίμον*] *κακοδαίμων* A; *κακόδαιμον* (sic) *ἔφη* B.

p. 482. 1 *διατάξεις ὑπερβαίνειν*] *διατάξης ὑπερβένην* A. *μετὰ τοῦ*] *μετὰ τὸ* AB. 3 *ἀποκαλεῖ κακοδαίμονα*] *ἀποκαλῆ κακωδαίμονα* A. 4 *μακρὰν*] om. AB. 5 *εἰ δέ*] AB. *κακόν*] A; præf. *καὶ* B. 6 *ἀποκαλεῖς*] *ἀποκαλῆς* A. *ἔχων τὰς...καταλύω*] AB. 8 *τίς*] AB. 10 *ἡμεῖς*] *ἡμῆς* A. *δοκοῦμεν*] *δωκοῦμεν* A. 11 *οἷς*] A; *οἳ* B. *χρώμεθα*] *χρόμεθα* A. 13 *ἐστιν*] *ἐστὶν* A; *ἐστὶ* B. 14 *τὸν οὐρανὸν*] AB.

p. 483. 16 *αὐτοῦ*] *τοῦ θεοῦ* AB. *φιλίας*] *βασιλείας* AB. *ὀναίμην*] *ὠναίμην* A. 17 *Πιλάτου*] *πηλάτου* A. 18 *τὴν*] add. *ἐμὴν* AB. 20 *κακίαν*] *πλάνην καὶ κακίαν* AB. *τῶν αὐτὸν*] *τῶν αὐτῶν* A; *τὸν αὐτὸν* B. 21 *φορεῖς*] *φέρεις* B. 22 *τὸν Χριστόν*] *τὸν σταυρωθέντα* AB. 23 *ἐνοικήσω*] *ἐνοικίσω* A; præf. *ὅτι* B. *ἐμπεριπατήσω*] *ἐμπεριπατίσω* A. 25 *λέγοντα*] *λέγωντα* A. 26 *στρατιωτῶν*] B; *στρατιοτῶν* A. *μεγάλην*] AB. 27 *γενησόμενον*] *γεννησώμενον* A. *εἰς ὄψιν καὶ εἰς τέρψιν*] *εἰς τέρψιν* AB. 28 *μάρτυς*] AB. 29 *ἐβόησεν*] *ἐβώησεν* A.

p. 484. 1 *τῇ πρός σε ἀγάπῃ*] B; *τῆς πρός σε ἀγάπης* A. 2 *δέσμοις... σιδηροῖς*] *δεσμοῖς...σιδήροις* B. *συνδήσας*] AB. 4 *ἐπευξάμενος*] AB.

6 ἐπίσημος] ἐπίσιμος A. 7 θηριώδους στρατιωτικῆς δεινότητος] θηριόδους στρατιοτικῆς δηνώτιτος A. 8 ὠμοβόροις] ἑμοβόροις A; αἱμοβόροις B. ἀπαχθησόμενος] ἀπαχθησώμενος A. βοράν] AB. 9 προθυμίας] προθοιμίας A. 10 ἐπιθυμίᾳ] ἐπιθοιμία A. κατελθὼν] κατελθὸν A. 11 Σελευκείαν] σελευκίαν A. 12 μετὰ πολὺν κάματον] AB. Σμυρναίων] σμυρνέων A. 13 νηὸς] νεὸς A. Πολύκαρπον τὸν Σμυρναίων] πολλοίκαρπον τὸν σμυρνέων A.

p. 485. 15 ἐγεγόνεισαν] ἐγεγόνισαν A. Ἰωάννου] præf. τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου AB. 16 καταχθεὶς καὶ πνευματικῶν αὐτῷ κοινωνήσας] καταχθῆς καὶ πνευματικόν αὐτῶ κοινονίσας A. 18 συναθλεῖν] AB. μάλιστα] μάλλιστα A. 19 τῶν] B; τὸν A. ἐπισκόπων καὶ] B; om. A. 20 καὶ prim.] AB. διακόνων] B; διάκονον A. 21 ἐκκλησίαι] αἰκλησίαι A. εἴ πως] AB. 22 ἐξαιρέτως] ἐξερέτος A. 23 Πολύκαρπον] πολοίκαρπον A. θηρίων θᾶττον ἀφανὴς] θειρίων θάττον ἀφανεῖς A. 24 τῷ προσώπῳ] B; τὸ πρόσωπον A. 25 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] A; τοῦ Θεοῦ B.

p. 486. 1 καὶ sec.] AB. διεμαρτύρατο] AB. 2 ἐπεκτείνων] ἐπεκτήνον A. πρὸς Χριστὸν] AB. 3 μέλλειν] AB. 4 συνευχομένων] συνευχωμένον A. 6 ὑπαντησάσαις] ὑπαντισάσαις A. αὐτῷ] AB. 7 ἐκπεμφθέντων] ἐπιτεθέντων AB. 8 παραινέσεως] παρενέσεως A. ἀποσταζόντων] AB. 9 χάριν] χάρην A. τοιγαροῦν] τοὶ γὰρ οὖν A. εὐνοϊκῶς] ἐννοϊκῶς A. 10 περὶ] AB. αὐτόν] B; αὐτῶν A. φοβηθεὶς μή ποτε ἡ] B; φοβειθῆς μίποτε ἡ εἰ A. 11 ἐκκόψῃ] ἐκκόψει A. 12 ἀνεῳχθείσης] ἀνεωχθήσεις A. αὐτῷ] A; αὐτοῦ B. θύρας] θοίρας A. 13 ἐπιστέλλει Ῥωμαίων] ἐπιστήλη ῥωμέων.

[*The Epistle to the Romans begins.*]

Vol. II. p. 189. ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ] ἰγνατίου τοῦ θεοφόρου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ῥωμαίους B. There is no title in A. 1 ὁ καὶ] A; om. ὁ B. ἠλεημένῃ] ἰλεημένῃ A. μεγαλειότητι] μεγαλιώτητι A. 2 πατρὸς ὑψίστου] AB. 3 ἠγαπημένῃ] B; ἠγαπιμένη A. 4 τοῦ θελήσαντος] AB.

p. 190. 1 πίστιν καὶ] om. AB. 2 τόπῳ χωρίου] AB.

p. 192. 1 ἀξιοπρεπής] ἀξιῶπρεπὴς (sic) A. ἀξιέπαινος] ἀξιἔπενος (sic) A. ἀξιεπίτευκτος] ἀξιὸ, ἐπίτευκτος (sic) A. 2 ἀξίαγνος] ἀξιόάγνος (sic) A. χριστόνομος] χριστόνυμος A; χριστώνυμος B. 3 πατρώνυμος] πατρόνυμος A.

p. 193. 4 ἡνωμένοις] ἡνομένοις A. 6 παντὸς] B; πάντων A.

p. 194. 1 Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν] B; χριστῷ ἰησοῦ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν A. 3 Θεῷ] AB.

p. 195. 4 ἀξιόθεα] A; ἀξιοθέατα B. ὡς] AB. πλέον ἢ ἠτούμην] πλέον ἠτούμην AB. δεδεμένος] δεδεμίνος A. 5 γὰρ] om. AB. Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ] AB. 6 θέλημα] add. τοῦ θεοῦ AB. ἦ τοῦ] A; om. τοῦ B. εἶναι] AB.

p. 196. 1 εὐοικονόμητος] εὐοικονόμιτῶς A. ἐὰν πέρατος] ἐάνπερ χάριτος AB. 3 γὰρ] AB. τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην] AB. 4 ὑμῖν γὰρ] B; ὑμῆν γὰρ A. θέλετε] θέλεται A.

p. 197. 5 μὴ] om. AB. 7 γὰρ] after οὐ AB. ὑμᾶς] AB. ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι] ἀνθρωπαρεσκίσαι A. ἀλλὰ Θεῷ ἀρέσαι] AB. 8 ἀρέσκετε] ἀρέσκεται A. οὔτε] οὐ AB. ἐγώ ποτε ἔξω καιρὸν] A; ποτὲ ἐγὼ ἔξω καιρὸν B. τοιοῦτον] AB. 9 ἐὰν] A; ἂν B.

p. 198. 1 σιωπήσητε] σιοπήσιτε A; σιωπῆτε B. κρείττονι] κρίττωνι A. ἔχετε] ἔχεται A.

p. 199. 2 γὰρ] AB. σιωπήσητε] B; σιωπήσιτε A. ἐγὼ] add. γενήσομαι (γενίσωμαι) AB. λόγος Θεοῦ] θεοῦ (om. λόγος) AB.

p. 200. 1 πάλιν ἔσομαι] πάλην ἔσωμαι A. φωνῇ] τρέχων AB. πλέον δὲ] πλέον (om. δὲ) AB. 2 παράσχησθε] B; παρασχέσθαι (sic) A. σπονδισθῆναι] AB. ἔτι] ἔτη A. 3 ἵνα...ᾖσητε] AB. χορός] χωρὸς A. 4 τῷ πατρὶ] B; τὸ πατρὶ A. ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ AB.

p. 202. 1 κατηξίωσεν ὁ Θεὸς] ὁ θεὸς κατηξίωσεν AB. 2 καλὸν] AB. δῦναι] B; δοῖναι A. ἀπὸ κόσμου] A; ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου B. 3 πρὸς Θεόν] AB. ἀνατείλω] AB.

p. 203. 4 οὐδέποτε...βαρύς τινι γένωμαι (p. 208 l. 3)] om. B. οὐδενί] οὐδένα A; def. B.

p. 204. 1 ἐντέλλεσθε] ἐντέλλεσθαι A. μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε] μοι δοίναμιν αἰτεῖσθε A. 2 ἵνα μὴ sec.] A; def. B. 3 ἐὰν γὰρ· εὑρεθῶ] om. A by homœoteleuton; def. B. 4 καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι] καὶ τότε πιστῶς εἶναι A. ὅταν] A; def. B. 5 φαίνωμαι] φαίνομαι A. οὐδὲν] οὐθὲν A.

p. 205. 6 καλόν] αἰώνιον· τὰ γὰρ βλεπώμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια A; def. B. Θεὸς] Κύριος A. 7 πεισμονῆς] σιοπὶς μόνης A; def. B. 8 ὅταν μισῆται ὑπὸ κόσμουν] om. A; def. B.

p. 206. 1 πάσαις] om. A; def. B. ἐντέλλομαι] A; def. B. 2 ἐγὼ] A; def. B. ἀποθνήσκω] ἀποθνίσκω A. 3 κωλύσητε] κολύσιται A. εὔνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθε] εὔνοια ἄκερος γενεσθαί A. 4 θηρίων εἶναι] add. βορρὰν A; def. B. 5 ἔνεστιν] ἓν ἔστιν (sic) A (ἓν prefixed in margin); def. B.

p. 207. 5 ἐπιτυχεῖν] ἐπιτυχὴν A. Θεοῦ] A. 6 ὀδόντων] ὀδόντον A. ἀλήθομαι] ἀλέθομαι A.

p. 208. 1 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] A; def. B. 2 γένωνται] γένονται A. καταλίπωσιν] καταλείπωσιν A. τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου] τοῦ σώματός μου (om. τῶν) A; def. B. κοιμηθεὶς βαρὺς] κοιμηθῆς βαροῖς A. 3 γένωμαι] A; def. B. 4 τότε κ.τ.λ.] B resumes. τότε] A; add. γὰρ B. ἀληθῶς] AB. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] τοῦ χριστοῦ (om. ἰησοῦ) AB. 5 τὸν Κύριον] τὸν χριστὸν AB.

p. 209. 6 Θεοῦ] om. AB. θυσία] θοισία A. διατάσσομαι] διατάσσωμαι A. 8 ἐγὼ] AB. 9 ἐγὼ δὲ] AB. ἀλλ' ἐὰν] ἀλ' ἐὰν A.

p. 210. 1 ἀπελεύθερος] AB. Χριστοῦ] B; om. A. ἀναστήσομαι] ἀναστίσωμαι A. ἐν αὐτῷ] AB. 2 νῦν μανθάνω] AB. μηδὲν] A; μηδ' ἕν B. ἐπιθυμεῖν] ἐπιθοίμειν A; add. κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον B; add. ἢ μάταιον (om. κοσμικὸν) A.

p. 211. 4 ἐνδεδεμένος] δεδεμένος AB.

p. 212. 1 *στρατιωτικὸν*] *στρατιωτῶν* B ; *στρατιὸτῶν* (sic) A.

p. 213. 2 *γίνονται*] *γίνωνται* A. *ἀδικήμασιν*] *ἀδικίμασιν* A.

p. 214. 1 *μᾶλλον*] *μάλλων* A. 2 *ὀναίμην*] *ὠνέμην* A. *τῶν θηρίων*] A ; om. B. 3 *ἃ*] om. AB. *εὔχομαι*] *εὔχωμαι* A. *σύντομα*] *ἕτοιμα* AB.

p. 215. 5 *ἑκόντα μὴ θέλῃ*] *ἄκοντα μὴ θελήσῃ* B ; *ἄκωντα μὴ θελίσει* A. *προσβιάσομαι*] *πρὸσ βι ἄσωμε* (sic) A. 6 *συγγνώμην...πέρατων τῆς γῆς* (p. 218 l. 2)] om. B. *ἔχετε*] *ἔχεται* A. 7 *ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς*] *ἄρχωμαι μαθητῆς* A. *μηθέν*] A. *ζηλώσαι*] *ζηλώσει* A. 8 *τῶν ἀοράτων*] *ἀοράτων* (om. *τῶν*) A ; def. B.

p. 216. *θηρίων τε συστάσεις*] *θηρίων καὶ συστάσεως* A ; def. B. *ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις*] *ἀνατομαὶ διερέσις* A. 2 *ὀστέων*] *ὠστέων* A. *συγκοπαὶ*] *συγκοπῆ* (sic) A ; def. B. 3 *ἀλεσμοὶ*] *ἀλισμοὶ* A. *κακαὶ*] A ; def. B. *κολάσεις*] *κολάσις* (sic) A.

p. 217. 6 *με*] A ; def. B. *ὠφελήσει*] *ὀφελήσει* A. *πέρατα*] *τέρπνα* A ; def. B. 7 *οὐδὲ αἱ*] *οὔδαι ἐ* A. *καλόν*] *μάλλον* (sic) A ; def. B.

p. 218. 1 *διὰ*] *εἰς* A ; def. B. *Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*] *χριστὸν ἰησοῦν* A ; def. B. *βασιλεύειν*] *βασιλεύην* A. 2 *γῆς*] add. *τὶ γὰρ ὠφελείται ἄνθρωπος ἐὰν κερδείσι τὸν κόσμον ὅλον τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιώθεῖ* A ; def. B. *ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ κ.τ.λ.*] B resumes. 3 *θέλω*] B ; *ζητῶ* A. *δι' ἡμᾶς*] AB. *ὁ τοκετός...ἐπίκειται*] om. B.

p. 219. 4 *σύγγνωτε*] A. *ἐμποδίσητε*] *ἐμποδίσηται* A. 5 *μὴ θελήσητε*] *μι θελείσητε* A. *με*] AB. *τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλοντα*] AB. 6 *μὴ χαρίσησθε*] B ; *μι χαρίσησθαι* A. *μηδὲ ὕλῃ κολακεύσητε*] om. AB.

p. 220. 1 *καθαρὸν*] *καθαρῶν* A. *ἄνθρωπος*] add. *θεοῦ* AB. 2 *ἔσομαι*] *ἔσωμαι* A. *ἐπιτρέψατε*] B ; *ἐπιστρέψαται* A. *μιμητὴν*] *μημιτὴν* A. *τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου*] AB. 3 *εἴ τις...οἷς γράφω ὑμῖν* (p. 223 l. 4)] om. B. *ἔχει*] *ἔχη* A 4 *συμπαθείτω*] *συμπαθήτω* A.

p. 221. 7 *βούλεται*] *βούλαται* A. *Θεόν*] A ; def. B. *διαφθεῖραι*] *διὰφθήραι* (sic) A. 8 *μηδεὶς*] *μηδὶς* A. *τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν*] A ; def. B. *βοηθείτω*] *βοηθήτω* A.

p. 222. 1 *ἐμοὶ γίνεσθε*] *ἐμοῦ γένεσθαι* A ; def. B. *λαλεῖτε*] *λαλήται* A. 2 *ἐπιθυμεῖτε*] *ἐπιθυμίται* A. 3 *παρὼν*] om. A. *πείσθητέ μοι*] *πίσθητέ μοι* A.

p. 223. 4 *πιστεύσατε*] *πίσθητε* A. 5 *ζῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*] B resumes. *γὰρ*] AB. *ἐρῶν τοῦ*] A ; *ἐρῶ τούτου* B. 6 *πῦρ φιλόϋλον, ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν*] AB.

p. 224. 2 *λέγον*] B ; *λέγων* A. *τὸν πατέρα*] B ; *πατέρα* (om. *τὸν*) A. 2 *οὐχ ἥδομαι*] B ; *οὐκ εἴδομαι* A.

p. 225. 3 *ἡδοναῖς*] *ἡδονὰς* A. *ἄρτον*] *ἄρτων* A. *Θεοῦ*] AB.

p. 226. 1 *θέλω*] add. *ἄρτον οὐράνιον ἄρτον* (*ἄρτων* A) *ζωῆς* AB. *τοῦ Χριστοῦ*] *ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ* AB. Add. *τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* AB. *τοῦ* sec.] add. *γενομένου* (*γεναμένου* B) *ἐν ὑστέρῳ* AB.

p. 227. 2 Δανείδ] add. καὶ ἀβραάμ AB. πόμα] add. θεοῦ AB. 3 ἄφθαρτος] add. καὶ ἀένναος ζωή (ζωῆ A) AB.

p. 228. 1 οὐκ ἔτι...ἀναπαῦσαι (p. 234 l. 3)] om. B. οὐκ ἔτι] οὐκέτη A. ζῆν] ζεῖν A. 2 θελήσητε] θελήσιται A. 3 αἰτοῦμαι] αἰτούμαι (bis) A. 4 ὑμῖν ταῦτα φανερώσει] ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαναιρώσει A. 5 ἀληθῶς λέγω] ἀλιθῶς ἐγὼ A. τὸ] τῶ A. 6 ἐλάλησεν ἀληθῶς] ἀληθῶς ἐλάλησεν A; def. B. αἰτήσασθε] αἰτήσασθαι A. 7 ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ] om. A; def. B.

p. 229. 8 κατὰ γνώμην] κατὰ γνώμιν A. ἠθελήσατε] A. 9 ἀποδοκιμασθῶ] ἀποδοκημασθῶ A. 10 μνημονεύετε] μνημωνεύεται A. προσευχῇ] A; def. B. 11 ποιμένι] ποιμένη A. 12 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς] χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς (om. ἰησοῦς) A. ἐπισκοπήσει] ἐπισκοπίσει A. 13 δὲ] A; def. B. αἰσχύνομαι] ἐσχύνωμαι A. οὐδὲ γὰρ] A. 14 ἄξιός εἰμι] A.

p. 230. 2 δεξαμένων] δεξαμένον (sic) A.

p. 231. 4 προσήκουσαι] προσείκουσαι A. 5 πόλιν] πόλην A. προῆγον] A; def. B.

p. 232. 1 δὲ] A. Σμύρνης] σμύρνις A. 2 ἀξιομακαρίστων] ἀξιωμακαρίστων A. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ] A; def. B. 3 καὶ Κρόκος] κρόκος (om. καὶ) A; def. B. μοι] A; def. B.

p. 233. 4 τῶν προελθόντων με] A; def. B. 5 τοῦ Θεοῦ] θεοῦ (om. τοῦ) A; def. B.

p. 234. 1 δηλώσατε] διλώσατε A. ἐγγύς] ἐγγοῖς A. τοῦ Θεοῦ] A; def. B. ὑμῖν ἐστιν] A; def. B. 3 ἔγραψα κ.τ.λ.] B resumes. 4 Σεπτεμβρίων] add. τουτέστιν αὐγούστου (αὐδούστου A) εἰκάδι τρίτῃ (κγ B) AB. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] add. ἀμήν AB.

End of the Epistle to the Romans.

Vol. II. p. 487. 15 καταρτίσας] καταρτήσας A. ἠβούλετο] ἠβούλέτω (sic) A. 17 ἀναχθεὶς] ἀναχθῆς A. Σμύρνης] μύρνης A. κατεπείγετο] κατεπίγετο A; κατηπείγετο B. 18 στρατιωτῶν] AB. τὰς] τῆς A. 19 πόλει] ῥώμῃ AB. 20 τῆς δικαιοσύνης διὰ τοιαύτης ἀθλήσεως] τῆς ἀθλήσεως AB. 21 Τρωάδι] τρωάδη A. 22 καταχθεὶς] παταχθῆς A. Νεάπολιν] νέαν πόλην A. διὰ Φιλιππησίων] διὰ φιλίππων (φίλιππον A) AB. 23 πεζῇ] B; πεζεῖ A.

p. 488. 1 οὖ] om. AB. νηὸς] νιὸς A. 2 Ἀδριατικὸν] ἀδριανικόν B; ἀδριανικῶν A. 3 Τυρρηνικοῦ] A; τυρρανικοῦ B. παραμείβων] παρὰμίβων (sic) A. νήσους τε καὶ πόλεις] B; νίσσους τε καὶ πόλλης A. 6 Παύλου] AB. ἐπιπεσὸν] B; ἐπιπεσὼν A. 7 πρύμνης ἐπειγομένης] πρύνης ἐπιγομένης A. 8 τῷ] τὸ A. παρέπλει] παρέπλη A. 9 τοιγαροῦν] τυγὰρ οὖν A. νυκτὶ] νυκτῆ A. 10 ἀπηγόμεθα] ἀπιγόμεθα A; ἠπειγόμεθα B.

p. 489. 11 τῷ] τὸ A. 12 γίνεσθαι] B; γένεσθαι A. τῷ] τὸ A. ἀπέβαινεν] ἀπέβενεν A. 13 ἀναχωρῆσαι] ἀναχωρίσαι A. φθάσῃ] φθάσει A. 14 λιμένας] λημένας A. 15 λήγειν] λήγην A. 16 στρατιῶται]

AB. τῆς] B; τις A. ἤσχαλλον] ἤσχαλον A. 17 κατεπείγουσιν] κατεπίγουσιν A. 18 ἔωθεν ὁρμηθέντες] ἑωθήσαντες A; ἑωθίσαντες B. 19 διεπεφήμιστο] διεφίμιστω A; διεφήμιστο B. ἤδη] ἴδει A.

p. 490. 1 συναντῶμεν] συν αὐτῶ μὲν A. 2 ἠξιοῦντο] B; ἄξιον τὸ A. 3 συντυχίας, φοβουμένοις] συντιχίας· φοβούμενοι A. 4 τοιοῦτος] ὁ τοιοῦτος AB. τισὶ δὲ...τὸν δίκαιον] om. B. παρήγγελλεν] παρέγγειλεν A. 5 ἡσυχάζειν] ἡσυχάζουσιν A; def. B. καταπαύειν] καταπαύην A. 6 μὴ ἐπιζητεῖν] μὶ ἐπιζητῆν A. οὓς εὐθὺς γνοὺς] ὡς εὐθοῖς γνοὺς A; ὅς εὐθύς ἐπιγνοὺς B. 7 αἰτήσας τε] αἰτίσατε A. 8 ἀληθινὴν] ἀληθινεῖν A. 9 τῇ ἐπιστολῇ διαλεχθεὶς] τῖ ἐπιστολεῖ διαλεχθὴς A. πείσας μὴ] πίσας μι A. φθονῆσαι] φθονίσαι A. 10 τὸν Κύριον] B; κύριον A. γονυκλισίας] γονυκλησίας A. 12 διωγμοῦ] διογμοῦ A.

p. 491. 14 εὐθὺς] εὐθοῖς A. 16 καταπαύειν] καταπαύην A. 17 ἐδόκουν] ἐδώκουν A. λεγομένη] λεγωμένη A. Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ] ῥωμαϊκεῖ φωνεῖ A. 18 συνῆεσαν] συνίησαν AB. 19 παρὰ τῶν ἀθέων] παρὰ τῶναῶ A; παρὰ τὼναὼ (sic) B. παρεβάλλετο] B; παρεβάλετο A. 20 παραυτὰ] παρ' αὐτὰ B. 21 ἐπιθυμία] ἐπιθοιμία A. 23 λειψάνου] λήψανου A. 24 ἐπιστολῇ] ἐπιστολεῖ A.

p. 492. 1 τραχύτερα] B; βραχύτερα A. ἁγίων αὐτοῦ] AB. λειψάνων] λειψάνον A. περιελείφθη] παρελείφθει A. 3 ληνῷ] B; λινῷ A. ἀτίμητος] ἀτίμιτος A.

p. 493. 5 ἐγένετο δὲ] B; ἐγένετο (om. δὲ) A. 6 Ἰαννουαρίων] add. τουτέστιν (τοῦτεστιν A) δεκεμβρίω εἰκάδι AB. Σύρα] A; συρά B. 7 Σενεκίωνος] σεδεκίου AB, which punctuate thus σύρα· καὶ σεδεκίου τὸ δεύτερον. 8 δακρύων] δακροίων A. παννυχίσαντες] A; παννυχεύσαντες B. 9 γονυκλισίας] γονυκλησίας A. δεήσεως] A; δεήσεων B.

p. 494. 1 πληροφορῆσαι τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς] πληρωφορίσαι τοὺς ἀσθενὴς A. 2 ἐξαίφνης] ἐξέφνης A. 3 περιπτυσσόμενον] B; περιπλακόμενον app. A. ἐβλέπομεν] AB. 4 πάλιν] πάλην A; om. B. ἑωρῶμεν] AB. τὸν] τῶν A. 5 ἄλλοι δὲ...ὑφ' ἱδρῶτος] AB. ἱδρῶτος] ἱδρότος A. 6 παρεστῶτα] παρεστότα A. μετὰ...ἰδόντες] μετὰ πολλῆς (πολλεῖς A) τοίνυν χαρᾶς ταῦτα ἰδόντες (ἰδώντες A) AB. 8 συμβαλόντες...τῶν ὀνειράτων] AB. συμβαλόντες] B; συμβάλλοντες A. 9 τὸν δοτῆρα] τῶν δοτήρα A. 12 κοινωνῶμνε] κοινωνῶμεν (sic) A. 13 γενναίῳ μάρτυρι Χριστοῦ] B; μάρτυρι γενναίῳ τοῦ χριστοῦ A. καταπατήσαντι] καταπατίσαντι A. 14 καὶ τὸν... ἡμῶν] AB. τελειώσαντι] τελεώσαντα A.

p. 495. 16 τῷ πατρὶ] AB. 17 εἰς αἰῶνας] εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων AB.

Additional MSS of the Acts of the Metaphrast.

Though it is no part of my work to deal with the text of the Metaphrast, I thought it might be useful to others if I included a collation which Prof. Rendel Harris procured of this text from *Sin.* 508. This MS is described by Gardthausen;

Λόγοι πανηγυρικοί (m. Dec.) cod. membr. 33 × 25·6 centim., binis columnis saec. x scr., quamquam lineae summas litteras stringunt...In initio codex mutilus est. Primus titulus diei Danielis prophetae (Δεκ. ιξ̄), ultimus Melaniae Romanae (Δεκ. λ̄α̅). Notae nonnullae additae sunt latine scriptae.

It is designated S in the following collation.

Prof. Rendel Harris has also collated (for the Epistle to the Romans only) a Jerusalem MS of the eleventh century, *S. Sep.* vii f. 236, designated H in the collation.

The collation has been made with Funk's text in *Opera Patrum Apostolicorum* (1881) vol. 2, pp. 246 sq.

I 1. 6 Εὐόδου] Εὔοδον S. τοῦ] S. 2. 8 ἔτι] after τὸν Χριστὸν S. 2. 12 δέξεται] δέξηται S. 2. 14 σαφῶς] σοφῶς S.

II 1. 16 τῷ τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας] τῷ κατὰ...Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας (a gap in the MS after κατὰ) S. 3. 22 συχνῷ] S. (p. 247) 3. 1 ἐν] S. 3. 2 ζῆλον καὶ διδασκαλίαν] S. διάκονος ἤδη] ἤδη διάκονος S. 3. 4 θηρίοις...παραδοθείς] om. S. ἀναλαβὼν] om. S.

III 1. 10 εἴτουν] εἶτο (sic) S. 1. 11 ἐκείνως] ἐκεῖνος S. 1. 12 οὕτως] οὕτω S. 3. 18 τότε] τὸ δε (sic) S. 4. 21 εἴη] εἶ S. 4. 23 κατακριθέντα] S.

IV 1. 29 σὺ εἶ] σὺ (om. εἶ) S. 1. 30 φησίν] ἔφη S. (p. 248) 1. 1 πᾶσαν ἀνάστατον] ἀνάστατον πᾶσαν S. 2. 4 ὁ δέ] S. 2. 5 περιφέρων] S. 3. 6 περιφέρεις] S. φησίν] ἔφη S. 4. 9 φέρειν] S. 5. 12 εἷς γὰρ] S. 5. 15 ἔστι] S. ὦ] S. πολλῷ] S. 5. 17 ἦσαν...μονιμώτερα] ἦσαν καὶ κομιδῇ νομιμώτερα S.

V 1. 22 αὐτοὶ] S. 2. 23 Θεοφόρος] add. ἰγνάτιος S. 2. 24 ὦ] om. S. 2. 25 ὅσῳ] ὅσα S. ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι] ἀντιχαρίσασθαι S. 2. 27 σφοδροτέραν] S. (p. 249) 3. 1 σοὶ] S. 3. 4 ἐμαυτὸν] ἑαυτὸν S.

VI 1. 6 δὲ] om. S. 1. 7 ἐπὶ Ποντίου σταυρωθέντι Πιλάτου] ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντι S. 2. 13 ἐξηπάτησο] S.

VII 1. 22 ἀγχινοίας] S. δῆθεν] S. 1. 23 ἔφησαν] S. 1. 25 οὗτος] οὕτως S. 2. 27 ἀφορμῆς] S. 2. 29 θύραν] S. 3. 33 τρίτην ἡμέραν] τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ S. (p. 250) 3. 2 ὅθεν] S. 4. 6 ἐπεδείξατο] S. 5. 14 ὁ πρῶτος ὑμῖν καὶ μέγιστος] ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ὑμῖν S. 5. 16 πυρὸς] τοῦ πυρὸς S. 5. 17 ἀνάλωται] S.

VIII 1. 20 *εἰς*] S. 1. 21 *ἢ καὶ*] *ἢ* (om. *καὶ*) S. 1. 22 *ἀνθήσειε*] *ἀνθήσῃ* S. 1. 25 *πῶς ἂν*] *πῶς* (om. *ἂν*) S. 1. 26 *ὑπεξαγάγοι ζωῆς*] S. 2. 29 *κοινωσαμένου*] S. *μὲν*] S. 2. 31 *δεῖν*] S. *φασίν*] *φησίν* S. (p. 251) 2. 3 *θηρσὶν*] *θηρίοις* S. 3. 4 *ὑφέξει*] *ὑφέξειν* S.

IX 1. 7 *τούτου...ἀρέσαντος*] S. 2. 9 *προσάγων*] S. 2. 11 *πλεῖον*] *πλείων* S. 3. 12 *μήτε*] S. 3. 14 *ἐψηφισμένα*] S. 3. 15 *περιθεῖναι*] *περιθῆναι* S.

X 1. 20 *ἀπόφασιν ἐκείνην*] S. 1. 25 *παραθέμενος τῷ θεῷ*] S. 4. 28 *ἐμβάλλεται*] *βάλλεται* S. 5. 32 *σεμνυνόμενος ἐπὶ*] S. (p. 252) 6. 4 *πολλοὶ*] S. 6. 5 *τῶν πόλεων*] S.

XI 1. 11 *ἡγουμένους*] S. 2. 18 *ἀθλήσεως*] S. 2. 20 *αὐτῆς*] add. *ἐκείνης* S.

XII 1. 24 *κυρίου*] *μονογενοῦς* S; om. H. *τοῦ μόνου*] H; om. S. 1. 25 *ἐν θελήματι*] SH. (p. 253) 2. 2 *θεῷ*] SH. 3. 4 *δεδεμένος*] S; add. *γὰρ* Hs. Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ] *χριστῷ* (om. *ἰησοῦ*) S; *ἰησοῦ χριστῷ* H. 4. 6 *εὐχὴ*] S; *ἀρχὴ* Hs. 4. 10 *φείσησθε*] S; *μὴ φείσησθε* Hs.

XIII 1. 12 *ἀρέσκετε*] SH. 1. 13 *ἐγὼ*] S; om. H. 2. 15 *παράσχεσθε*] SH. *ὡς ἔτι...ἕτοιμόν ἐστιν*] H; om. S. 2. 18 *εἰς*] SH. *τοῦτον*] S; om. Hs.

XIV 1. 22 *δὲ*] S; om. H. 2. 25 *ὅτε*] S; *ὅταν* Hs.

XV 1. 30 *γένησθέ μοι*] *γένοισθέ μου* SH. 1. 31 *ἔνεστι*] S; *ἔστιν* Hs. (p. 254) 2. 2 *μᾶλλον*] add. *δὲ* SH. *γένωνται*] SH. 2. 3 *καταλίπωσι*] SH. 2. 4 *γένωμαι*] S; *γένομαι* H. 2. 6 *τούτων*] S; om. H.

XVI 1. 12 *αὐτῆς*] om. SH. 1. 13 *δεδεμένος*] S; om. H. 1. 14 *οἳ*] SH. 2. 19 *παραβιάσομαι*] SH. 3. 20 *ἄρχομαι*] SH.

XVII 2. 30 *ἀδελφοί...μοι*] om. H by homœoteleuton. *μηδὲ*] SH. *με*] SH. 2. 32 *μιμητὴν*] H; *μιμητὴς* S. (p. 255) 3. 2 *με*] SH.

XVIII 1. 5 *γίνεσθε*] *γένεσθε* SH. 1. 6 *Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*] SH. 3. 9 *ὁ*] SH. 3. 11 *λαλοῦν ἐν*] H; *λαλοῦν* S, followed by an erasure. *λέγον*] SH. 4. 14 *τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρῳ*] H; *τοῦ γενομένου ὑστέρως* S. 4. 15 *Ἀβραάμ*] S; *Ἀβραάμ* H.

XIX 2. 21 *ἀληθῆ*] S; *ἀληθῶς* Hs.

XX 1. 24 *ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ*] *ἀντ' ἐμοῦ* S. 2. 27 *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*] H; *ἰησοῦ* (om. *χριστοῦ*) S.

XXI 2. 32 *ποθητὸν*] SH. (p. 256)

XXII 2. 9 *ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ*] *ἐπὶ δάμνῳ* (om. *ἐν*) S primâ manu. 2. 10 *Τυρρηνικὸν*] *τυραννικὸν* S. *τὰς*] S. 3. 12 *μεταδοὺς ἀσπασμόν*] *ἀσπασμὸν μεταδούς* S.

XXIII 1. 18 *οὖν*] S primâ manu; erased by a later hand. 1. 19 *πνεύματος*] præf. *τοῦ* S primâ manu, erased by a later hand. 1. 22 *ἀτρέστου*] *ἀτρέπτου* S. 2. 24 *καὶ*] præf. *οἱ* S. 2. 28 *γένωμαι*] S. 3. 30 *μόνων*] *μόνον* S. *τῆς εὐχῆς τῷ ἀνδρὶ*] S. (p. 257) 3. 3 *τῷ* pri.] S. *αὐτὸν*] om. S.

XXIV 1. 5 *τέλος*] S. 1. 7 *συνελθόντες*] *ἐλθόντες* S. 1. 9 *εἰκάδα*] *εἰκάδι* S. 1. 10 *ἄγοντος*] S. 2. 12 *δέσμιος ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας*] *ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας δέσμιος* (*δέσμιος* added by a later hand). 2. 15 *περιϊπτάμεναι*] S.

XXV 1. 20 *καὶ* sec.] om. S. 2. 23 *ἕτεροι δὲ*] *ἕτεροι* (om. *δὲ*) S. 2. 24 *τῶν*] S. 2. 25 *πᾶσι πιστοῖς*] *πᾶσι τοῖς πιστοῖς* S.

XXVI 1. 27 *τοιοῦτοι*] S. *περιφανεῖς*] *περιμανεῖς* S. 2. 28 *Λουγδάνων*] *λογδάνων* S. 3. 31 *εὐαγγελιστοῦ τε*] *εὐαγγελιστοῦ* (om. *τε*) S. (p. 258) 4. 5 *οὐδὲ*] *οὐ οὐδὲ* S. 4. 7 *κυρίου*] *κυρίῳ* S. 5. 12 *μᾶλλον ψυχαῖς*] *ψυχαῖς μᾶλλον* S.

XXVII 1. 14 *γενναίως*] S. 1. 19 *ἐγκράτειάν τε*] *ἐγκράτειαν* (om. *τε*) S. 2. 22 *τοιοῦτον ἐκθεῖναι*] *ἐκτεθῆναι τοιοῦτον* S. 2. 24 *καθίστασθαι*] S. *ἀναιρεῖσθαι μέν*] *ἀναιρεῖσθαι* (om. *μέν*) S. 3. 30 *καθαριότητος*] S.

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